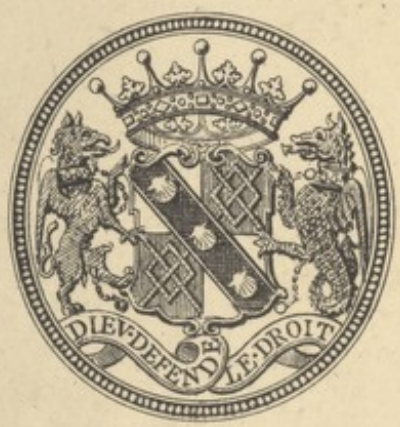
LONDON'S
Bills of Burials & Christnings. 1664.
Naked Truth.
Mr Smirk.
Interest will not Lie. Mark Nedham. 1659.
Fools make a mock at sin. Dr Stillingfleet. Serm. 166 6/7.
Funeral sermon of Monk by the Bp Sard. S. wrd. 1670.
XVI principles of Faith by Nye, Simpson, Goodwin. 1654



Nine volum's of Freemans
pamphlets at yl Hagne.

Lnco. 1£/1£s.

Paxa
14/11

Bills of Mortality of the plague yeare 1665.
The Naked Truth.
Mr Smirke.
Interest will not lye.
A Sermon of Stillingfleets.
Bp Larum Moncks Funerall Sermon.
Principles of Faith by Thomas Goodwin &c.


# *LONDON'S Dreadful Visitation:*

*Or*, A COLLECTION of All the

# Bills of Mortality

For this Present Year:

Beginning the 27th. of *December* 1664. and ending the 19th. of *December* following:

As also, *The GENERAL or whole years BILL*:

According to the Report made to the KING's Most Excellent Majesty,

*By the Company of Parish-Clerks of* London, *&c*


*LONDON:*
Printed and are to be sold by *E. Cotes* living in *Aldersgate-street*, Printer to the said Company 1665.

# *The* PRINTER *to the* READER.

*Courteous Reader,*

I Presume that the *Candor* of thy *Ingenuity* is such, that thou wilt not *rashly condemn* me of *Imprudence* in the Reprinting these *sad sheets*. First understand the Reasons moving me thereunto, and then I am somewhat confident that thou wilt Approve of my Design. I know that Romances and Play-books too much gratifie the Humours of the *Populace*; but humble and sincere Christians, with Delight recall to minde Gods Mercies, and with Awfulness tremble at His Judgments: Behold, the ensuing Papers will assist thy Meditation in both: Consider His *Mercy* to *Thee* and *Mee*, that we are yet in the Land of the Living, *to work out our Salvation with Fear and Trembling*: His *Judgments* on *many Thousands* in or near this City, whom He hath in *One year swept away with the Beesome of a Temporal Destruction*: O let us not imagine, that they were greater Sinners than we the Survivors! for, *Except we speedily and seriously Repent, we shall all likewise perish*, either *Similitudine*, or *Certitudine Pœnæ*: But I am a *Printer* no *Preacher*; I shall therefore wave such Discourses, and briefly, yet perspicuously, render a faithfull Account, why I undertook this Publication.

In the year 1625. the stroke of the Lords hand was heavy upon this City and Suburbs, which year was ever since called

# *To the Reader.*

*The Great Plague*: Now though thou haſt ſeen probably ſeveral Printed General Reports, given in by the *Pariſh Clerks* in that year; yet I am not able to Recover all the particular Weekly Bills thereof; the ſight of them hath been much deſired theſe times; but it is beyond my power, as yet, to anſwer mens expectations. That Poſterity may not any more be at ſuch a loſs, I reſolved to communicate unto the Nation, theſe ſubſequent leaves: In all humility beſeeching the Omnipotent, to conferr upon us, ſuch an *uniforme* and *cordial Repentance*, that every one of us may ſearch out the *Plague* of his own *Heart* and *Brain*, and *Purge our ſelves*, by His gratious aſſiſtance, *from all filthineſs of Fleſh and Spirit*; that ſo He may in the riches of His tender Compaſſion, return in favour to this ſinful City, and reſtore Health to our Habitations: That neither the Phyſitians of our Souls or Bodies, may hereafter in ſuch great numbers forſake us; and that neither my ſelf, or any other of my Profeſſion, may have occaſion, for the future, to Print ſuch *Dreadful lines*.

| | Bur. | Plag. | | Bur. | Plag. | | Bur. | Plag. |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| St ALban Woodstreet | | | St George Botolphlane | | | St Martin Ludgate | | |
| Alhallows Barking | 2 | | St Gregory by St Pauls | 2 | | St Martin Orgars | 2 | |
| Alhallows Breadstreet | 1 | | St Hellen | | | St Martin Outwitch | | |
| Alhallows Great | | | St James Dukes place | 1 | | St Martin Vintrey | 2 | |
| Alhallows Honylane | | | St James Garlickhithe | | | St Matthew Fridaystreet | | |
| Alhallows Lesse | 2 | | St John Baptist | 1 | | St Maudlin Milkstreet | | |
| Alhallows Lumbardstreet | 2 | | St John Evangelist | | | St Maudlin Oldfishstreet | 1 | |
| Alhallows Stayning | | | St John Zachary | | | St Michael Bassishaw | 1 | |
| Alhallows the Wall | | | St Katharine Coleman | | | St Michael Cornhil | 2 | |
| St Alphage | | | St Katharine Crechurch | | | St Michael Crookedlane | 1 | |
| St Andrew Hubbard | 1 | | St Lawrence Jewry | 1 | | St Michael Queenhithe | | |
| St Andrew Undershaft | 1 | | St Lawrence Pountney | | | St Michael Quern | | |
| St Andrew Wardrobe | 3 | | St Leonard Eastcheap | | | St Michael Royal | 1 | |
| St Ann Aldersgate | 1 | | St Leonard Fosterlane | | | St Michael Woodstreet | 2 | |
| St Ann Blackfryers | | | St Magnus Parish | 1 | | St Mildred Breadstreet | | |
| St Antholins Parish | | | St Margaret Lothbury | | | St Mildred Poultrey | 1 | |
| St Austins Parish | | | St Margaret Moses | | | St Nicholas Acons | | |
| St Bartholomew Exchange | | | St Margaret Newfishstre. | 1 | | St Nicholas Coleabby | 3 | |
| St Bennet Fynck | | | St Margaret Pattons | | | St Nicholas Olaves | 1 | |
| St Bennet Gracechurch | | | St Mary Abchurch | | | St Olave Hartstreet | | |
| St Bennet Paulswharf | 3 | | St Mary Aldermanbury | | | St Olave Jewry | | |
| St Bennet Sherehog | | | St Mary Aldermary | 1 | | St Olave Silverstreet | 2 | |
| St Botolph Billingsgate | | | St Mary le Bow | 1 | | St Pancras Soperlane | | |
| Christ Church | 2 | | St Mary Bothaw | | | St Peter Cheap | | |
| St Christophers | | | St Mary Colechurch | | | St Peter Cornhil | | |
| St Clement Eastcheap | | | St Mary Hill | | | St Peter Paulswharf | | |
| St Dionis Backchurch | 1 | | St Mary Mounthaw | | | St Peter Poor | 2 | |
| St Dunstan East | 1 | | St Mary Sommerset | | | St Steven Colemanstreet | 3 | |
| St Edmund Lumbardstr. | 1 | | St Mary Stayning | | | St Steven Walbrook | 1 | |
| St Ethelborough | 1 | | St Mary Woolchurch | 1 | | St Swithin | | |
| St Faith | | | St Mary Woolnoth | | | St Thomas Apostles | | |
| St Foster | 3 | | St Martin Iremongerlane | | | Trinity Parish | | |
| St Gabriel Fenchurch | | | | | | | | |

*Buried in the 97 Parishes within the Walls* — 60 *Plague* — 0

| | | | | | | | | |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| St Andrew Holborn | 19 | | St Botolph Aldgate | 12 | | Saviours Southwark | 8 | |
| St Bartholomew Great | 5 | | St Botolph Bishopsgate | 9 | | S Sepulchres Parish | 21 | |
| St Bartholomew Lesse | 2 | | St Dunstan West | 3 | | St Thomas Southwark | | |
| St Bridget | | | St George Southwark | 2 | | Trinity Minories | | |
| Bridewel Precinct | 1 | | St Giles Cripplegate | 27 | | At the Pesthouse | | |
| St Botolph Aldersgate | 2 | | St Olave Southwark | 14 | | | | |

*Buried in the 16 Parishes without the Walls, and at the Pesthouse* — 125 *Plague* — 0

| | | | | | | | | |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| St Giles in the fields | 14 | 1 | Lambeth Parish | 2 | | St Mary Islington | | |
| Hackney Parish | | | St Leonard Shoreditch | 9 | | St Mary Whitechappel | 8 | |
| St James Clerkenwel | 8 | | St Magdalen Bermondsey | 4 | | Rothorith Parish | | |
| St Kath. near the Tower | 4 | | St Mary Newington | | | Stepney Parish | 18 | |

*Buried in the 12 out Parishes in* Middlesex *and* Surrey — 67 *Plague* — 1

| | | | | | | | |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| St Clement Danes | 8 | | St Martin in the fields | 17 | | St Margaret Westminster | 14 |
| St Paul Covent Garden | | | St Mary Savoy | | | *Whereof at the* Pesthouse | |

*Buried in the 5 Parishes in the City and Liberties of* Westminster — 39 *Plague* — 0

# *The Diseases and Casualties this Week.*

| | |
|---|---|
| Abortive | 2 |
| Aged | 23 |
| Apoplexie | 2 |
| Canker | 1 |
| Childbed | 5 |
| Chrisomes | 6 |
| Consumption | 64 |
| Convulsion | 22 |
| Dropsie | 15 |
| Executed | 1 |
| Feaver | 29 |
| Flox and Small-pox | 23 |
| French-pox | 1 |
| Griping in the Guts | 21 |
| Headache | 1 |
| Head-mould-shot | 1 |
| Jaundies | 1 |
| Infants | 10 |
| Killed in a Crane at Alhallows Barking | 1 |
| Kingsevil | 1 |
| Overlaid | 1 |
| Palsie | 1 |
| Plague | 1 |
| Rickets | 7 |
| Rising of the Lights | 5 |
| Scurvy | 1 |
| Sore Brest | 1 |
| Spotted Feaver | 1 |
| Stilborn | 8 |
| Stone | 1 |
| Stopping of the stomach | 3 |
| Suddenly | 3 |
| Surfeit | 4 |
| Teeth | 17 |
| Thrush | 1 |
| Tissick | 3 |
| Winde | 1 |
| Wormes | 2 |

| | | | | | |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| Christned | Males | 116 | Buried | Males | 144 |
| | Females | 113 | | Females | 147 |
| | In all | 229 | | In all | 291 |

Plague — 1

Decreased in the Burials this Week — 24

Parishes clear of the Plague — 129 Parishes Infected — 1

*The Assize of Bread set forth by Order of the Lord Maior and Court of Aldermen,*

A penny Wheaten Loaf to contain Eleven Ounces, and three half-penny White Loaves the like weight.

| | Bur. | Plag. | | Bur. | Plag. | | Bur. | Plag. |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| St ALban Woodstreet | 2 | | St George Botolphlane | | | St Martin Ludgate | 2 | |
| Alhallows Barking | 1 | | St Gregory by St Pauls | 4 | | St Martin Orgars | | |
| Alhallows Breadstreet | | | St Hellen | | | St Martin Outwitch | | |
| Alhallows Great | 1 | | St James Dukes place | 1 | | St Martin Vintrey | | |
| Alhallows Honylane | | | St James Garlickhithe | 1 | | St Matthew Fridaystreet | | |
| Alhallows Lesse | | | St John Baptist | 1 | | St Maudlin Milkstreet | | |
| Alhallows Lumbardstreet | 1 | | St John Evangelist | | | St Maudlin Oldfishstreet | | |
| Alhallows Stayning | | | St John Zachary | 1 | | St Michael Bassishaw | | |
| Alhallows the Wall | | | St Katharine Coleman | | | St Michael Cornhil | | |
| St Alphage | | | St Katharine Crechurch | | | St Michael Crookedlane | | |
| St Andrew Hubbard | 1 | | St Lawrence Jewry | | | St Michael Queenhithe | | |
| St Andrew Undershaft | 2 | | St Lawrence Pountney | | | St Michael Quern | 1 | |
| St Andrew Wardrobe | 4 | | St Leonard Eastcheap | 1 | | St Michael Royal | | |
| St Ann Aldersgate | | | St Leonard Fosterlane | 1 | | St Michael Woodstreet | 2 | |
| St Ann Blackfryers | 4 | | St Magnus Parish | 3 | | St Mildred Breadstreet | | |
| St Antholins Parish | | | St Margaret Lothbury | 1 | | St Mildred Poultrey | | |
| St Austins Parish | | | St Margaret Moses | 1 | | St Nicholas Acons | | |
| St Bartholomew Exchange | | | St Margaret Newfishstre. | | | St Nicholas Coleabby | | |
| St Bennet Fynck | 2 | | St Margaret Pattons | | | St Nicholas Olaves | | |
| St Bennet Gracechurch | | | St Mary Abchurch | 1 | | St Olave Hartstreet | 2 | |
| St Bennet Paulswharf | 2 | | St Mary Aldermanbury | | | St Olave Jewry | | |
| St Bennet Sherehog | 1 | | St Mary Aldermary | 2 | | St Olave Silverstreet | 2 | |
| St Botolph Billingsgate | 2 | | St Mary le Bow | | | St Pancras Soperlane | | |
| Christ Church | 1 | | St Mary Bothaw | | | St Peter Cheap | | |
| St Christophers | | | St Mary Colechurch | | | St Peter Cornhil | | |
| St Clement Eastcheap | | | St Mary Hill | | | St Peter Paulswharf | | |
| St Dionis Backchurch | 1 | | St Mary Mounthaw | 1 | | St Peter Poor | 3 | |
| St Dunstan East | 3 | | St Mary Sommerset | 1 | | St Steven Colemanstreet | 2 | |
| St Edmund Lumbardstr. | | | St Mary Stayning | | | St Steven Walbrook | | |
| St Ethelborough | | | St Mary Woolchurch | | | St Swithin | | |
| St Faith | | | St Mary Woolnoth | | | St Thomas Apostles | | |
| St Foster | | | St Martin Iremongerlane | 1 | | Trinity Parish | 3 | |
| St Gabriel Fenchurch | | | | | | | | |

*Buried in the 97 Parishes within the Walls* — 66 *Plague* — 0

| | | | | | | | | |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| St Andrew Holborn | 17 | | St Botolph Aldgate | 17 | | Saviours Southwark | 10 | |
| St Bartholomew Great | | | St Botolph Bishopsgate | 10 | | S Sepulchres Parish | 17 | |
| St Bartholomew Lesse | 2 | | St Dunstan West | 7 | | St Thomas Southwark | 3 | |
| St Bridget | 6 | | St George Southwark | 3 | | Trinity Minories | | |
| Bridewel Precinct | | | St Giles Cripplegate | 23 | | At the Pesthouse | | |
| St Botolph Aldersgate | 6 | | St Olave Southwark | 15 | | | | |

*Buried in the 16 Parishes without the Walls, and at the Pesthouse* — 136 *Plague* — 0

| | | | | | | | | |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| St Giles in the fields | 16 | | Lambeth Parish | 4 | | St Mary Islington | | |
| Hackney Parish | 6 | | St Leonard Shoreditch | 5 | | St Mary Whitechappel | 17 | |
| St James Clerkenwel | 9 | | St Magdalen Bermondsey | 4 | | Rothorith Parish | | |
| St Kath. near the Tower | 1 | | St Mary Newington | 7 | | Stepney Parish | 33 | |

*Buried in the 12 out Parishes in* Middlesex *and* Surrey — 102 *Plague* — 0

| | | | | | | | | |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| St Clement Danes | 12 | | St Martin in the fields | 17 | | St Margaret Westminster | 14 | |
| St Paul Covent Garden | | | St Mary Savoy | 2 | | *Whereof at the Pesthouse* | | |

*Buried in the 5 Parishes in the City and Liberties of* Westminster — 45 *Plague* — 0

# *The Diseases and Casualties this Week.*

| | |
|---|---|
| Abortive | 4 |
| Aged | 21 |
| Childbed | 7 |
| Chrisomes | 12 |
| Consumption | 57 |
| Convulsion | 26 |
| Dropsie | 24 |
| Drowned 2, one at St Magdalen Bermondsey, and one at St. Clement Danes | 2 |
| Feaver | 33 |
| Flox and Small-pox | 38 |
| Flux | 1 |
| French-pox | 3 |
| Gangrene | 1 |
| Griping in the Guts | 17 |
| Imposthume | 1 |
| Infants | 13 |
| Kild two, one at St. Giles in the Fields, and one by a fall from a Mast at St. Mary VVhitechappel | 2 |
| Kingsevil | 1 |
| Measles | 1 |
| Overlaid | 1 |
| Palsie | 1 |
| Rickets | 9 |
| Rising of the Lights | 7 |
| Rupture | 1 |
| Scowring | 2 |
| Spotted Feaver | 5 |
| Stilborn | 8 |
| Stone | 3 |
| Stopping of the stomach | 5 |
| Suddenly | 3 |
| Surfeit | 5 |
| Teeth | 23 |
| Thrush | 1 |
| Timpany | 2 |
| Tissick | 5 |
| Ulcer | 1 |
| Winde | 3 |

| | | | | | |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| Christned | Males | 131 | Buried | Males | 183 |
| | Females | 108 | | Females | 166 |
| | In all | 239 | | In all | 349 |

Plague — 0

Increased in the Burials this Week — 58

Parishes clear of the Plague — 130 Parishes Infected — 0

*The Assize of Bread set forth by Order of the Lord Maior and Court of Aldermen;*

A penny Wheaten Loaf to contain Eleven Ounces, and three half-penny White Loaves the like weight.

| | Bur. | Plag. | | Bur. | Plag. | | Bur. | Plag. |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| St Alban Woodstreet | | | St George Botolphlane | | | St Martin Ludgate | 4 | |
| Alhallows Barking | 4 | | St Gregory by St Pauls | 2 | | St Martin Orgars | 1 | |
| Alhallows Breadstreet | | | St Hellen | 1 | | St Martin Outwitch | | |
| Alhallows Great | 1 | | St James Dukes place | 1 | | St Martin Vintrey | 2 | |
| Alhallows Honylane | | | St James Garlickhithe | 1 | | St Matthew Fridaystreet | 1 | |
| Alhallows Lesse | 3 | | St John Baptist | 1 | | St Maudlin Milkstreet | | |
| Alhallows Lumbardstreet | | | St John Evangelist | | | St Maudlin Oldfishstreet | 1 | |
| Alhallows Staining | 1 | | St John Zachary | | | St Michael Bassishaw | 2 | |
| Alhallows the Wall | 7 | | St Katharine Coleman | 1 | | St Michael Cornhil | 1 | |
| St Alphage | 3 | | St Katharine Crechurch | 1 | | St Michael Crookedlane | | |
| St Andrew Hubbard | 1 | | St Lawrence Jewry | 1 | | St Michael Queenhithe | 3 | |
| St Andrew Undershaft | 2 | | St Lawrence Pountney | 1 | | St Michael Quern | | |
| St Andrew Wardrobe | 3 | | St Leonard Eastcheap | | | St Michael Royal | | |
| St Ann Aldersgate | 1 | | St Leonard Fosterlane | 3 | | St Michael Woodstreet | 1 | |
| St Ann Blackfryers | 2 | | St Magnus Parish | | | St Mildred Breadstreet | | |
| St Antholins Parish | 1 | | St Margaret Lothbury | | | St Mildred Poultrey | 1 | |
| St Austins Parish | 2 | | St Margaret Moses | | | St Nicholas Acons | | |
| St Bartholomew Exchange | | | St Margaret Newfishstreet | | | St Nicholas Coleabby | | |
| St Bennet Fynck | | | St Margaret Pattons | | | St Nicholas Olaves | 1 | |
| St Bennet Gracechurch | | | St Mary Abchurch | 1 | | St Olave Hartstreet | 4 | |
| St Bennet Paulswharf | 4 | | St Mary Aldermanbury | 2 | | St Olave Jewry | | |
| St Bennet Sherehog | | | St Mary Aldermary | 1 | | St Olave Silverstreet | 3 | |
| St Botolph Billingsgate | | | St Mary le Bow | | | St Pancras Soperlane | 1 | |
| Christs Church | 5 | | St Mary Bothaw | | | St Peter Cheap | | |
| St Christophers | | | St Mary Colechurch | | | St Peter Cornhil | | |
| St Clement Eastcheap | | | St Mary Hill | | | St Peter Paulswharf | | |
| St Dionis Backchurch | | | St Mary Mounthaw | | | St Peter Poor | 1 | |
| St Dunstan East | 3 | | St Mary Sommerset | | | St Steven Colemanstreet | 2 | |
| St Edmund Lumbardstr. | 3 | | St Mary Stayning | | | St Steven Walbrook | | |
| St Ethelborough | | | St Mary Woolchurch | | | St Swithin | 1 | |
| St Faith | | | St Mary Woolnoth | | | St Thomas Apostle | 1 | |
| St Foster | | | St Martin Iremongerlane | | | Trinity Parish | | |
| St Gabriel Fenchurch | 1 | | | | | | | |

*Buried in the 97 Parishes within the Walls* — 95 *Plague* — 0

| | | | | | | | | |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| St Andrew Holborn | 25 | | St Botolph Aldgate | 13 | | Saviours Southwark | 12 | |
| St Bartholomew Great | | | St Botolph Bishopsgate | 10 | | S. Sepulchres Parish | 21 | |
| St Bartholomew Lesse | | | St Dunstan West | 5 | | St Thomas Southwark | | |
| St Bridget | 11 | | St George Southwark | 3 | | Trinity Minories | | |
| Bridewel Precinct | | | St Giles Cripplegate | 28 | | At the Pesthouse | | |
| St Botolph Aldersgate | 1 | | St Olave Southwark | 13 | | | | |

*Buried in the 16 Parishes without the Walls, and at the Pesthouse* — 142 *Plague* — 0

| | | | | | | | | |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| St Giles in the fields | 12 | | Lambeth Parish | 5 | | St Mary Islington | | |
| Hackney Parish | | | St Leonard Shoreditch | 8 | | St Mary Whitechappel | 13 | |
| St James Clerkenwel | 7 | | St Magdalen Bermondsey | 6 | | Rothorith Parish | | |
| St Kath. near the Tower | 6 | | St Mary Newington | 3 | | Stepney Parish | 40 | |

*Buried in the 12 out Parishes in* Middlesex *and* Surry — 100 *Plague* — 0

| | | | | | | | | |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| St Clement Danes | 8 | | St Martin in the fields | 24 | | St Margaret Westminster | 19 | |
| St Paul Covent Garden | 3 | | St Mary Savoy | 3 | | *whereof at the* Pesthouse | | |

*Buried in the 5 Parishes in the City and Liberties of* Westminster — 57 *Plague* — 0

# *The Diſeaſes and Caſualties this Week.*

| | |
|---|---|
| Abortive | 1 |
| Aged | 27 |
| Ague | 1 |
| Bloody flux | 1 |
| Childbed | 7 |
| Chriſomes | 7 |
| Conſumption | 82 |
| Convulſion | 24 |
| Cough | 4 |
| Dropſie | 31 |
| Drowned at St. Mary VWhite-chappel | 1 |
| Feaver | 46 |
| Flox and Small-pox | 28 |
| Flux | 4 |
| French-pox | 2 |
| Grief | 1 |
| Griping in the Guts | 22 |
| Impoſthume | 1 |
| Infants | 13 |
| Killed with a Cart at St. Giles Cripplegate | 1 |
| Kingſevil | 1 |
| Overlaid | 1 |
| Quinſie | 1 |
| Rickets | 7 |
| Riſing of the Lights | 5 |
| Sciatica | 1 |
| Scowring | 1 |
| Scurvy | 1 |
| Spotted Feaver | 4 |
| Stilborn | 13 |
| Stopping of the ſtomach | 4 |
| Strangury | 1 |
| Suddenly | 1 |
| Surfeit | 6 |
| Teeth | 27 |
| Tiſſick | 12 |
| Ulcer | 2 |
| Winde | 2 |

| | | | | | |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| Chriſtned | Males | 124 | Buried | Males | 203 |
| | Females | 111 | | Females | 191 |
| | In all | 235 | | In all | 394 |

Plague — 0

Increaſed in the Burials this Week — 45

Pariſhes clear of the Plague — 130 Pariſhes Infected — 0

*The Aſſize of Bread ſet forth by Order of the Lord Maior and Court of Aldermen,*
A penny Wheaten Loaf to contain Eleven Ounces, and three half-penny White Loaves the like weight.

| | Bur. | Plag. | | Bur. | Plag. | | Bur. | Plag. |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| St Alban Woodstreet | | | St George Botolphlane | | | St Martin Ludgate | 2 | |
| Alhallows Barking | 4 | | St Gregory by St Pauls | 2 | | St Martin Orgars | | |
| Alhallows Breadstreet | 1 | | St Hellen | | | St Martin Outwitch | | |
| Alhallows Great | 4 | | St James Dukes place | 2 | | St Martin Vintrey | | |
| Alhallows Honylane | | | St James Garlickhithe | | | St Matthew Fridaystreet | | |
| Alhallows Lesse | | | St John Baptist | | | St Maudlin Milkstreet | | |
| Alhallows Lumbardstreet | 2 | | St John Evangelist | | | St Maudlin Oldfishstreet | 1 | |
| Alhallows Staining | 2 | | St John Zachary | | | St Michael Bassishaw | 1 | |
| Alhallows the Wall | 3 | | St Katharine Coleman | 2 | | St Michael Cornhil | 2 | |
| St Alphage | | | St Katharine Crechurch | 2 | | St Michael Crookedlane | 1 | |
| St Andrew Hubbard | 1 | | St Lawrence Jewry | 1 | | St Michael Queenhithe | | |
| St Andrew Undershaft | 3 | | St Lawrence Pountney | | | St Michael Quern | 1 | |
| St Andrew Wardrobe | 4 | | St Leonard Eastcheap | | | St Michael Royal | | |
| St Ann Aldersgate | 1 | | St Leonard Fosterlane | 2 | | St Michael Woodstreet | 1 | |
| St Ann Blackfryers | 1 | | St Magnus Parish | 1 | | St Mildred Breadstreet | | |
| St Antholins Parish | 1 | | St Margaret Lothbury | 1 | | St Mildred Poultrey | | |
| St Austins Parish | | | St Margaret Moses | | | St Nicholas Acons | | |
| St Bartholomew Exchange | | | St Margaret Newfishstreet | | | St Nicholas Coleabby | | |
| St Bennet Fynck | 3 | | St Margaret Pattons | 1 | | St Nicholas Olaves | | |
| St Bennet Gracechurch | | | St Mary Abchurch | | | St Olave Hartstreet | | |
| St Bennet Paulswharf | 1 | | St Mary Aldermanbury | 2 | | St Olave Jewry | | |
| St Bennet Sherehog | | | St Mary Aldermary | 1 | | St Olave Silverstreet | | |
| St Botolph Billingsgate | | | St Mary le Bow | 1 | | St Pancras Soperlane | 2 | |
| Christs Church | 10 | | St Mary Bothaw | 1 | | St Peter Cheap | 1 | |
| St Christophers | | | St Mary Colechurch | | | St Peter Cornhil | 2 | |
| St Clement Eastcheap | 1 | | St Mary Hill | | | St Peter Paulswharf | | |
| St Dionis Backchurch | | | St Mary Mounthaw | 1 | | St Peter Poor | 1 | |
| St Dunstan East | | | St Mary Sommerset | 3 | | St Steven Colemanstreet | 3 | |
| St Edmund Lumbardstr. | | | St Mary Stayning | | | St Steven Walbrook | | |
| St Ethelborough | | | St Mary Woolchurch | | | St Swithin | 1 | |
| St Faith | | | St Mary Woolnoth | | | St Thomas Apostle | 1 | |
| St Foster | 1 | | St Martin Iremongerlane | | | Trinity Parish | 3 | |
| St Gabriel Fenchurch | 1 | | | | | | | |

*Buried in the 97 Parishes within the Walls* — 90 *Plague* — 0

| | | | | | | | |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| St Andrew Holborn | 18 | St Botolph Aldgate | 17 | Saviours Southwark | 15 |
| St Bartholomew Great | 1 | St Botolph Bishopsgate | 7 | S. Sepulchres Parish | 16 |
| St Bartholomew Lesse | 1 | St Dunstan West | 8 | St Thomas Southwark | |
| St Bridget | 12 | St George Southwark | 2 | Trinity Minories | 1 |
| Bridewel Precinct | 1 | St Giles Cripplegate | 34 | At the Pesthouse | |
| St Botolph Aldersgate | 1 | St Olave Southwark | 20 | | |

*Buried in the 16 Parishes without the Walls, and at the Pesthouse* — 154 *Plague* — 0

| | | | | | |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| St Giles in the fields | 18 | Lambeth Parish | 4 | St Mary Islington | 2 |
| Hackney Parish | 3 | St Leonard Shoreditch | 5 | St Mary Whitechappel | 20 |
| St James Clerkenwel | 9 | St Magdalen Bermondsey | 5 | Rotherith Parish | |
| St Kath. near the Tower | 3 | St Mary, Newington | 6 | Stepney Parish | 38 |

*Buried in the 12 out Parishes in* Middlesex *and* Surry — 113 *Plague* — 0

| | | | | | |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| St Clement Danes | 9 | St Martin in the fields | 24 | St Margaret Westminster | 18 |
| St Paul Covent Garden | 3 | St Mary Savoy | 4 | *whereof at the* Pesthouse | |

*Buried in the 5 Parishes in the City and Liberties of* Westminster — 58 *Plague* — 0

# *The Diseases and Casualties this Week.*

| | |
|---|---|
| Abortive | 6 |
| Aged | 39 |
| Ague | 2 |
| Apoplexie | 1 |
| Bruised | 1 |
| Cancer | 1 |
| Childbed | 8 |
| Chrisomes | 8 |
| Consumption | 80 |
| Convulsion | 31 |
| Cough | 1 |
| Distracted | 1 |
| Dropsie | 27 |
| Feaver | 33 |
| Flox and Small-pox | 17 |
| Flux | 2 |
| French-pox | 2 |
| Gowt | 2 |
| Grief | 1 |
| Griping in the Guts | 15 |
| Jaundies | 2 |
| Imposthume | 2 |
| Infants | 19 |
| Kild with a Cart at St. Bridgets | 1 |
| Kingsevil | 1 |
| Meagrome | 1 |
| Plurisie | 1 |
| Rickets | 11 |
| Rising of the Lights | 9 |
| Scurvy | 2 |
| Sore legge | 1 |
| Spotted Feaver | 1 |
| Stilborn | 11 |
| Stopping of the stomach | 14 |
| Suddenly | 4 |
| Surfeit | 3 |
| Teeth | 27 |
| Thrush | 3 |
| Tissick | 15 |
| Ulcer | 2 |
| Winde | 5 |
| Wormes | 2 |

| | | | | | |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| Christned | Males | 108 | Buried | Males | 221 |
| | Females | 115 | | Females | 194 |
| | In all | 223 | | In all | 415 |

Plague — 0

Increased in the Burials this Week — 21

Parishes clear of the Plague — 130 Parishes Infected — 0

*The Assize of Bread set forth by Order of the Lord Maior and Court of Aldermen,*
A penny Wheaten Loaf to contain Eleven Ounces, and three half-penny White Loaves the like weight.

| | Bur | Pl. | | Bur | Pl. | | Bur |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| St Albans Woodstreet | | | St George Botolphlane | | | St Martins Ludgate | 2 |
| Alhallows Barking | 2 | | St Gregories by St Pauls | 5 | | St Martins Orgars | |
| Alhallows Breadstreet | 1 | | St Hellins | 1 | | St Martins Outwitch | 2 |
| Alhallows Great | 3 | | St James Dukes place | | | St Martins Vintrey | 2 |
| Alhallows Honylane | | | St James Garlickhithe | | | St Mathew Fridaystreet | 1 |
| Alhallows Lesse | 1 | | St John Baptist | 1 | | St Maudlins Milkstreet | |
| Alhallows Lumbardstr | | | St John Evangelist | 1 | | St Maudlins Oldfish. | 1 |
| Alhallows Stayning | | | St John Zachary | | | St Michael Bassishaw | 2 |
| Alhallows the Wall | 1 | | St Katharine Coleman | 3 | | St Michael Cornhil | |
| St Alphage | 2 | | St Katharine crechurch | 4 | | St Michael Crookedla. | 1 |
| St Andrew Hubbard | | | St Lawrence Jewry | | | St Michael Queenhithe | |
| St Andrew Undershaft | | | St Lawrence Pountney | 1 | | St Michael Quern | 2 |
| St Andrew Wardrobe | 1 | | St Leonard Eastcheap | | | St Michael Royall | 1 |
| St Ann Aldersgate | | | St Leonard Fosterlane | 1 | | St Michael Woodstreet | |
| St Ann Blackfryers | 5 | | St Magnus Parish | | | St Mildred Breadstreet | 3 |
| St Antholins Parish | | | St Margaret Lothbury | 4 | | St Mildred Poultrey | 1 |
| St Austins Parish | 1 | | St Margaret Moses | | | St Nicholas Acons | 1 |
| St Bartholomew Exch. | | | St Margaret Newfish. | | | St Nicholas Coleabby | 1 |
| St Bennet Fynck | | | St Margaret Pattons | | | St Nicholas Olaves | 2 |
| St Bennet Gracechurch | 1 | | St Mary Abchurch | | | St Olaves Hartstreet | 6 |
| St Bennet Paulswharf | 2 | | St Mary Aldermanbury | 2 | | St Olaves Jewry | 2 |
| St Bennet Sherehog | | | St Mary Aldermary | | | St Olaves Silverstreet | 1 |
| St Botolph Billingsgate | 1 | | St Mary le Bow | | | St Pancras Soperlane | |
| Christs Church | 2 | | St Mary Bothaw | 1 | | St Peters Cheap | 2 |
| St Christophers | | | St Mary Colechurch | | | St Peters Cornhil | |
| St Clement Eastcheap | | | St Mary Hill | 1 | | St Peters Paulswharf | 1 |
| St Dionis Backchurch | 1 | | St Mary Mounthaw | 1 | | St Peters Poor | |
| St Dunstans East | 3 | | St Mary Sommerset | 3 | | St Stevens Colemanstr. | 6 |
| St Edm. Lombardstreet | 2 | | St Mary Staynings | 1 | | St Stevens Walbrook | 1 |
| St Ethelbourgh | | | St Mary Woolchurch | 2 | | St Swithins | |
| St Faiths | | | St Mary Wolnoth | 1 | | St Thomas Apostle | |
| St Fosters | | | St Martins Iremongerl. | | | Trinity Parish | 1 |
| St Gabriel Fenchurch | | | | | | | |

*Buried in the 97 Parishes within the Walls* — 104 *Plague* — 0

| | | | | | | | |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| St Andrews Holborn | 16 | | St Botolph Aldgate | 19 | | St Saviours Southwark | 20 |
| St Bartholomew Great | 1 | | St Botolph Bishopsgate | 14 | | St Sepulchres Parish | 24 |
| St Bartholomew Lesse | 2 | | St Dunstans West | 7 | | St Thomas Southwark | |
| St Brides Parish | 9 | | St George Southwark | 6 | | Trinity Minories | |
| Bridewel Precinct | 1 | | St Giles Cripplegate | 32 | | At the Pesthouse | |
| St Botolph Aldersgate | 9 | | St Olaves Southwark | 24 | | | |

*Buried in the 16 Parishes without the Walls, and at the Pesthouse* — 184 *Plague* — 0

| | | | | | | | |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| St Giles in the fields | 23 | | Lambeth Parish | 4 | | St Mary Islington | |
| Hackney Parish | 1 | | St Leonard Shoreditch | 12 | | St Mary Whitechappel | 7 |
| St James Clerkenwel | 15 | | St Magdalen Bermond. | 5 | | Redrift Parish | |
| St Kath. neer the Tower | 2 | | St Mary Newington | 7 | | Stepney Parish | 42 |

*Buried in the 12 out Parishes in* Middlesex *and* Surry — 118 *Plague* — 0

| | | | | | | | |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| St Clement Danes | 17 | | St Martins in the fields | 34 | | St Margaret Westminst. | 15 |
| St Paul Covent Garden | 2 | | St Mary Savoy | | | *whereof at the Pesthouse* | |

*Buried in the 5 Parishes in the City and Liberties of* Westminster — 68 *Plague* — 0

# The Diseases and Casualties this Week.

| | |
|---|---|
| Abortive | 5 |
| Aged | 44 |
| Apoplexie | 1 |
| Bedridden | 3 |
| Bleeding | 1 |
| Childbed | 9 |
| Chrisoms | 17 |
| Cold | 2 |
| Collick | 1 |
| Consumption | 96 |
| Convulsion | 36 |
| Cough | 4 |
| Dropsie | 39 |
| Feaver | 35 |
| Fistula | 2 |
| Flox and Small-pox | 29 |
| Flux | 3 |
| French-pox | 2 |
| Griping in the Guts | 15 |
| Jaundies | 2 |
| Impostbume | 2 |
| Infants | 16 |
| Kingsevill | 1 |
| Rickets | 8 |
| Rising of the Lights | 5 |
| Scowring | 2 |
| Scurvy | 1 |
| Spleen | 1 |
| Spotted Feaver | 1 |
| Starved her self at St. Leonards Fosterlane | 1 |
| Stilborn | 15 |
| Stopping of the Stomach | 10 |
| Strangury | 1 |
| Suddenly | 4 |
| Surfeit | 13 |
| Teeth | 19 |
| Timpany | 1 |
| Tissick | 21 |
| Winde | 4 |
| Wormes | 2 |

| | | | | | |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| Christned | Males | 121 | Buried | Males | 241 |
| | Females | 116 | | Females | 233 |
| | In all | 237 | | In all | 474 |

Plague 0

Increased in the Burials this Week — 59

Parishes clear of the Plague — 130 Parishes Infected — 0

*The Assize of Bread set forth by Order of the Lord Maior and Court of Aldermen;*

A penny Wheaten Loaf to contain Eleven Ounces and a half, and three half-penny White Loaves the like weight.

| | Bur | Pl. | | Bur | Pl. | | Bur | P |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| St Albans Woodstreet | | | St George Botolphlane | | | St Martins Ludgate— | | |
| Alhallows Barking | 5 | | St Gregories by St Pauls | 8 | | St Martins Orgars— | | |
| Alhallows Breadstreet- | 1 | | St Hellins——— | 3 | | St Martins Outwitch— | 1 | |
| Alhallows Great——— | 1 | | St James Dukes place— | 1 | | St Martins Vintrey— | | |
| Alhallows Honylane— | | | St James Garlickhithe | 1 | | St Mathew Fridaystreet | | |
| Alhallows Lesse——— | 3 | | St John Baptist——— | | | St Maudlins Milkstreet | | |
| Alhallows Lumbardstr. | 2 | | St John Evangelist——— | 1 | | St Maudlins Oldfish. | 1 | |
| Alhallows Stayning-— | | | St John Zachary——— | | | St Michael Bassishaw— | | |
| Alhallows the Wall— | 3 | | St Katharine Coleman- | 2 | | St Michael Cornhil— | 1 | |
| St Alphage ——— | 1 | | St Katharine crechurch | 2 | | St Michael Crookedla. | 1 | |
| St Andrew Hubbard— | 1 | | St Lawrence Jewry——— | 1 | | St Michael Queenhithe | | |
| St Andrew Undershaft- | | | St Lawrence Pountney- | 1 | | St Michael Quern——— | | |
| St Andrew Wardrobe— | 2 | | St Leonard Eastcheap- | 1 | | St Michael Royall——— | 1 | |
| St Ann Aldersgate ——— | 3 | | St Leonard Fosterlane- | 2 | | St Michael Woodstreet | 1 | |
| St Ann Blackfryers——— | 2 | | St Magnus Parish——— | | | St Mildred Breadstreet | 1 | |
| St Antholins Parish —— | 1 | | St Margaret Lothbury | 2 | | St Mildred Poultrey— | | |
| St Austins Parish——— | 1 | | St Margaret Moses——— | 1 | | St Nicholas Acons——— | | |
| St Bartholomew Exch. | 1 | | St Margaret Newfish. | 1 | | St Nicholas Coleabby- | | |
| St Bennet Fynck——— | | | St Margaret Pattons— | | | St Nicholas Olaves— | 1 | |
| St Bennet Gracechurch | | | St Mary Abchurch——— | 1 | | St Olaves Hartstreet— | | |
| St Bennet Paulswharf— | 2 | | St Mary Aldermanbury | | | St Olaves Jewry——— | | |
| St Bennet Sherehog —— | 2 | | St Mary Aldermary —— | | | St Olaves Silverstreet- | 1 | |
| St Botolph Billingsgate | | | St Mary le Bow——— | 1 | | St Pancras Soperlane— | | |
| Christs Church——— | 3 | | St Mary Bothaw——— | 1 | | St Peters Cheap——— | 1 | |
| St Christophers——— | | | St Mary Colechurch— | | | St Peters Cornhil——— | | |
| St Clement Eastcheap- | | | St Mary Hill——— | | | St Peters Paulswharf— | | |
| St Dionis Backchurch | | | St Mary Mounthaw——— | 1 | | St Peters Poor——— | 3 | |
| St Dunstans East——— | 1 | | St Mary Sommerset— | | | St Stevens Colemanstr. | 5 | |
| St Edm. Lumbardstreet | | | St Mary Staynings——— | | | St Stevens Walbrook— | 1 | |
| St Ethelbourgh——— | 1 | | St Mary Woolchurch- | | | St Swithins——— | | |
| St Faiths——— | | | St Mary Wolnoth——— | | | St Thomas Apostle——— | 1 | |
| St Fosters——— | 1 | | St Martins Iremongerl. | | | Trinity Parish——— | | |
| St Gabriel Fenchurch | | | | | | | | |

*Buried in the 97 Parishes within the Walls*—— 88 *Plague*——— 0

| | | | | | | | |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| St Andrews Holborn—— | 15 | St Botolph Aldgate——— | 12 | St Saviours Southwark | 18 | | |
| St Bartholomew Great | 3 | St Botolph Bishopsgate | 10 | St Sepulchres Parish— | 25 | | |
| St Bartholomew Lesse- | | St Dunstans West——— | 6 | St Thomas Southwark- | | | |
| St Brides Parish——— | 8 | St George Southwark- | 6 | Trinity Minories——— | | | |
| Bridewel Precinct——— | 2 | St Giles Cripplegate— | 23 | At the Pesthouse——— | | | |
| St Botolph Aldersgate | 3 | St Olaves Southwark— | 12 | | | | |

*Buried in the 16 Parishes without the Walls, and at the Pesthouse*—143 *Plague*—0

| | | | | | |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| St Giles in the fields— | 24 | Lambeth Parish——— | 7 | St Mary Islington— | |
| Hackney Parish——— | 2 | St Leonard Shoreditch | 12 | St Mary Whitechappel | 11 |
| St James Clerkenwel— | 12 | St Magdalen Bermond. | 7 | Redrif Parish——— | |
| St Kath. neer the Tower | 1 | St Mary Newington— | 4 | Stepney Parish ——— | 35 |

*Buried in the 12 out Parishes in* Middlesex *and* Surry—115 *Plague*——0

| | | | | | |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| St Clement Danes——— | 8 | St Martins in the fields | 24 | St Margaret Westminst. | 30 |
| St Paul Covent Garden | 1 | St Mary Savoy——— | | *whereof at the* Pesthouse | — |

*Buried in the 5 Parishes in the City and Liberties of* Westminster—63 *Plague*—0

# *The Diseases and Casualties this Week.*

| | |
|---|---|
| Abortive | 2 |
| Aged | 36 |
| Bedridden | 1 |
| Bloody flux | 1 |
| Bruised | 1 |
| Cancer | 1 |
| Childbed | 3 |
| Chrisoms | 19 |
| Consumption | 77 |
| Convulsion | 44 |
| Cough | 2 |
| Dropsie | 29 |
| Executed | 1 |
| Feaver | 33 |
| Flox and Small-pox | 20 |
| Flux | 5 |
| Found dead in the Street (an Infant at St. Bennet Pauls-wharf | 1 |
| French-pox | 1 |
| Griping in the Guts | 13 |
| Jaundies | 2 |
| Impostbume | 3 |
| Infants | 18 |
| Kild with a Fall at St. Giles Cripplegate | 1 |
| Kingsevill | 2 |
| Murthered at St. Martins in the Fields | 1 |
| Overlaid | 2 |
| Quinsie | 1 |
| Rickets | 8 |
| Rising of the Lights | 8 |
| Scowring | 1 |
| Scurvy | 2 |
| Stilborn | 9 |
| Stone | 1 |
| Stopping of the Stomach | 3 |
| Suddenly | 6 |
| Surfeit | 9 |
| Teeth | 16 |
| Thrush | 2 |
| Tissick | 18 |
| Ulcer | 1 |
| Vomiting | 1 |
| Winde | 3 |
| Wormes | 1 |

| | | | | | |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| Christned | Males | 107 | Buried | Males | 213 |
| | Females | 109 | | Females | 196 |
| | In all | 216 | | In all | 409 |

Plague 0

Decreased in the Burials this Week — 65

Parishes clear of the Plague — 130 Parishes Infected — 0

*The Assize of Bread set forth by Order of the Lord Maior and Court of Aldermen,*

A penny Wheaten Loaf to contain Eleven Ounces and a half, and three half-penny White Loaves the like weight.

| | Bur | Pl. | | Bur | Pl. | | Bur | Pl. |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| St ALbans Woodstreet | | | St George Botelphlane | 1 | | St Martins Ludgate— | | |
| Alhallows Barking | 4 | | St Gregories by St Pauls | 3 | | St Martins Orgars— | 1 | |
| Alhallows Breadstreet— | 1 | | St Hellens— | | | St Martins Outwitch— | | |
| Alhallows Great— | | | St James Dukes place— | 2 | | St Martins Vintrey— | | |
| Alhallows Honylane— | | | St James Garlickhithe— | 2 | | St Mathew Fridaystreet | | |
| Alhallows Lesse— | 3 | | St John Baptist— | | | St Maudlins Milkstreet | | |
| Alhallows Lumbardstr. | | | St John Evangelist— | | | St Maudlins Oldfishstr. | | |
| Alhallows Stayning— | | | St John Zachary— | | | St Michael Bassishaw— | 1 | |
| Alhallows the Wall— | 3 | | St Katharine Coleman— | 1 | | St Michael Cornhil— | | |
| St Alphage— | 3 | | St Katharine creechurch | | | St Michael Crookedla. | 2 | |
| St Andrew Hubbard— | 1 | | St Lawrence Jewry— | | | St Michael Queenhithe | 1 | |
| St Andrew Undershaft— | | | St Lawrence Pountney— | 1 | | St Michael Quern— | 1 | |
| St Andrew Wardrobe— | 2 | | St Leonard Eastcheap— | | | St Michael Royall— | | |
| St Ann Aldersgate— | 2 | | St Leonard Fosterlane— | 4 | | St Michael Woodstreet | | |
| St Ann Blackfryers— | 2 | | St Magnus Parish— | | | St Mildred Breadstreet | 1 | |
| St Antholins Parish— | | | St Margaret Lothbury— | 1 | | St Mildred Poultrey— | | |
| St Austins Parish— | 1 | | St Margaret Moses— | | | St Nicholas Acons— | | |
| St Bartholomew Excha. | | | St Margaret Newfishst | 1 | | St Nicholas Coleabby— | 2 | |
| St Bennet Fynck— | | | St Margaret Pattons— | | | St Nicholas Olaves— | 1 | |
| St Bennet Gracechurch | | | St Mary Abchurch— | 1 | | St Olaves Hartstreet— | 3 | |
| St Bennet Paulswharfe— | 3 | | St Mary Aldermanbury | | | St Olaves Jewry— | | |
| St Bennet Sherehog— | | | St Mary Aldermary — | | | St Olaves Silverstreet— | 4 | |
| St Botolph Billingsgate | 2 | | St Mary le Bow— | 1 | | St Pancras Soperlane— | | |
| Christ Church— | 1 | | St Mary Bothaw— | 1 | | St Peters Cheap— | 1 | |
| St Christophers— | | | St Mary Colechurch— | | | St Peters Cornhil— | 3 | |
| St Clement Eastcheap— | | | St Mary Hill— | 1 | | St Peters Paulswharf— | | |
| St Dionis Backchurch— | 2 | | St Mary Mounthaw — | | | St Peters Poor— | | |
| St Dunstans East— | 3 | | St Mary Sommerset— | 2 | | St Stevens Colemanstr. | 2 | |
| St Edm. Lumbardstreet | | | St Mary Staynings— | | | St Stevens Walbrook— | | |
| St Ethelborough— | | | St Mary Woolchurch— | | | St Swithins— | | |
| St Faiths— | 1 | | St Mary Woolnoth— | | | St Thomas Apostles— | | |
| St Fosters— | | | St Martins Ironmongerl. | | | Trinity Parish— | 1 | |
| St Gabriel Fenchurch— | | | | | | | | |

*Buried in the* 97 *Parishes within the Walls* — 80 *Plague*—0

| | | | | | | | | |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| St Andrews Holborne— | 23 | | St Botolph Aldgate— | 14 | | St Saviours Southwark | 10 | |
| St Bartholomew Great | 5 | | St Botolph Bishopsgate | 9 | | St Sepulchres Parish— | 20 | |
| St Bartholomew Lesse— | 2 | | St Dunstans West — | 6 | | St Thomas Southwark— | 1 | |
| St Brides Parish— | 13 | | St George Southwark— | 9 | | Trinity Minories— | | |
| Bridewel Precinct— | | | St Giles Cripplegate— | 21 | | At the Pesthouse— | | |
| St Botolph Aldersgate— | 4 | | St Olaves Southwark— | 13 | | | | |

*Buried in the* 16 *Parishes without the Walls, and at the Pesthouse*—150 *Plague*—0

| | | | | | | | | |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| St Giles in the fields— | 21 | | Lambeth Parish— | 1 | | St Mary Islington— | | |
| Hackney Parish— | 1 | | St Leonard Shoreditch | 10 | | St Mary Whitechappel | 13 | |
| St James Clerkenwel— | 5 | | St Magdalen Bermond. | 4 | | Redriff Parish— | | |
| St Kath. neer the Tower | 2 | | St Mary Newington — | 5 | | Stepney Parish— | 37 | |

*Buried in the* 12 *out Parishes in* Middlesex *and* Surry— 99 *Plague*—0

| | | | | | | | | |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| St Clement Danes— | 10 | | St Martins in the fields | 30 | | St Margaret Westminst. | 18 | |
| St Paul Covent Garden | 3 | | St Mary Savoy— | 3 | | *whereof at the Pesthouse* | | |

*Buried in the* 5 *Parishes in the City and Liberties of* Westminster—64 *Plague*—0

# *The Diseases and Casualties this Week.*

| | |
|---|---|
| Abortive | 3 |
| Aged | 31 |
| Canker | 1 |
| Chilbed | 3 |
| Chrisoms | 12 |
| Consumption | 67 |
| Convulsion | 35 |
| Cough | 5 |
| Dropsie | 32 |
| Feaver | 39 |
| Flox and Small-pox | 18 |
| Flux | 2 |
| French-pox | 3 |
| Gangrene | 1 |
| Gowt | 1 |
| Griping in the Guts | 17 |
| Jaundies | 3 |
| Kild 2, one aboard a Ship, with a Capsten Barr, at St. Katherins Tower, and one with a fall of a House at St. Mary Whitechappel | 2 |
| Imposthume | 6 |
| Infants | 9 |
| Kingsevill | 1 |
| Overlaid | 2 |
| Palsie | 1 |
| Poysoned her self at St. Anne Blackfryers | 1 |
| Rickets | 12 |
| Rising of the Lights | 13 |
| Scurvy | 1 |
| Sore legge | 1 |
| Spotted Feaver | 3 |
| Stilborn | 8 |
| Stopping of the stomach | 11 |
| Surfeit | 7 |
| Teeth | 24 |
| Thrush | 1 |
| Timpany | 3 |
| Tissick | 9 |
| Winde | 2 |
| Wormes | 3 |

| | | | | | |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| Christned | Males | 103 | Buried | Males | 198 |
| | Females | 118 | | Females | 195 |
| | In all | 221 | | In all | 393 |

Plague — 0

Decreased in the Burials this Week — 16

Parishes clear of the Plague — 130 Parishes Infected — 0

*The Assize of Bread set forth by Order of the Lord Maior and Court of Aldermen,*
A penny Wheaten Loaf to contain Eleven Ounces and a half, and three half-penny White Loaves the like weight.

| | Bur. | Pl. |
|---|---|---|
| St Albans Woodstreet | | |
| Alhallows Barking | 3 | |
| Alhallows Breadstreet | | |
| Alhallows Great | 2 | |
| Alhallows Honylane | | |
| Alhallows Lesse | 1 | |
| Alhallows Lumbardstr. | | |
| Alhallows Stayning | 1 | |
| Alhallows the Wall | 1 | |
| St Alphage | 2 | |
| St Andrew Hubbard | | |
| St Andrew Undershaft | | |
| St Andrew Wardrobe | 2 | |
| St Ann Aldersgate | 1 | |
| St Ann Blackfryers | 2 | |
| St Antholins Parish | 2 | |
| St Austins Parish | | |
| St Bartholomew Excha | | |
| St Bennet Fynck | | |
| St Bennet Gracechurch | | |
| St Bennet Paulswharfe | | |
| St Bennet Sherehog | | |
| St Botolph Billingsgate | | |
| Christ Church | 6 | |
| St Christophers | | |
| St Clement Eastcheap | | |
| St Dionis Backchurch | | |
| St Dunstans East | 3 | |
| St Edm. Lumbardstreet | | |
| St Ethelborough | | |
| St Faiths | | |
| St Fosters | 1 | |
| St Gabriel Fenchurch | | |

| | Bur. | Pl. |
|---|---|---|
| St George Botolphlane | | |
| St Gregories by St Pauls | 2 | |
| St Hellens | | |
| St James Dukes place | 1 | |
| St James Garlickhithe | 1 | |
| St John Baptist | 2 | |
| St John Evangelist | | |
| St John Zachary | 4 | |
| St Katharine Coleman | 1 | |
| St Katharine creechurch | 1 | |
| St Lawrence Jewry | | |
| St Lawrence Pountney | 3 | |
| St Leonard Eastcheap | | |
| St Leonard Fosterlane | | |
| St Magnus Parish | | |
| St Margaret Lothbury | 1 | |
| St Margaret Moses | | |
| St Margaret Newfish | 1 | |
| St Margaret Pattens | | |
| St Mary Abchurch | | |
| St Mary Aldermanbury | 2 | |
| St Mary Aldermary | | |
| St Mary le Bow | 1 | |
| St Mary Bothaw | | |
| St Mary Colechurch | | |
| St Mary Hill | 1 | |
| St Mary Mounthaw | | |
| St Mary Sommerset | 1 | |
| St Mary Staynings | | |
| St Mary Woolchurch | 2 | |
| St Mary Woolnoth | | |
| St Martins Iremonger | | |

| | Bur. | Pl. |
|---|---|---|
| St Martins Ludgate | 1 | |
| St Martins Orgars | | |
| St Martins Outwitch | | |
| St Martins Vintrey | 2 | |
| St Mathew Fridaystreet | | |
| St Maudlins Milkstreet | | |
| St Maudlins Oldfishstr. | 1 | |
| St Michael Bassishaw | 2 | |
| St Michael Cornhil | 3 | |
| St Michael Crookedla. | 1 | |
| St Michael Queenhithe | 2 | |
| St Michael Quern | 1 | |
| St Michael Royall | 2 | |
| St Michael Woodstreet | 2 | |
| St Mildred Breadstreet | 1 | |
| St Mildred Poultrey | | |
| St Nicholas Acons | 1 | |
| St Nicholas Coleabby | 1 | |
| St Nicholas Olaves | | |
| St Olaves Hartstreet | 3 | |
| St Olaves Jewry | | |
| St Olaves Silverstreet | 1 | |
| St Pancras Soperlane | | |
| St Peters Cheap | 1 | |
| St Peters Cornhil | 1 | |
| St Peters Paulswharf | | |
| St Peters Poor | 1 | |
| St Stevens Colemanstr. | 4 | |
| St Stevens Walbrook | | |
| St Swithins | 2 | |
| St Thomas Apostles | | |
| Trinity Parish | 1 | |

*Buried in the 97 Parishes within the Walls* —— 85 *Plague* — 0

| | | | | | |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| St Andrews Holborne | 13 | St Botolph Aldgate | 23 | St Saviours Southwark | 12 |
| St Bartholomew Great | 4 | St Botolph Bishopsgate | 15 | St Sepulchres Parish | 23 |
| St Bartholomew Lesse | 2 | St Dunstans West | 10 | St Thomas Southwark | 1 |
| St Brides Parish | 12 | St George Southwark | 5 | Trinity Minories | 1 |
| Bridewel Precinct | 1 | St Giles Cripplegate | 32 | At the Pesthouse | |
| St Botolph Aldersgate | 5 | St Olaves Southwark | 21 | | |

*Buried in the 16 Parishes without the Walls, and at the Pesthouse* — 180 *Plague* — 0

| | | | | | | | |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| St Giles in the fields | 24 | 1 | Lambeth Parish | 7 | St Mary Islington | | |
| Hackney Parish | | | St Leonard Shoreditch | 14 | St Mary Whitechappel | 11 | |
| St James Clerkenwel | 6 | | St Magdalen Bermond. | 5 | Redrift Parish | | |
| St Kath. neer the Tower | 3 | | St Mary Newington | 7 | Stepney Parish | 44 | |

*Buried in the 12 out Parishes in* Middlesex *and* Surry — 121 *Plague* — 1

| | | | | | |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| St Clement Danes | 9 | St Martins in the fields | 33 | St Margaret Westminst. | 27 |
| St Paul Covent Garden | 6 | St Mary Savoy | 1 | *Whereof at the Pesthouse* | — |

*Buried in the 5 Parishes in the City and Liberties of* Westminster — 76 *Plague* — 0

# *The Diseases and Casualties this Week.*

| | |
|---|---|
| Abortive | 2 |
| Aged | 38 |
| Apoplexie | 1 |
| Cancer | 1 |
| Canker | 1 |
| Chilbed | 6 |
| Chrisoms | 15 |
| Consumption | 89 |
| Convulsion | 43 |
| Cough | 1 |
| Dropsie | 44 |
| Drowned at Lambeth | 3 |
| Feaver | 35 |
| Flox and Small-pox | 30 |
| Flux | 2 |
| French-pox | 3 |
| Gowt | 3 |
| Grief | 1 |
| Griping in the Guts | 14 |
| Jaundies | 1 |
| Imposthume | 1 |
| Infants | 15 |
| Lethargy | 1 |
| Overlaid | 1 |
| Kild 3, one at St. Margaret Westminster, and one in a Brewers Malt-mill, at St. Martin Vintery, and one by a fall from a Ladder at St. Giles in the Fields | 3 |
| Plague | 1 |
| Rickets | 6 |
| Rising of the Lights | 6 |
| Rupture | 1 |
| Scowring | 3 |
| Spotted Feaver | 4 |
| Stilborn | 11 |
| Stone | 1 |
| Stopping of the stomach | 15 |
| Suddenly | 1 |
| Surfeit | 6 |
| Teeth | 22 |
| Thrush | 3 |
| Timpany | 2 |
| Tissick | 16 |
| Ulcer | 3 |
| Winde | 3 |
| Wormes | 4 |

| | | | | | |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| Christned | Males | 113 | Buried | Males | 239 |
| | Females | 111 | | Females | 223 |
| | In all | 224 | | In all | 462 |

Plague — 1

Increased in the Burials this Week — 69

Parishes clear of the Plague — 129 Parishes Infected — 1

*The Assize of Bread set forth by Order of the Lord Maior and Court of Aldermen,*
A penny Wheaten Loaf to contain Eleven Ounces and a half, and three half-penny White Loaves the like weight.

| | Bur | Pl. | | Bur | Pl. | | Bur | Pl. |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| St Albans Woodstreet | 3 | | St George Botolphlane | | | St Martins Ludgate | 1 | |
| Alhallows Barking | 4 | | St Gregories by St Pauls | | | St Martins Orgars | | |
| Alhallows Breadstreet | 1 | | St Hellins | 1 | | St Martins Outwich | | |
| Alhallows Great | 3 | | St James Dukes place | | | St Martins Vintrey | | |
| Alhallows Honylane | | | St James Garlickhithe | 2 | | St Mathew Fridaystreet | | |
| Alhallows Lesse | 2 | | St John Baptist | 1 | | St Maudlins Milkstreet | 1 | |
| Alhallows Lumbardstr | | | St John Evangelist | 1 | | St Maudlins Oldfish | | |
| Alhallows Stayning | 1 | | St John Zachary | | | St Michael Bassishaw | 1 | |
| Alhallows the Wall | 2 | | St Katharine Coleman | | | St Michael Cornhill | 1 | |
| St Alphage | | | St Katharine crechurch | | | St Michael Crookedla. | 2 | |
| St Andrew Hubbard | | | St Lawrence Jewry | | | St Michael Queenhithe | 2 | |
| St Andrew Undershaft | 4 | | St Lawrence Pountney | | | St Michael Quern | 1 | |
| St Andrew Wardrobe | 1 | | St Leonard Eastcheap | | | St Michael Royall | | |
| St Ann Aldersgate | 1 | | St Leonard Fosterlane | 3 | | St Michael Woodstreet | 2 | |
| St Ann Blackfryers | 2 | | St Magnus Parish | | | St Mildred Breadstreet | | |
| St Anthalins Parish | 1 | | St Margaret Lothbury | | | St Mildred Poultrey | 1 | |
| St Austins Parish | | | St Margaret Moses | | | St Nicholas Acons | 1 | |
| St Bartholomew Exch. | | | St Margaret Newfish | 2 | | St Nicholas Coleabby | 3 | |
| St Bennet Fynck | | | St Margaret Pattons | | | St Nicholas Olaves | 1 | |
| St Bennet Gracechurch | | | St Mary Abchurch | 1 | | St Olaves Hartstreet | | |
| St Bennet Paulswharf | 2 | | St Mary Aldermanbury | | | St Olaves Jewry | | |
| St Bennet Sherehog | | | St Mary Aldermary | 1 | | St Olaves Silverstreet | 2 | |
| St Botolph Billingsgate | | | St Mary le Bow | 1 | | St Pancras Soperlane | | |
| Christs Church | 4 | | St Mary Bothaw | 1 | | St Peters Cheap | 1 | |
| St Christophers | | | St Mary Colechurch | | | St Peters Cornhil | 3 | |
| St Clement Eastcheap | | | St Mary Hill | 1 | | St Peters Paulswharf | | |
| St Dionis Backchurch | | | St Mary Mounthaw | | | St Peters Poor | | |
| St Dunstans East | 2 | | St Mary Sommerset | 1 | | St Stevens Colemanstr | 5 | |
| St Edm. Lumbardstreet | 2 | | St Mary Staynings | | | St Stevens Walbrook | | |
| St Ethelburgh | 1 | | St Mary Woolchurch | | | St Swithins | | |
| St Faiths | | | St Mary Wolnoth | 1 | | St Thomas Apostle | | |
| St Fosters | | | St Martins Iremongerl. | | | Trinity Parish | | |
| St Gabriel Fenchurch | 1 | | | | | | | |

*Buried in the 97 Parishes within the Walls* — 82 *Plague* — 0

| | | | | | | | |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| St Andrews Holborn | 21 | St Botolph Aldgate | 9 | St Saviours Southwark | 12 |
| St Bartholomew Great | 2 | St Botolph Bishopsgate | 10 | St Sepulchres Parish | 27 |
| St Bartholomew Lesse | | St Dunstans West | 6 | St Thomas Southwark | 3 |
| St Brides Parish | 13 | St George Southwark | 3 | Trinity Minories | |
| Bridewel Precinct | | St Giles Cripplegate | 33 | At the Pesthouse | |
| St Botolph Aldersgate | 2 | St Olaves Southwark | 17 | | |

*Buried in the 16 Parishes without the Walls, and at the Pesthouse* — 158 *Plague* — 0

| | | | | | |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| St Giles in the fields | 18 | Lambeth Parish | 3 | St Mary Islington | |
| Hackney Parish | 3 | St Leonard Shoreditch | 10 | St Mary Whitechappel | 9 |
| St James Clerkenwel | 5 | St Magdalen Bermond. | 2 | Redrift Parish | |
| St Kath. neer the Tower | 6 | St Mary Newington | 3 | Stepney Parish | 30 |

*Buried in the 12 out Parishes in* Middlesex *and* Surry — 89 *Plague* — 0

| | | | | | |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| St Clement Danes | 12 | St Martins in the fields | 23 | St Margaret Westminst. | 24 |
| St Paul Covent Garden | 4 | St Mary Savoy | 1 | *Whereof at the* Pesthouse | — |

*Buried in the 5 Parishes in the City and Liberties of* Westminster — 64 *Plague* — 0

# *The Diseases and Casualties this Week.*

| | |
|---|---|
| Abortive | 2 |
| Aged | 32 |
| Bleeding | 1 |
| Childbed | 5 |
| Chrisoms | 9 |
| Collick | 1 |
| Consumption | 65 |
| Convulsion | 41 |
| Cough | 5 |
| Dropsie | 43 |
| Drowned at S Kathar. Tower | 1 |
| Feaver | 47 |
| Flox and Small-pox | 15 |
| Flux | 3 |
| Found dead in the Street at Stepney | 1 |
| Griping in the Guts | 15 |
| Impostbume | 1 |
| Infants | 7 |
| Kingsevill | 1 |
| Mouldfallen | 1 |
| Kild accidentally with a Carbine, at St. Michael Wood-street | 1 |
| Overlaid | 1 |
| Rickets | 9 |
| Rising of the Lights | 2 |
| Rupture | 2 |
| Scalded in a Brewers Mash, at St. Giles Cripplegate | 1 |
| Scurvy | 4 |
| Spotted Feaver | 2 |
| Stilborn | 13 |
| Stopping of the Stomach | 11 |
| Suddenly | 1 |
| Surfeit | 7 |
| Teeth | 27 |
| Tissick | 12 |
| Ulcer | 1 |
| Vomiting | 1 |
| Winde | 1 |
| Wormes | 1 |

| | | | | | |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| Christned | Males | 121 | Buried | Males | 195 |
| | Females | 111 | | Females | 198 |
| | In all | 232 | | In all | 393 |

Plague 0

Decreased in the Burials this Week — 69

Parishes clear of the Plague — 130 Parishes Infected — 0

*The Assize of Bread set forth by Order of the Lord Maior and Court of Aldermen,*

A penny Wheaten Loaf to contain Eleven Ounces, and three half-penny White Loaves the like weight.

| | Bur | Pl. | | Bur | Pl. | | Bur | Pl. |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| St Albans Woodstreet | 1 | | St George Botolphlane | | | St Martins Ludgate | 3 | |
| Alhallows Barking | 2 | | St Gregories by St Pauls | 3 | | St Martins Orgars | 1 | |
| Alhallows Breadstreet | | | St Hellins | 1 | | St Martins Outwitch | | |
| Alhallows Great | 1 | | St James Dukes place | | | St Martins Vintrey | | |
| Alhallows Honylane | | | St James Garlickhithe | | | St Mathew Fridaystreet | | |
| Alhallows Lesse | 1 | | St John Baptist | 2 | | St Maudlins Milkstreet | 1 | |
| Alhallows Lumbardstr | 2 | | St John Evangelist | | | St Maudlins Oldfish st | 3 | |
| Alhallows Stayning | 1 | | St John Zachary | | | St Michael Bassishaw | | |
| Alhallows the Wall | 1 | | St Katharine Coleman | 2 | | St Michael Cornhil | | |
| St Alphage | | | St Katharine crechurch | 1 | | St Michael Crooked la. | 2 | |
| St Andrew Hubbard | | | St Lawrence Jewry | 1 | | St Michael Queenhithe | 2 | |
| St Andrew Undershaft | | | St Lawrence Pountney | | | St Michael Quern | | |
| St Andrew Wardrobe | 3 | | St Leonard Eastcheap | 1 | | St Michael Royall | | |
| St Ann Aldersgate | | | St Leonard Fosterlane | 3 | | St Michael Woodstreet | | |
| St Ann Blackfryers | 2 | | St Magnus Parish | 1 | | St Mildred Breadstreet | 1 | |
| St Antholins Parish | | | St Margaret Lothbury | 1 | | St Mildred Poultrey | | |
| St Austins Parish | 1 | | St Margaret Moses | 1 | | St Nicholas Acons | | |
| St Bartholomew Exch. | 1 | | St Margaret Newfish st | | | St Nicholas Colebby | 1 | |
| St Bennet Fynck | | | St Margaret Pattons | | | St Nicholas Olaves | 1 | |
| St Bennet Gracechurch | | | St Mary Abchurch | | | St Olaves Hartstreet | | |
| St Bennet Paulswharf | 1 | | St Mary Aldermanbury | | | St Olaves Jewry | | |
| St Bennet Sherehog | | | St Mary Aldermary | | | St Olaves Silverstreet | 2 | |
| St Botolph Billingsgate | | | St Mary le Bow | 2 | | St Pancras Soperlane | | |
| Christs Church | 2 | | St Mary Bothaw | | | St Peters Cheap | 1 | |
| St Christophers | | | St Mary Colechurch | | | St Peters Cornhil | 2 | |
| St Clement Eastcheap | 1 | | St Mary Hill | | | St Peters Paulswharf | | |
| St Dionis Backchurch | 1 | | St Mary Mounthaw | | | St Peters Poor | 1 | |
| St Dunstans East | 1 | | St Mary Sommerset | | | St Stevens Colemanst. | 2 | |
| St Edm. Lombardstreet | | | St Mary Staynings | | | St Stevens Walbrook | | |
| St Ethelbourgh | 1 | | St Mary Woolchurch | | | St Swithins | | |
| St Faiths | 1 | | St Mary Wolnoth | | | St Thomas Apostle | | |
| St Fosters | 1 | | St Martins Iremongerl | | | Trinity Parish | | |
| St Gabriel Fenchurch | | | | | | | | |

*Buried in the 97 Parishes within the Walls* — 67 *Plague* — 0

| | | | | | |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| St Andrews Holborn | 17 | St Botolph Aldgate | 16 | St Saviours Southwark | 16 |
| St Bartholomew Great | 6 | St Botolph Bishopsgate | 18 | St Sepulchres Parish | 6 |
| St Bartholomew Lesse | 1 | St Dunstans West | 6 | St Thomas Southwark | 3 |
| St Brides Parish | 11 | St George Southwark | 3 | Trinity Minories | |
| Bridewel Precinct | | St Giles Cripplegate | 35 | At the Pesthouse | |
| St Botolph Aldersgate | 5 | St Olaves Southwark | 13 | | |

*Buried in the 16 Parishes without the Walls, and at the Pesthouse* — 156 *Plague* — 0

| | | | | | |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| St Giles in the fields | 28 | Lambeth Parish | 5 | St Mary Islington | |
| Hackney Parish | | St Leonard Shoreditch | 13 | St Mary Whitechappel | 16 |
| St James Clerkenwel | 10 | St Magdalen Bermond. | 6 | Redriff Parish | |
| St Kath. neer the Tower | 4 | St Mary Newington | | Stepney Parish | 24 |

*Buried in the 12 out Parishes in* Middlesex *and* Surry — 106 *Plague* — 0

| | | | | | |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| St Clement Danes | 10 | St Martins in the fields | 28 | St Margaret Westminst. | 22 |
| St Paul Covent Garden | 5 | St Mary Savoy | 2 | *whereof at the Pesthouse* | — |

*Buried in the 5 Parishes in the City and Liberties of* Westminster — 67 *Plague* — 0

# *The Diseases and Casualties this Week.*

| | |
|---|---|
| Abortive | 2 |
| Aged | 38 |
| Apoplexie | 1 |
| Bedridden | 1 |
| Burnt by a fall into the fire at St. Giles in the Fields | 1 |
| Childbed | 2 |
| Chrisoms | 12 |
| Consumption | 95 |
| Convulsion | 28 |
| Cough | 1 |
| Dropsie | 36 |
| Drowned in a Tub of water at St. Martins in the Fields | 1 |
| Executed | 2 |
| Feaver | 29 |
| Flox and Small pox | 15 |
| Flux | 2 |
| French-pox | 2 |
| Found dead (an Infant) at St. Andrew Holborn | 1 |
| Gowt | 1 |
| Griping in the Guts | 11 |
| Hanged her self at St. Saviours Southwark | 1 |
| Head-mould-shot | 1 |
| Infants | 14 |
| Kild by the fall of a Scaffold at St. Bartholomew the Great | 1 |
| Lethargy | 1 |
| Rickets | 16 |
| Rising of the Lights | 4 |
| Scurvy | 2 |
| Spotted Feaver | 3 |
| Stilborn | 10 |
| Stone | 1 |
| Stopping of the Stomach | 8 |
| Surfeit | 9 |
| Teeth | 20 |
| Thrush | 4 |
| Tissick | 15 |
| Winde | 3 |
| Wormes | 2 |

| | | | | | |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| Christned | Males | 121 | Buried | Males | 199 |
| | Females | 112 | | Females | 197 |
| | In all | 233 | | In all | 396 |

Plague 0

Increased in the Burials this Week — 3

Parishes clear of the Plague — 130 Parishes Infected — 0

*The Assize of Bread set forth by Order of the Lord Maier and Court of Aldermen;*

A penny Wheaten Loaf to contain Ten Ounces and a half, and three half-penny White Loaves the like weight.

| | Bur | Pl | | Bur | Pl | | Bur | Pl |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| St Albans Woodstreet | 1 | | St George Botolphlane | 1 | | St Martins Ludgate— | | |
| Alhallows Barking | 2 | | St Gregories by St Pauls | 5 | | St Martins Orgars— | 1 | |
| Alhallows Breadstreet | | | St Hellens— | 2 | | St Martins Ontwitch— | | |
| Alhallows Great— | 1 | | St James Dukes place— | | | St Martins Vintrey— | 1 | |
| Alhallows Honylane— | | | St James Garlickhithe— | 1 | | St Mathew Fridaystreet | | |
| Alhallows Lesse— | 2 | | St John Baptist— | 2 | | St Maudlins Milkstreet | 1 | |
| Alhallows Lumbardstr | | | St John Evangelist— | | | St Maudlins Oldfishstr | 1 | |
| Alhallows Stayning— | 1 | | St John Zachary— | 1 | | St Michael Bassishaw— | 2 | |
| Alhallows the Wall— | 3 | | St Katharine Coleman— | 3 | | St Michael Cornhil— | 6 | |
| St Alphage— | | | St Katharine creechurch | 3 | | St Michael Crookedla | 1 | |
| St Andrew Hubbard— | 1 | | St Lawrence Jewry— | 1 | | St Michael Queenhithe | | |
| St Andrew Undershaft— | | | St Lawrence Pountney | | | St Michael Quern— | | |
| St Andrew Wardrobe— | 1 | | St Leonard Eastcheap— | | | St Michael Royall— | | |
| St Ann Aldersgate— | | | St Leonard Fosterlane— | 1 | | St Michael Woodstreet | | |
| St Ann Blackfryers— | 2 | | St Magnus Parish— | 6 | | St Mildred Breadstreet | 1 | |
| St Antholins Parish— | 3 | | St Margaret Lothbury— | | | St Mildred Poultrey— | | |
| St Austins Parish— | | | St Margaret Moses— | | | St Nicholas Acons— | 1 | |
| St Bartholomew Excha | | | St Margaret Newfish | | | St Nicholas Colesbby— | | |
| St Bennet Fynck— | | | St Margaret Pattons— | 1 | | St Nicholas Olaves— | | |
| St Bennet Gracechurch | | | St Mary Abchurch— | | | St Olaves Hartstreet— | 2 | |
| St Bennet Paulswharfs— | 2 | | St Mary Aldermanbury | | | St Olaves Jewry— | | |
| St Bennet Sherehog— | | | St Mary Aldermary— | | | St Olaves Silverstreet— | 1 | |
| St Botolph Billingsgate | | | St Mary le Bow— | | | St Pancras Soperlane— | | |
| Christ Church— | 1 | | St Mary Bothaw— | | | St Peters Cheap— | 1 | |
| St Christophers— | | | St Mary Colechurch— | | | St Peters Cornhil— | 1 | |
| St Clement Eastcheap— | | | St Mary Hill— | 1 | | St Peters Paulswharf— | | |
| St Dionis Backchurch— | | | St Mary Mounthaw— | | | St Peters Poor— | 2 | |
| St Dunstans East— | 1 | | St Mary Summerset— | | | St Stevens Colemanstr | 4 | |
| St Edm. Lumbardstreet | | | St Mary Stayning— | 1 | | St Stevens Walbrook— | 1 | |
| St Ethelborough— | 1 | | St Mary Woolchurch— | 1 | | St Swithins— | | |
| St Faiths— | | | St Mary Woolnoth— | 1 | | St Thomas Apostles— | 1 | |
| St Fosters— | | | St Martins Ironmonger | 1 | | Trinity Parish— | 1 | |
| St Gabriel Fenchurch— | | | | | | | | |

*Buried in the* 97 *Parishes within the Walls* — 83 *Plague* — 0

| | | | | | | | | |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| St Andrews Holborne— | 19 | | St Botolph Aldgate— | 20 | | St Saviours Southwark | 17 | |
| St Bartholomew Great | 2 | | St Botolph Bishopsgate | 11 | | St Sepulchres Parish— | 26 | |
| St Bartholomew Lesse— | | | St Dunstans West— | 4 | | St Thomas Southwark— | 1 | |
| St Brides Parish— | 11 | | St George Southwark— | 3 | | Trinity Minories— | | |
| Bridewel Precinct— | 1 | | St Giles Cripplegate— | 30 | | At the Pesthouse— | | |
| St Botolph Aldersgate— | 7 | | St Olaves Southwark— | 24 | | | | |

*Buried in the* 16 *Parishes without the Walls, and at the Pesthouse* — 176 *Plague* — 0

| | | | | | | | | |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| St Giles in the fields— | 14 | | Lambeth Parish— | 2 | | St Mary Islington— | | |
| Hackney Parish— | | | St Leonard Shoreditch | 7 | | St Mary Whitechappel | 17 | |
| St James Clerkenwel— | 8 | | St Magdalen Bermond | 6 | | Redriff Parish— | | |
| St Katherine the Tower | 5 | | St Mary Newington— | 9 | | Stepney Parish— | 37 | |

*Buried in the* 12 *out Parishes in* Middlesex *and* Surry — 105 *Plague* — 0

| | | | | | | | |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| St Clement Danes— | 10 | | St Martins in the fields | 35 | | St Margaret Westminst. | 30 |
| St Paul Covent Garden | 1 | | St Mary Savoy— | 1 | | whereof at the Pesthouse | — |

*Buried in the* 5 *Parishes in the City and Liberties of* Westminster — 77 *Plague* — 0

# *The Diseases and Casualties this Week.*

| | |
|---|---|
| Abortive | 1 |
| Aged | 28 |
| Ague | 2 |
| Apoplexie | 1 |
| Bleeding | 1 |
| Burnt (accidentally) at St. Giles Cripplegate | 1 |
| Chilbed | 5 |
| Chrisoms | 18 |
| Cold | 1 |
| Consumption | 87 |
| Convulsion | 38 |
| Cough | 6 |
| Dropsie | 44 |
| Executed | 4 |
| Feaver | 35 |
| Fistula | 1 |
| Flox and Small-pox | 15 |
| Found dead (a Woman) at St. Andrew Holborn | 1 |
| French-pox | 1 |
| Gowt | 1 |
| Griping in the Guts | 15 |
| Head-mould-shot | 1 |
| Jaundies | 2 |
| Imposthume | 1 |
| Infants | 12 |
| Kingsevill | 3 |
| Livergrown | 1 |
| Overlaid | 1 |
| Palsie | 1 |
| Rickets | 12 |
| Rising of the Lights | 7 |
| Scowring | 4 |
| Scurvy | 4 |
| Spleen | 1 |
| Spotted Feaver | 2 |
| Stilborn | 10 |
| Stone | 2 |
| Stopping of the stomach | 9 |
| Suddenly | 3 |
| Surfeit | 10 |
| Teeth | 18 |
| Thrush | 1 |
| Timpany | 2 |
| Tissick | 18 |
| Ulcer | 1 |
| Vomiting | 1 |
| Winde | 2 |
| Wormes | 5 |

| | | | | | |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| Christned | Males | 127 | Buried | Males | 219 |
| | Females | 109 | | Females | 222 |
| | In all | 236 | | In all | 441 |

Plague – 0

Increased in the Burials this Week — 45

Parishes clear of the Plague — 130 Parishes Infected — 0

*The Assize of Bread set forth by Order of the Lord Maior and Court of Aldermen,*
A penny Wheaten Loaf to contain Ten Ounces and a half, and three half-penny White Loaves the like weight.

| | Bur | Pl | | Bur | Pl | | Bur | Pl |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| St Albans Woodstreet | 2 | | St George Botolphlane | | | St Martins Ludgate | 1 | |
| Alhallows Barking | 3 | | St Gregories by St Pauls | 1 | | St Martins Orgars | 1 | |
| Alhallows Breadstreet | | | St Hellens | 1 | | St Martins Outwitch | | |
| Alhallows Great | 1 | | St James Dukes place | 1 | | St Martins Vintrey | 5 | |
| Alhallows Honylane | 1 | | St James Garlickhithe | | | St Mathew Fridaystreet | | |
| Alhallows Lesse | 1 | | St John Baptist | 1 | | St Maudlins Milkstreet | 2 | |
| Alhallows Lumbardstr. | | | St John Evangelist | | | St Maudlins Oldfishstr. | 1 | |
| Alhallows Stayning | | | St John Zachary | | | St Michael Bassishaw | 1 | |
| Alhallows the Wall | 2 | | St Katharine Coleman | 1 | | St Michael Cornhil | | |
| St Alphage | 1 | | St Katharine creechurch | | | St Michael Crookedla | 1 | |
| St Andrew Hubbard | | | St Lawrence Jewry | 2 | | St Michael Queenhithe | 1 | |
| St Andrew Undershaft | 2 | | St Lawrence Pountney | 1 | | St Michael Quern | 1 | |
| St Andrew Wardrobe | 3 | | St Leonard Eastcheap | | | St Michael Royall | | |
| St Ann Aldersgate | 3 | | St Leonard Foscolane | 3 | | St Michael Woodstreet | | |
| St Ann Blackfryers | | | St Magnus Parish | 1 | | St Mildred Breadstreet | 2 | |
| St Antholins Parish | | | St Margaret Lothbury | 2 | | St Mildred Poultrey | 1 | |
| St Austins Parish | | | St Margaret Moses | | | St Nicholas Acons | | |
| St Bartholomew Excha | 1 | | St Margaret Newfish | | | St Nicholas Colesabby | | |
| St Bennet Fynck | | | St Margaret Pattens | 1 | | St Nicholas Olaves | | |
| St Bennet Gracechurch | | | St Mary Abchurch | 1 | | St Olaves Hartstreet | | |
| St Bennet Paulswharfe | 2 | | St Mary Aldermanbury | | | St Olaves Jewry | | |
| St Bennet Sherehog | | | St Mary Aldermary | | | St Olaves Silverstreet | 1 | |
| St Botolph Billingsgate | | | St Mary le Bow | | | St Pancras Soperlane | 1 | |
| Christ Church | 1 | | St Mary Bothaw | | | St Peters Cheap | 1 | |
| St Christophers | | | St Mary Colechurch | | | St Peters Cornhil | 2 | |
| St Clement Eastcheap | | | St Mary Hill | | | St Peters Paulswharf | | |
| St Dionis Backchurch | | | St Mary Mounthaw | | | St Peters Poor | | |
| St Dunstans East | 1 | | St Mary Sommerset | 1 | | St Stevens Colemanstr | 1 | |
| St Edm. Lumbardstreet | 1 | | St Mary Stayning | 1 | | St Stevens Walbrook | 1 | |
| St Ethelborough | 1 | | St Mary Woolchurch | | | St Swithins | | |
| St Faiths | 2 | | St Mary Woolnoth | | | St Thomas Apostles | 1 | |
| St Fosters | | | St Martins Ironmonger | 1 | | Trinity Parish | | |
| St Gabriel Fenchurch | | | | | | | | |

*Buried in the 97 Parishes within the Walls* — 72 *Plague* — 0

| | | | | | | | |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| St Andrews Holborne | 24 | St Botolph Aldgate | 16 | St Saviours Southwark | 17 |
| St Bartholomew Great | 2 | St Botolph Bishopsgate | 18 | St Sepulchres Parish | 22 |
| St Bartholomew Lesse | | St Dunstans West | 10 | St Thomas Southwark | 2 |
| St Brides Parish | 14 | St George Southwark | 6 | Trinity Minories | |
| Bridewel Precinct | 4 | St Giles Cripplegate | 36 | At the Pesthouse | |
| St Botolph Aldersgate | 6 | St Olaves Southwark | 20 | | |

*Buried in the 16 Parishes without the Walls, and at the Pesthouse* — 197 *Plague* — 0

| | | | | | |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| St Giles in the fields | 16 | Lambeth Parish | 2 | St Mary Islington | |
| Hackney Parish | 3 | St Leonard Shoreditch | 10 | St Mary Whitechappel | 15 |
| St James Clerkenwel | 5 | St Magdalen Bermond. | 7 | Redriff Parish | |
| St Kath. neer the Tower | 2 | St Mary Newington | 4 | Stepney Parish | 41 |

*Buried in the 12 out Parishes in* Middlesex *and* Surry — 105 *Plague* — 0

| | | | | | |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| St Clement Danes | 10 | St Martins in the fields | 30 | St Margaret Westminst. | 13 |
| St Paul Covent Garden | 3 | St Mary Savoy | 3 | *Whereof, at the Pesthouse* | — |

*Buried in the 5 Parishes in the City and Liberties of* Westminster — 59 *Plague* — 0

# *The Diseases and Casualties this Week.*

| | |
|---|---|
| Abortive | 6 |
| Aged | 31 |
| Ague | 1 |
| Apoplexie | 1 |
| Cancer | 1 |
| Chilbed | 6 |
| Chrisoms | 15 |
| Collick | 1 |
| Consumption | 85 |
| Convulsion | 34 |
| Cough | 4 |
| Distracted | 1 |
| Dropsie | 40 |
| Feaver | 19 |
| Flox and Small-pox | 16 |
| Flux | 2 |
| French-pox | 4 |
| Gangrene | 1 |
| Gowt | 2 |
| Grief | 1 |
| Griping in the Guts | 12 |
| Jaundies | 1 |
| Imposthume | 1 |
| Infants | 13 |
| Kild two, one by a fall from a Scaffold at St. Sepulchres, and one by a Cart at St. Martin in the Fields | 2 |
| Kingsevill | 2 |
| Livergrown | 2 |
| Mother | 1 |
| Mouldsallen | 1 |
| Overlaid | 2 |
| Rickets | 9 |
| Rising of the Lights | 9 |
| Rupture | 1 |
| Scalded (a child) at St. Maudlin Milkstreet | 1 |
| Scowring | 6 |
| Scurvy | 3 |
| Spleen | 2 |
| Spotted Feaver | 1 |
| Stilborn | 11 |
| Stopping of the stomach | 4 |
| Strangury | 1 |
| Suddenly | 4 |
| Surfeit | 11 |
| Teeth | 27 |
| Thrush | 4 |
| Timpany | 1 |
| Tissick | 15 |
| Ulcer | 2 |
| Vomiting | 1 |
| Winde | 1 |
| Wormes | 1 |

| | | | | | |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| Christned | Males | 117 | Buried | Males | 222 |
| | Females | 119 | | Females | 211 |
| | In all | 236 | | In all | 433 |

Plague - 0

Decreased in the Burials this Week — 8

Parishes clear of the Plague — 130 Parishes Infected — 0

*The Assize of Bread set forth by Order of the Lord Maior and Court of Aldermen,*
A penny Wheaten Loaf to contain Nine Ounces and a half, and three half-penny White Loaves the like weight.

| | Bur | Pl. | | Bur | Pl. | | Bur | P |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| St Albans Woodstreet | | | St George Botolphlane | | | St Martins Ludgate— | 1 | |
| Alhallows Barking | 5 | | St Gregories by St Pauls | | | St Martins Orgars— | 1 | |
| Alhallows Breadstreet- | 2 | | St Hellins——— | 1 | | St Martins Outwitch— | 2 | |
| Alhallows Great——— | 3 | | St James Dukes place— | | | St Martins Vintrey— | 1 | |
| Alhallows Honylane— | | | St James Garlickhithe | | | St Mathew Fridaystreet | | |
| Alhallows Lesse——— | 2 | | St John Baptist——— | 3 | | St Maudlins Milkstreet | | |
| Alhallows Lumbardstr | | | St John Evangelist— | | | St Maudlins Oldfish. | | |
| Alhallows Stayning-— | 1 | | St John Zachary——— | | | St Michael Bassishaw— | 2 | |
| Alhallows the Wall— | 1 | | St Katharine Coleman- | 2 | | St Michael Cornhil— | | |
| St Alphage ——— | | | St Katharine crechurch | 1 | | St Michael Crookedla. | | |
| St Andrew Hubbard— | 2 | | St Lawrence Jewry— | | | St Michael Queenhithe | 1 | |
| St Andrew Undershaft- | 1 | | St Lawrence Pountney- | | | St Michael Quern— | | |
| St Andrew Wardrobe— | 1 | | St Leonard Eastcheap- | | | St Michael Royall— | 1 | |
| St Ann Aldersgate — | | | St Leonard Fosterlane- | 1 | | St Michael Woodstreet | | |
| St Ann Blackfryers— | 2 | | St Magnus Parish— | | | St Mildred Breadstreet | 2 | |
| St Antholins Parish — | 1 | | St Margaret Lothbury | 1 | | St Mildred Poultrey— | | |
| St Austins Parish——— | | | St Margaret Moses— | 1 | | St Nicholas Acons— | 1 | |
| St Bartholomew Exch. | | | St Margaret Newfish. | | | St Nicholas Coleabby- | | |
| St Bennet Fynck——— | | | St Margaret Pattons— | | | St Nicholas Olaves— | 1 | |
| St Bennet Gracechurch | | | St Mary Abchurch— | | | St Olaves Hartstreet— | | |
| St Bennet Paulswharf— | | | St Mary Aldermanbury | | | St Olaves Jewry——— | | |
| St Bennet Sherehog — | | | St Mary Aldermary — | | | St Olaves Silverstreet- | | |
| St Botolph Billingsgate | | | St Mary le Bow——— | | | St Pancras Soperlane— | | |
| Christs Church——— | 7 | | St Mary Bothaw——— | | | St Peters Cheap——— | | |
| St Christophers——— | | | St Mary Colechurch— | | | St Peters Cornhil— | 1 | |
| St Clement Eastcheap- | | | St Mary Hill——— | 1 | | St Peters Paulswharf— | 1 | |
| St Dionis Backchurch | | | St Mary Mounthaw— | 1 | | St Peters Poor——— | 1 | |
| St Dunstans East——— | 3 | | St Mary Sommerset— | 1 | | St Stevens Colemanstr. | 2 | |
| St Edm. Lumbardstreet | 1 | | St Mary Staynings— | | | St Stevens Walbrook— | | |
| St Ethelbourgh——— | | | St Mary Woolchurch- | 1 | | St Swithins——— | | |
| St Faiths——— | 1 | | St Mary Wolnoth— | 1 | | St Thomas Apostle— | 1 | |
| St Fosters——— | 1 | | St Martins Iremongerl. | | | Trinity Parish——— | 1 | |
| St Gabriel Fenchurch | | | | | | | | |

*Buried in the 97 Parishes within the Walls*—— 69 *Plague*——— 0

| | | | | | | | | |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| St Andrews Holborn— | 19 | | St Botolph Aldgate— | 13 | | St Saviours Southwark | 12 | |
| St Bartholomew Great | 2 | | St Botolph Bishopsgate | 7 | | St Sepulchres Parish— | 17 | |
| St Bartholomew Lesse- | 2 | | St Dunstans West— | 1 | | St Thomas Southwark- | 1 | |
| St Brides Parish——— | 9 | | St George Southwark- | 6 | | Trinity Minories——— | 1 | |
| Bridewel Precinct— | | | St Giles Cripplegate— | 19 | | At the Pesthouse——— | | |
| St Botolph Aldersgate | 6 | | St Olaves Southwark— | 18 | | | | |

*Buried in the* 16 *Parishes without the Walls, and at the Pesthouse*—133 *Plague*—0

| | | | | | | | | |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| St Giles in the fields— | 17 | | Lambeth Parish —— | 6 | | St Mary Islington— | 2 | |
| Hackney Parish——— | | | St Leonard Shoreditch | 10 | | St Mary Whitechappel | 11 | |
| St James Clerkenwel— | 10 | | St Magdalen Bermond. | | | Redriff Parish——— | | |
| St Kath. neer the Tower | 3 | | St Mary Newington— | 3 | | Stepney Parish —— | 36 | |

*Buried in the* 12 *out Parishes in* Middlesex *and* Surry—98 *Plague*——0

| | | | | | | | | |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| St Clement Danes—— | 8 | | St Martins in the fields | 24 | | St Margaret Westminst. | 23 | |
| St Paul Covent Garden | 3 | | St Mary Savoy——— | 5 | | *Whereof at the Pesthouse* | — | |

*Buried in the* 5 *Parishes in the City and Liberties of* Westminster—63 *Plague*—0

# The Diseases and Casualties this Week.

| | |
|---|---|
| Aged | 28 |
| Ague | 1 |
| Bloody flux | 1 |
| Childbed | 7 |
| Chrisoms | 18 |
| Cold | 2 |
| Collick | 1 |
| Consumption | 77 |
| Convulsion | 24 |
| Cough | 2 |
| Dropsie | 34 |
| Executed | 2 |
| Feaver | 27 |
| Flox and Small-pox | 19 |
| French-pox | 3 |
| Grief | 1 |
| Griping in the Guts | 13 |
| Hanged her self at St. Andrew Holborn | 1 |
| Jaundies | 3 |
| Infants | 16 |
| Kild at St. Margaret Westminster | 1 |
| Kingsevill | 2 |
| Overlaid | 2 |
| Palsie | 1 |
| Rickets | 9 |
| Rising of the Lights | 4 |
| Sciatica | 1 |
| Scowring | 1 |
| Scurvy | 2 |
| Sore mouth | 4 |
| Spleen | 1 |
| Spotted Feaver | 3 |
| Stilborn | 7 |
| Stopping of the Stomach | 4 |
| Suddenly | 2 |
| Surfeit | 7 |
| Teeth | 21 |
| Tissick | 10 |
| Winde | 1 |
| Wormes | 3 |

| | | | | | |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| Christned | Males | 113 | Buried | Males | 192 |
| | Females | 108 | | Females | 171 |
| | In all | 221 | | In all | 363 |

Plague 0

Decreased in the Burials this Week — 70

Parishes clear of the Plague — 130 Parishes Infected — 0

*The Assize of Bread set forth by Order of the Lord Maior and Court of Aldermen;*

A penny Wheaten Loaf to contain Nine Ounces and a half, and three half-penny White Loaves the like weight.

| | Bur | Pl. | | Bur | Pl. | | Bur | Pl. |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| St Albans Woodstreet | 2 | | St George Botolphlane | | | St Martins Ludgate | | |
| Alhallows Barking | 1 | | St Gregories by St Pauls | | | St Martins Orgars | 1 | |
| Alhallows Breadstreet | 1 | | St Hellins | 2 | | St Martins Outwitch | | |
| Alhallows Great | | | St James Dukes place | 1 | | St Martins Vintrey | 2 | |
| Alhallows Honylane | 2 | | St James Garlickhithe | 5 | | St Mathew Fridaystreet | | |
| Alhallows Lesse | | | St John Baptist | | | St Maudlins Milkstreet | | |
| Alhallows Lumbardstr | 1 | | St John Evangelist | | | St Maudlins Oldfish. | 1 | |
| Alhallows Stayning | | | St John Zachary | 2 | | St Michael Bassishaw | | |
| Alhallows the Wall | 3 | | St Katharine Coleman | 2 | | St Michael Cornhill | | |
| St Alphage | 1 | | St Katharine crechurch | | | St Michael Crookedla. | | |
| St Andrew Hubbard | | | St Lawrence Jewry | | | St Michael Queenhithe | 1 | |
| St Andrew Undershaft | 1 | | St Lawrence Pountney | | | St Michael Quern | | |
| St Andrew Wardrobe | 5 | | St Leonard Eastcheap | 1 | | St Michael Royall | 1 | |
| St Ann Aldersgate | 1 | | St Leonard Fosterlane | 2 | | St Michael Woodstreet | 1 | |
| St Ann Blackfryers | 2 | | St Magnus Parish | 1 | | St Mildred Breadstreet | 1 | |
| St Antholins Parish | | | St Margaret Lothbury | | | St Mildred Poultrey | | |
| St Austins Parish | | | St Margaret Moses | 1 | | St Nicholas Acons | | |
| St Bartholomew Exch. | | | St Margaret Newfish. | | | St Nicholas Coleabby | 1 | |
| St Bennet Fynck | 1 | | St Margaret Pattons | | | St Nicholas Olaves | 1 | |
| St Bennet Gracechurch | 1 | | St Mary Abchurch | | | St Olaves Hartstreet | 1 | |
| St Bennet Paulswharf | 1 | | St Mary Aldermanbury | 2 | | St Olaves Jewry | | |
| St Bennet Sherehog | | | St Mary Aldermary | | | St Olaves Silverstreet | | |
| St Botolph Billingsgate | | | St Mary le Bow | 2 | | St Panoras Soperlane | | |
| Christs Church | 1 | | St Mary Bothaw | | | St Peters Cheap | | |
| St Christophers | | | St Mary Colechurch | 1 | | St Peters Cornhil | | |
| St Clement Eastcheap | | | St Mary Hill | | | St Peters Paulswharf | 1 | |
| St Dionis Backchurch | | | St Mary Mounthaw | | | St Peters Poor | | |
| St Dunstans East | | | St Mary Sommerset | 1 | | St Stevens Colemanstr. | 1 | |
| St Edm. Lumbardstreet | 1 | | St Mary Staynings | | | St Stevens Walbrook | | |
| St Ethelbourgh | | | St Mary Woolchurch | | | St Swithins | 1 | |
| St Faiths | | | St Mary Wolnoth | | | St Thomas Apostle | 3 | |
| St Fosters | 1 | | St Martins Iremongerl. | 1 | | Trinity Parish | | |
| St Gabriel Fenchurch | 1 | | | | | | | |

*Buried in the 97 Parishes within the Walls* — 68 *Plague* — 0

| | | | | | | | | |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| St Andrews Holborn | 17 | | St Botolph Aldgate | 16 | | St Saviours Southwark | 19 | |
| St Bartholomew Great | 1 | | St Botolph Bishopsgate | 13 | | St Sepulchres Parish | 11 | |
| St Bartholomew Lesse | | | St Dunstans West | 6 | | St Thomas Southwark | 2 | |
| St Brides Parish | 13 | | St George Southwark | 4 | | Trinity Minories | | |
| Bridewel Precinct | 1 | | St Giles Cripplegate | 32 | | At the Pesthouse | | |
| St Botolph Aldersgate | 3 | | St Olaves Southwark | 22 | | | | |

*Buried in the 16 Parishes without the Walls, and at the Pesthouse* — 160 *Plague* — 0

| | | | | | | | | |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| St Giles in the fields | 14 | | Lambeth Parish | 5 | | St Mary Islington | 3 | |
| Hackney Parish | 2 | | St Leonard Shoreditch | | | St Mary Whitechappel | 8 | |
| St James Clerkenwel | 3 | | St Magdalen Bermond. | 9 | | Redriff Parish | | |
| St Kath. neer the Tower | 4 | | St Mary Newington | 4 | | Stepney Parish | 22 | |

*Buried in the 12 out Parishes in* Middlesex *and* Surry — 74 *Plague* — 0

| | | | | | | | | |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| St Clement Danes | 12 | | St Martins in the fields | 22 | | St Margaret Westminst. | 12 | |
| St Paul Covent Garden | 2 | | St Mary Savoy | 3 | | *Whereof at the Pesthouse* | — | |

*Buried in the 5 Parishes in the City and Liberties of* Westminster — 51 *Plague* — 0

# *The Diseases and Casualties this Week.*

| | |
|---|---|
| Abortive | 4 |
| Aged | 31 |
| Childbed | 3 |
| Chrisoms | 13 |
| Cole | 1 |
| Consumption | 66 |
| Convulsion | 37 |
| Cough | 1 |
| Dropsie | 23 |
| Feaver | 30 |
| Flox and Small-pox | 9 |
| Flux | 3 |
| French-pox | 4 |
| Gangrene | 1 |
| Griping in the Guts | 14 |
| Head-mould shot | 2 |
| Jaundies | 1 |
| Imposthume | 1 |
| Infants | 19 |
| Kild with a fall from a Window at St. Alphage | 1 |
| Kingsevill | 1 |
| Overlaid | 2 |
| Rickets | 14 |
| Rising of the Lights | 7 |
| Rupture | 1 |
| Scowring | 2 |
| Scurvy | 2 |
| Spotted Feaver | 2 |
| Stilborn | 13 |
| Stopping of the Stomach | 6 |
| Suddenly | 2 |
| Surfeit | 3 |
| Teeth | 19 |
| Thrush | 1 |
| Tissick | 11 |
| Winde | 1 |
| Wormes | 2 |

| | | | | | |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| Christned | Males | 116 | Buried | Males | 179 |
| | Females | 122 | | Females | 174 |
| | In all | 238 | | In all | 353 |

Plague 0

Decreased in the Burials this Week — 10

Parishes clear of the Plague — 130 Parishes Infected — 0

*The Assize of Bread set forth by Order of the Lord Maior and Court of Aldermen;*

A penny Wheaten Loaf to contain Nine Ounces and a half, and three half-penny White Loaves the like weight.

| | Bur | Pl | | Bur | Pl | | Bur | Pl |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| S^t^ ALbans Woodstreet | 1 | | S^t^ George Botolphlane | | | S^t^ Martins Ludgate— | | |
| Alhallows Barking | 2 | | S^t^ Gregories by S^t^ Pauls | 5 | | S^t^ Martins Orgars— | | |
| Alhallows Breadstreet— | | | S^t^ Hellens— | | | S^t^ Martins Outwitch— | | |
| Alhallows Great— | | | S^t^ James Dukes place— | 1 | | S^t^ Martins Vintrey— | | |
| Alhallows Honylane— | 1 | | S^t^ James Garlickhithe— | 1 | | S^t^ Mathew Fridaystreet | | |
| Alhallows Lesse— | 1 | | S^t^ John Baptist— | 2 | | S^t^ Maudlins Milkstreet | | |
| Alhallows Lumbardstr. | 1 | | S^t^ John Evangelist— | 1 | | S^t^ Maudlins Oldfishstr. | 1 | |
| Alhallows Stayning— | | | S^t^ John Zachary— | | | S^t^ Michael Bassishaw— | 4 | |
| Alhallows the Wall— | 2 | | St Katharine Coleman— | | | S^t^ Michael Cornhil— | | |
| S^t^ Alphage— | | | S^t^ Katharine creechurch | 2 | | S^t^ Michael Crookedla | | |
| S^t^ Andrew Hubbard— | | | S^t^ Lawrence Jewry— | 1 | | S^t^ Michael Queenhithe | 1 | |
| S^t^ Andrew Undershaft— | 1 | | S^t^ Lawrence Pountney— | 1 | | S^t^ Michael Quern— | | |
| S^t^ Andrew Wardrobe— | 1 | | S^t^ Leonard Eastcheap— | | | S^t^ Michael Royall— | | |
| S^t^ Ann Aldersgate— | | | S^t^ Leonard Fosterlane— | 3 | | S^t^ Michael Woodstreet | | |
| S^t^ Ann Blackfryers— | 4 | | S^t^ Magnus Parish— | | | S^t^ Mildred Breadstreet | | |
| S^t^ Antholins Parish— | | | S^t^ Margaret Lothbury— | | | S^t^ Mildred Poultrey— | | |
| S^t^ Austins Parish— | | | S^t^ Margaret Moses— | | | St Nicholas Acons— | | |
| S^t^ Bartholomew Excha | | | S^t^ Margaret Newfish^t^ | | | S^t^ Nicholas Coleabby— | 3 | |
| S^t^ Bennet Fynck— | 1 | | S^t^ Margaret Pattens— | 1 | | S^t^ Nicholas Olaves— | | |
| S^t^ Bennet Gracechurch | 1 | | S^t^ Mary Abchurch— | 1 | | S^t^ Olaves Hartstreet— | | |
| S^t^ Bennet Paulswharfe— | | | S^t^ Mary Aldermanbury | 1 | | S^t^ Olaves Jewry— | 2 | |
| S^t^ Bennet Sherehog— | | | S^t^ Mary Aldermary — | | | S^t^ Olaves Silverstreet— | 3 | |
| S^t^ Botolph Billingsgate | 2 | | S^t^ Mary le Bow— | 1 | | S^t^ Pancras Soperlane— | 1 | |
| Christ Church— | 2 | | S^t^ Mary Bothaw— | | | S^t^ Peters Cheap— | | |
| S^t^ Christophers— | 1 | | S^t^ Mary Colechurch— | | | S^t^ Peters Cornhil— | 2 | |
| S^t^ Clement Eastcheap— | | | S^t^ Mary Hill— | | | S^t^ Peters Paulswharf— | | |
| S^t^ Dionis Backchurch— | 1 | | S^t^ Mary Mounthaw — | | | S^t^ Peters Poor— | | |
| S^t^ Dunstans East— | 1 | | S^t^ Mary Sommerset— | | | S^t^ Stevens Colemanstr | 3 | |
| S^t^ Edm. Lumbardstreet | 1 | | S^t^ Mary Stayning— | 1 | | S^t^ Stevens Walbrook— | | |
| S^t^ Ethelborough— | 3 | | S^t^ Mary Woolchurch— | | | S^t^ Swithins — | | |
| S^t^ Faiths— | 3 | | S^t^ Mary Woolnoth— | 1 | | S^t^ Thomas Apostles— | | |
| S^t^ Fosters— | | | S^t^ Martins Iremongerl | | | Trinity Parish— | | |
| S^t^ Gabriel Fenchurch— | 1 | | | | | | | |

*Buried in the* 97 *Parishes within the Walls* — 74 *Plague*— 0

| | | | | | | | | |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| S^t^ Andrews Holborne— | 19 | | S^t^ Botolph Aldgate— | 1 | | S^t^ Saviours Southwark | 14 | |
| S^t^ Bartholomew Gres | 2 | | S^t^ Botolph Bishopsgate | 8 | | S^t^ Sepulchres Parish— | 18 | |
| S^t^ Bartholomew Lesse— | | | S^t^ Dunstans West — | 4 | | S^t^ Thomas Southwark— | 2 | |
| S^t^ Brides Parish— | 11 | | S^t^ George Southwark— | 5 | | Trinity Minories— | | |
| Bridewel Precinct— | 2 | | S^t^ Giles Cripplegate— | 29 | | At the Pesthouse— | | |
| S^t^ Botolph Aldersgate— | 2 | | S^t^ Olaves Southwark— | 11 | | | | |

*Buried in the* 16 *Parishes without the Walls, and at the Pesthouse*—138 *Plague*— 0

| | | | | | | | | |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| S^t^ Giles in the fields— | 18 | | Lambeth Parish— | 3 | | S^t^ Mary Islington— | 3 | |
| Hackney Parish— | 1 | | S^t^ Leonard Shoreditch | 6 | | S^t^ Mary Whitechappel | 12 | |
| S^t^ James Clerkenwel— | 11 | | S^t^ Magdalen Bermond | 3 | | Redriff Parish— | | |
| S^t^ Kath. neer the Tower | 4 | | S^t^ Mary Newington — | 4 | | Stepney Parish— | 21 | |

*Buried in the* 12 *out Parishes in* Middlesex *and* Surry—86 *Plague*— 0

| | | | | | | | | |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| S^t^ Clement Danes— | 8 | | S^t^ Martins in the fields | 23 | | S^t^ Margaret Westminst | 12 | |
| S^t^ Paul Covent Garden | 3 | | S^t^ Mary Savoy— | | | *Whereof at the Pesthouse* | — | |

*Buried in the* 5 *Parishes in the City and Liberties of* Westminster—46 *Plague*— 0

# *The Diſeaſes and Caſualties this Week.*

| | |
|---|---|
| Abortive | 2 |
| Aged | 30 |
| Apoplexie | 1 |
| Chilbed | 5 |
| Chriſoms | 13 |
| Conſumption | 77 |
| Convulſion | 50 |
| Cough | 2 |
| Dropſie | 29 |
| Feaver | 25 |
| Flox and Small-pox | 12 |
| Flux | 2 |
| Found dead at St. Andrew Holborn | 1 |
| French-pox | 4 |
| Gowt | 1 |
| Griping in the Guts | 14 |
| Head-mould ſhot | 1 |
| Jaundies | 3 |
| Impoſthume | 4 |
| Infants | 9 |
| Kild at St. Clement Danes | 1 |
| Kingſevill | 4 |
| Livergrown | 1 |
| Overlaid | 1 |
| Pluriſie | 1 |
| Purples | 1 |
| Rickets | 16 |
| Riſing of the Lights | 6 |
| Scalded at S. Andrew Holborn | 1 |
| Spotted Feaver | 2 |
| Stilborn | 10 |
| Stone | 1 |
| Stopping of the ſtomach | 2 |
| Suddenly | 1 |
| Surfeit | 4 |
| Teeth | 14 |
| Thruſh | 1 |
| Tiſſick | 10 |
| Winde | 2 |

| | | | | | | | |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| Chriſtned | Males | 131 | Buried | Males | 171 | Plague | 0 |
| | Females | 111 | | Females | 173 | | |
| | In all | 242 | | In all | 344 | | |

Decreaſed in the Burials this Week — 4

Pariſhes clear of the Plague — 130 Pariſhes Infected — 0

*The Aſsize of Bread ſet forth by Order of the Lord Maior and Court of Aldermen,*
A penny Wheaten Loaf to contain Ten Ounces, and three half-penny White Loaves the like weight.

| | Bur. | Pl. | | Bur. | Pl. | | Bur. | Pl. |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| S^t^ ALbans Woodstreet | 1 | | S^t^ George Botolphlane | | | S^t^ Martins Ludgate | 1 | |
| Alhallows Barking | 5 | | S^t^ Gregories by S^t^ Pauls | 3 | | S^t^ Martins Orgars | 2 | |
| Alhallows Breadstreet | | | S^t^ Hellens | | | S^t^ Martins Outwitch | 1 | |
| Alhallows Great | | | S^t^ James Dukes place | 2 | | S^t^ Martins Vintrey | | |
| Alhallows Honylane | | | S^t^ James Garlickhithe | | | S^t^ Mathew Fridaystreet | | |
| Alhallows Lesse | 1 | | S^t^ John Baptist | | | S^t^ Maudlins Milkstreet | | |
| Alhallows Lumbardstr. | | | S^t^ John Evangelist | | | S^t^ Maudlins Oldfishstr. | | |
| Alhallows Stayning | 2 | | S^t^ John Zachary | 2 | | S^t^ Michael Bassishaw | 1 | |
| Alhallows the Wall | 3 | | St Katharine Coleman | 1 | | S^t^ Michael Cornhil | 3 | |
| S^t^ Alphage | | | S^t^ Katharine creechurch | 3 | | S^t^ Michael Crookedla. | 1 | |
| S^t^ Andrew Hubbard | 1 | | S^t^ Lawrence Jewry | 2 | | S^t^ Michael Queenhithe | 4 | |
| S^t^ Andrew Undershaft | | | S^t^ Lawrence Pountney | | | S^t^ Michael Quern | | |
| S^t^ Andrew Wardrobe | 1 | | S^t^ Leonard Eastcheap | | | S^t^ Michael Royall | 1 | |
| S^t^ Ann Aldersgate | 2 | | S^t^ Leonard Fosterlane | | | S^t^ Michael Woodstreet | 1 | |
| S^t^ Ann Blackfryers | 4 | | S^t^ Magnus Parish | 1 | | S^t^ Mildred Breadstreet | | |
| S^t^ Antholins Parish | | | S^t^ Margaret Lothbury | 1 | | S^t^ Mildred Poultrey | | |
| S^t^ Austins Parish | | | S^t^ Margaret Moses | 1 | | St Nicholas Acons | 1 | |
| S^t^ Bartholomew Exchs | | | S^t^ Margaret Newfishst | 1 | | S^t^ Nicholas Colebby | 1 | |
| S^t^ Bennet Fynck | 1 | | S^t^ Margaret Pattons | | | S^t^ Nicholas Olaves | | |
| S^t^ Bennet Gracechurch | | | S^t^ Mary Abchurch | | | S^t^ Olaves Hartstreet | 1 | |
| S^t^ Bennet Paulswharfe | | | S^t^ Mary Aldermanbury | 2 | | S^t^ Olaves Jewry | 1 | |
| S^t^ Bennet Sherehog | | | S^t^ Mary Aldermary | 1 | | S^t^ Olaves Silverstreet | 1 | |
| S^t^ Botolph Billingsgate | | | S^t^ Mary le Bow | 1 | | S^t^ Pancras Soperlane | 1 | |
| Christ Church | 7 | | S^t^ Mary Bothaw | | | S^t^ Peters Cheap | | |
| S^t^ Christophers | | | S^t^ Mary Colechurch | | | S^t^ Peters Cornhil | | |
| S^t^ Clement Eastcheap | | | S^t^ Mary Hill | | | S^t^ Peters Paulswharf | | |
| S^t^ Dionis Backchurch | | | S^t^ Mary Mounthaw | 2 | | S^t^ Peters Poor | 1 | |
| S^t^ Dunstans East | | | S^t^ Mary Sommerset | | | S^t^ Stevens Colemanst | 4 | |
| S^t^ Edm. Lumbardstreet | | | S^t^ Mary Stayning | | | S^t^ Stevens Walbrook | | |
| S^t^ Ethelborough | 1 | | S^t^ Mary Woolchurch | | | S^t^ Swithins | 2 | |
| S^t^ Faiths | | | S^t^ Mary Woolnoth | | | S^t^ Thomas Apostles | | |
| S^t^ Fosters | 1 | | S^t^ Martins Iremonger | | | Trinity Parish | 1 | |
| S^t^ Gabriel Fenchurch | | | | | | | | |

*Buried in the* 97 *Parishes within the Walls* — 81 *Plague* — 0

| | | | | | | | | |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| S^t^ Andrews Holborne | 16 | | S^t^ Botolph Aldgate | 20 | | S^t^ Saviours Southwark | 13 | |
| S^t^ Bartholomew Great | | | S^t^ Botolph Bishopsgate | 10 | | S^t^ Sepulchres Parish | 16 | |
| S^t^ Bartholomew Lesse | | | S^t^ Dunstans West | 6 | | S^t^ Thomas Southwark | 1 | |
| S^t^ Brides Parish | 12 | | S^t^ George Southwark | 6 | | Trinity Minories | | |
| Bridewel Precinct | | | S^t^ Giles Cripplegate | 30 | | At the Pesthouse | | |
| S^t^ Botolph Aldersgate | 1 | | S^t^ Olaves Southwark | 18 | | | | |

*Buried in the* 16 *Parishes without the Walls, and at the Pesthouse* — 149 *Plague* — 0

| | | | | | | | | |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| S^t^ Giles in the fields | 25 | | Lambeth Parish | 4 | | S^t^ Mary Islington | 2 | |
| Hackney Parish | 3 | | S^t^ Leonard Shoreditch | 8 | | S^t^ Mary Whitechappel | 15 | |
| S^t^ James Clerkenwel | 12 | | S^t^ Magdalen Bermond | 7 | | Redrift Parish | | |
| S^t^ Kath. neer the Tower | 2 | | S^t^ Mary Newington | 4 | | Stepney Parish | 25 | |

*Buried in the* 12 *out Parishes in* Middlesex *and* Surry — 107 *Plague* — 0

| | | | | | | | | |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| S^t^ Clement Danes | 6 | | S^t^ Martins in the fields | 16 | | S^t^ Margaret Westminst. | 20 | |
| S^t^ Paul Covent Garden | 3 | | S^t^ Mary Savoy | | | *Whereof at the Pesthouse* | | |

*Buried in the* 5 *Parishes in the City and Liberties of* Westminster — 45 *Plague* — 0.

# *The Diseases and Casualties this Week.*

| | |
|---|---|
| Abortive | 2 |
| Aged | 28 |
| Apoplexie | 1 |
| Canker | 1 |
| Chilbed | 5 |
| Chrisoms | 12 |
| Consumption | 87 |
| Convulsion | 25 |
| Cough | 1 |
| Dropsie | 31 |
| Feaver | 34 |
| Flox and Small-pox | 19 |
| French-pox | 4 |
| Gangrene | 2 |
| Griping in the Guts | 22 |
| Head-mould shot | 1 |
| Jaundies | 2 |
| Imposthume | 3 |
| Infants | 6 |
| Kingsevill | 1 |
| Overlaid | 2 |
| Palsie | 2 |
| Purples | 1 |
| Rickets | 14 |
| Rising of the Lights | 4 |
| Scurvy | 1 |
| Spotted Feaver | 3 |
| Stilborn | 12 |
| Stone | 1 |
| Stopping of the stomach | 4 |
| Suddenly | 5 |
| Surfeit | 8 |
| Teeth | 25 |
| Tissick | 8 |
| Winde | 3 |
| Wormes | 2 |

| | | | | | |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| Christned | Males — 126 | Buried | Males — 197 | Plague — 0 | |
| | Females — 119 | | Females — 185 | | |
| | In all — 245 | | In all — 382 | | |

Increased in the Burials this Week — 38

Parishes clear of the Plague — 130 Parishes Infected — 0

*The Assize of Bread set forth by Order of the Lord Maior and Court of Aldermen,*
A penny Wheaten Loaf to contain Ten Ounces, and three half-penny White Loaves the like weight.

| | Bur. | Plag. | | Bur. | Plag. | | Bur. | Plag. |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| St ALban Woodstreet | 2 | | St George Botolphlane | | | St Martin Ludgate | | |
| Alhallows Barking | 1 | | St Gregory by St Pauls | 3 | | St Martin Orgars | 1 | |
| Alhallows Breadstreet | | | St Hellen | 1 | | St Martin Outwitch | | |
| Alhallows Great | 2 | | St James Dukes place | 1 | | St Martin Vintrey | | |
| Alhallows Honylane | | | St James Garlickhithe | 2 | | St Matthew Fridaystreet | | |
| Alhallows Lesse | | | St John Baptist | 2 | | St Maudlin Milkstreet | 1 | |
| Alhallows Lumbardstreet | 1 | | St John Evangelist | | | St Maudlin Oldfishstreet | 2 | |
| Alhallows Stayning | | | St John Zachary | | | St Michael Bassishaw | 3 | |
| Alhallows the Wall | 3 | | St Katharine Coleman | 1 | | St Michael Cornhil | | |
| St Alphage | | | St Katharine Crechurch | 1 | | St Michael Crookedlane | 1 | |
| St Andrew Hubbard | 2 | | St Lawrence Jewry | | | St Michael Queenhithe | 2 | |
| St Andrew Undershaft | 2 | | St Lawrence Pountney | | | St Michael Quern | | |
| St Andrew Wardrobe | 3 | | St Leonard Eastcheap | | | St Michael Royal | | |
| St Ann Aldersgate | 1 | | St Leonard Fosterlane | | | St Michael Woodstreet | 1 | |
| St Ann Blackfryers | 3 | | St Magnus Parish | | | St Mildred Breadstreet | | |
| St Antholins Parish | | | St Margaret Lothbury | | | St Mildred Poultrey | | |
| St Austins Parish | | | St Margaret Moses | | | St Nicholas Acons | 1 | |
| St Bartholomew Exchange | | | St Margaret Newfishstre. | | | St Nicholas Coleabby | | |
| St Bennet Fynck | | | St Margaret Pattons | | | St Nicholas Olaves | | |
| St Bennet Gracechurch | | | St Mary Abchurch | | | St Olave Hartstreet | | |
| St Bennet Paulswharf | 1 | | St Mary Aldermanbury | 2 | | St Olave Jewry | | |
| St Bennet Sherehog | | | St Mary Aldermary | | | St Olave Silverstreet | 1 | |
| St Botolph Billingsgate | 1 | | St Mary le Bow | | | St Pancras Soperlane | | |
| Christ Church | 7 | | St Mary Bothaw | | | St Peter Cheap | | |
| St Christophers | | | St Mary Colechurch | | | St Peter Cornhil | 1 | |
| St Clement Eastcheap | 1 | | St Mary Hill | | | St Peter Paulswharf | | |
| St Dionis Backchurch | | | St Mary Mounthaw | | | St Peter Poor | | |
| St Dunstan East | 1 | | St Mary Sommerset | 1 | | St Steven Colemanstreet | 1 | |
| St Edmund Lumbardstr. | 2 | | St Mary Stayning | | | St Steven Walbrook | 1 | |
| St Ethelborough | 1 | | St Mary Woolchurch | | | St Swithin | | |
| St Faith | | | St Mary Woolnoth | | | St Thomas Apostles | | |
| St Foster | | | St Martin Iremongerlane | 1 | | Trinity Parish | 1 | |
| St Gabriel Fenchurch | | | | | | | | |

*Buried in the 97 Parishes within the Walls* — 66 *Plague* — 0

| | | | | | | | | |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| St Andrew Holborn | 19 | | St Botolph Aldgate | 17 | | Saviours Southwark | 22 | |
| St Bartholomew Great | | | St Botolph Bishopsgate | 14 | | S Sepulchres Parish | 12 | |
| St Bartholomew Lesse | | | St Dunstan West | 1 | | St Thomas Southwark | 2 | |
| St Bridget | 7 | | St George Southwark | 1 | | Trinity Minories | | |
| Bridewel Precinct | | | St Giles Cripplegate | 18 | | At the Pesthouse | | |
| St Botolph Aldersgate | 3 | | St Olave Southwark | 10 | | | | |

*Buried in the 16 Parishes without the Walls, and at the Pesthouse* — 126 *Plague* — 0

| | | | | | | | | |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| St Giles in the fields | 25 | | Lambeth Parish | 2 | | St Mary Islington | 2 | |
| Hackney Parish | 4 | | St Leonard Shoreditch | 8 | | St Mary Whitechappel | 9 | |
| St James Clerkenwel | 10 | | St Magdalen Bermondsey | 5 | | Rothorith Parish | 2 | |
| St Kath. near the Tower | 3 | | St Mary Newington | 4 | | Stepney Parish | 19 | |

*Buried in the 12 out Parishes in* Middlesex *and* Surrey — 93 *Plague* —

| | | | | | | | | |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| St Clement Danes | 12 | | St Martin in the fields | 21 | | St Margaret Westminste | 21 | |
| St Paul Covent Garden | 3 | | St Mary Savoy | 2 | | *Whereof at the* Pesthouse | | |

*Buried in the 5 Parishes in the City and Liberties of* Westminste — 59 *Plague* — 0

# *The Diseases and Casualties this Week.*

| | |
|---|---|
| Abortive | 5 |
| Aged | 38 |
| Broken legge | 1 |
| Cancer | 1 |
| Childbed | 8 |
| Chrisomes | 18 |
| Consumption | 56 |
| Convulsion | 25 |
| Dropsie | 21 |
| Drowned at St. Kathar. Tower | 1 |
| Executed | 6 |
| Feaver | 34 |
| Fistula | 1 |
| Flox and Small-pox | 13 |
| Flux | 2 |
| Found dead (an Infant) at St. Giles in the Fields | 1 |
| French-pox | 3 |
| Griping in the Guts | 14 |
| Head-mould-shot | 1 |
| Imposthume | 4 |
| Infants | 7 |
| Kingsevil | 2 |
| Overlaid | 4 |
| Plurisie | 2 |
| Rickets | 4 |
| Rising of the Lights | 8 |
| Rupture | 1 |
| Scurvy | 1 |
| Spotted Feaver | 8 |
| Stilborn | 7 |
| Stone | 1 |
| Stopping of the stomach | 8 |
| Strangury | 1 |
| Suddenly | 3 |
| Surfeit | 9 |
| Teeth | 17 |
| Thrush | 3 |
| Tissick | 3 |
| Ulcer | 1 |
| Wormes | 1 |

| | | | | | |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| Christned | Males | 117 | Buried | Males | 185 |
| | Females | 120 | | Females | 159 |
| | In all | 237 | | In all | 344 |

Plague — 0

Decreased in the Burials this Week — 38

Parishes clear of the Plague — 130 Parishes Infected — 0

*The Assize of Bread set forth by Order of the Lord Maior and Court of Aldermen,*

A penny Wheaten Loaf to contain Ten Ounces, and three half-penny White Loaves the like weight.

| | Bur. | Plag. |
|---|---|---|
| St Alban Woodstreet | 1 | |
| Alhallows Barking | 3 | |
| Alhallows Breadstreet | | |
| Alhallows Great | 2 | |
| Alhallows Honylane | | |
| Alhallows Lesse | 2 | |
| Alhallows Lumbardstreet | | |
| Alhallows Stayning | | |
| Alhallows the Wall | 2 | |
| St Alphage | 3 | |
| St Andrew Hubbard | | |
| St Andrew Undershaft | 1 | |
| St Andrew Wardrobe | 3 | |
| St Ann Aldersgate | | |
| St Ann Blackfryers | | |
| St Antholins Parish | 1 | |
| St Austins Parish | | |
| St Bartholomew Exchange | 2 | |
| St Bennet Fynck | | |
| St Bennet Gracechurch | | |
| St Bennet Paulswharf | 1 | |
| St Bennet Sherehog | | |
| St Botolph Billingsgate | 1 | |
| Christ Church | 1 | |
| St Christophers | 1 | |
| St Clement Eastcheap | 1 | |
| St Dionis Backchurch | 1 | |
| St Dunstan East | 1 | |
| St Edmund Lumbardstr. | | |
| St Ethelborough | | |
| St Faith | | |
| St Foster | 1 | |
| St Gabriel Fenchurch | | |

| | Bur. | Plag. |
|---|---|---|
| St George Botolphlane | | |
| St Gregory by St Pauls | 1 | |
| St Hellen | | |
| St James Dukes place | | |
| St James Garlickhithe | 1 | |
| St John Baptist | 2 | |
| St John Evangelist | | |
| St John Zachary | 1 | |
| St Katharine Coleman | 1 | |
| St Katharine Crechurch | | |
| St Lawrence Jewry | | |
| St Lawrence Pountney | 1 | |
| St Leonard Eastcheap | 1 | |
| St Leonard Fosterlane | 3 | |
| St Magnus Parish | 1 | |
| St Margaret Lothbury | 1 | |
| St Margaret Moses | | |
| St Margaret Newfishstre. | | |
| St Margaret Pattons | | |
| St Mary Abchurch | 1 | |
| St Mary Aldermanbury | | |
| St Mary Aldermary | | |
| St Mary le Bow | | |
| St Mary Bothaw | 2 | |
| St Mary Colechurch | | |
| St Mary Hill | 1 | |
| St Mary Mounthaw | | |
| St Mary Sommerset | 2 | |
| St Mary Stayning | | |
| St Mary Woolchurch | | |
| St Mary Woolnoth | | |
| St Martin Iremongerlane | | |

| | Bur. | Plag. |
|---|---|---|
| St Martin Ludgate | | |
| St Martin Orgars | | |
| St Martin Outwitch | | |
| St Martin Vintrey | | |
| St Matthew Fridaystreet | 1 | |
| St Maudlin Milkstreet | | |
| St Maudlin Oldfishstreet | 3 | |
| St Michael Bassishaw | 1 | |
| St Michael Cornhil | | |
| St Michael Crookedlane | | |
| St Michael Queenhithe | 1 | |
| St Michael Quern | | |
| St Michael Royal | | |
| St Michael Woodstreet | | |
| St Mildred Breadstreet | 1 | |
| St Mildred Poultrey | | |
| St Nicholas Acons | 1 | |
| St Nicholas Coleabby | | |
| St Nicholas Olaves | | |
| St Olave Hartstreet | | |
| St Olave Jewry | | |
| St Olave Silverstreet | | |
| St Pancras Soperlane | 1 | |
| St Peter Cheap | | |
| St Peter Cornhil | 1 | |
| St Peter Paulswharf | | |
| St Peter Poor | | |
| St Steven Colemanstreet | 8 | |
| St Steven Walbrook | | |
| St Swithin | | |
| St Thomas Apostles | | |
| Trinity Parish | 1 | |

*Buried in the 97 Parishes within the Walls* — 65 *Plague* — 0

| | | | | | | | |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| St Andrew Holborn | 16 | St Botolph Aldgate | 14 | Saviours Southwark | 14 | | |
| St Bartholomew Great | | St Botolph Bishopsgate | 12 | S Sepulchres Parish | 17 | | |
| St Bartholomew Lesse | | St Dunstan West | 5 | St Thomas Southwark | 3 | | |
| St Bridget | 9 | St George Southwark | 5 | Trinity Minories | | | |
| Bridewel Precinct | 1 | St Giles Cripplegate | 28 | At the Pesthouse | | | |
| St Botolph Aldersgate | 3 | St Olave Southwark | 18 | | | | |

*Buried in the 16 Parishes without the Walls, and at the Pesthouse* — 145 *Plague* — 0

| | | | | | | | |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| St Giles in the fields | 30 | 2 | Lambeth Parish | 7 | St Mary Islington | 2 | |
| Hackney Parish | 3 | | St Leonard Shoreditch | 10 | St Mary Whitechappel | 9 | |
| St James Clerkenwel | 6 | | St Magdalen Bermondsey | 5 | Rothorith Parish | | |
| St Kath. near the Tower | 6 | | St Mary Newington | 1 | Stepney Parish | 37 | |

*Buried in the 12 out Parishes in* Middlesex *and* Surrey — 119 *Plague* — 2

| | | | | | | | |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| St Clement Danes | 12 | St Martin in the fields | 29 | St Margaret Westminster | 23 | | |
| St Paul Covent Garden | 3 | St Mary Savoy | 2 | *whereof at the* Pesthouse | | | |

*Buried in the 5 Parishes in the City and Liberties of* Westminster — 69 *Plague* — 0

# The Diseases and Casualties this Week.

| | |
|---|---|
| Abortive | 4 |
| Aged | 25 |
| Ague | 1 |
| Cancer | 2 |
| Childbed | 5 |
| Chrisomes | 8 |
| Consumption | 79 |
| Convulsion | 33 |
| Cough | 3 |
| Dropsie | 33 |
| Drownd 3, two at St. Katharine Tower, and one at St. James Clerkenwell | 3 |
| Feaver | 36 |
| Fistula | 1 |
| Flox and Small-pox | 17 |
| Flux | 5 |
| Found dead in the street at St. Giles in the Fields | 1 |
| French-pox | 5 |
| Gangrene | 1 |
| Griping in the Guts | 22 |
| Jaundies | 5 |
| Imposthume | 6 |
| Infants | 7 |
| Kild 2, one at St. Paul Covent Garden, and one by a Horse at S. Sepulchers | 2 |
| Kingsevil | 1 |
| Mouldfallen | 1 |
| Plague | 2 |
| Plurisie | 1 |
| Purples | 1 |
| Rickets | 10 |
| Rising of the Lights | 8 |
| Scowring | 2 |
| Scurvy | 2 |
| Spotted Feaver | 12 |
| Stilborn | 5 |
| Stopping of the stomach | 6 |
| Suddenly | 1 |
| Surfeit | 8 |
| Teeth | 22 |
| Thrush | 4 |
| Tissick | 4 |
| Ulcer | 2 |
| Winde | 1 |
| Wormes | 1 |

| | | | | | |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| Christned | Males | 122 | Buried | Males | 211 |
| | Females | 107 | | Females | 187 |
| | In all | 229 | | In all | 398 |

Plague 2.

Increased in the Burials this Week 54

Parishes clear of the Plague 129. Parishes Infected 1

*The Assize of Bread set forth by Order of the Lord Maior and Court of Aldermen,*
A penny Wheaten Loaf to contain Ten Ounces, and three half-penny White Loaves the like weight.

| | Bur. | Plag. | | Bur. | Plag. | | Bur. | Plag. |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| St Alban Woodstreet | | | St George Botolphlane | | | St Martin Ludgate | | |
| Alhallows Barking | 3 | | St Gregory by St Pauls | 3 | | St Martin Orgars | | |
| Alhallows Breadstreet | | | St Hellen | 2 | | St Martin Outwitch | 1 | |
| Alhallows Great | 1 | | St James Dukes place | 1 | | St Martin Vintrey | 3 | |
| Alhallows Honylane | | | St James Garlickhithe | 1 | | St Matthew Fridaystreet | | |
| Alhallows Lesse | 1 | | St John Baptist | | | St Maudlin Milkstreet | | |
| Alhallows Lumbardstreet | | | St John Evangelist | | | St Maudlin Oldfishstreet | | |
| Alhallows Staining | 2 | | St John Zachary | | | St Michael Bassishaw | 1 | |
| Alhallows the Wall | 3 | | St Katharine Coleman | 2 | | St Michael Cornhil | | |
| St Alphage | | | St Katharine Crechurch | 1 | | St Michael Crookedlane | | |
| St Andrew Hubbard | 1 | | St Lawrence Jewry | 1 | | St Michael Queenhithe | | |
| St Andrew Undershaft | | | St Lawrence Pountney | 1 | | St Michael Quern | | |
| St Andrew Wardrobe | 5 | | St Leonard Eastcheap | | | St Michael Royal | | |
| St Ann Aldersgate | 2 | | St Leonard Fosterlane | 1 | | St Michael Woodstreet | | |
| St Ann Blackfryers | 1 | | St Magnus Parish | 2 | | St Mildred Breadstreet | 1 | |
| St Antholins Parish | | | St Margaret Lothbury | | | St Mildred Poultrey | 2 | |
| St Austins Parish | | | St Margaret Moses | | | St Nicholas Acons | | |
| St Bartholomew Exchange | | | St Margaret Newfishstreet | 1 | | St Nicholas Coleabby | 1 | |
| St Bennet Fynck | 1 | | St Margaret Pattons | | | St Nicholas Olaves | | |
| St Bennet Gracechurch | | | St Mary Abchurch | | | St Olave Hartstreet | | |
| St Bennet Paulswharf | | | St Mary Aldermanbury | | | St Olave Jewry | 3 | |
| St Bennet Sherehog | 1 | | St Mary Aldermary | | | St Olave Silverstreet | | |
| St Botolph Billingsgate | | | St Mary le Bow | | | St Pancras Soperlane | | |
| Christs Church | 1 | | St Mary Bothaw | | | St Peter Cheap | | |
| St Christophers | 1 | | St Mary Colechurch | | | St Peter Cornhil | 1 | |
| St Clement Eastcheap | | | St Mary Hill | | | St Peter Paulswharf | 1 | |
| St Dionis Backchurch | | | St Mary Mounthaw | 1 | | St Peter Poor | | |
| St Dunstan East | 1 | | St Mary Sommerset | 2 | | St Steven Colemanstreet | 2 | |
| St Edmund Lumbardstr. | 1 | | St Mary Stayning | 1 | | St Steven Walbrook | | |
| St Ethelborough | 1 | | St Mary Woolchurch | 2 | | St Swithin | 1 | |
| St Faith | | | St Mary Woolnoth | | | St Thomas Apostle | 1 | |
| St Foster | 1 | | St Martin Iremongerlane | | | Trinity Parish | 1 | |
| St Gabriel Fenchurch | 2 | | | | | | | |

*Buried in the 97 Parishes within the Walls* — 70 *Plague* — 0

| | | | | | | | |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| St Andrew Holborn | 14 | St Botolph Aldgate | 8 | Saviours Southwark | 16 |
| St Bartholomew Great | 4 | St Botolph Bishopsgate | 11 | S. Sepulchres Parish | 13 |
| St Bartholomew Lesse | | St Dunstan West | 6 | St Thomas Southwark | 1 |
| St Bridget | 8 | St George Southwark | 5 | Trinity Minories | |
| Bridewel Precinct | 1 | St Giles Cripplegate | 18 | At the Pesthouse | |
| St Botolph Aldersgate | 4 | St Olave Southwark | 16 | | |

*Buried in the 16 Parishes without the Walls, and at the Pesthouse* — 125 *Plague* — 0

| | | | | | |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| St Giles in the fields | 24 | Lambeth Parish | 5 | St Mary Islington | 3 |
| Hackney Parish | | St Leonard Shoreditch | 8 | St Mary Whitechappel | 11 |
| St James Clerkenwel | 13 | St Magdalen Bermondsey | 15 | Rotherith Parish | 3 |
| St Kath. near the Tower | 5 | St Mary Newington | 4 | Stepney Parish | 36 |

*Buried in the 12 out Parishes in* Middlesex *and* Surry — 127 *Plague* — 0

| | | | | | |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| St Clement Danes | 13 | St Martin in the fields | 26 | St Margaret Westminster | 20 |
| St Paul Covent Garden | 5 | St Mary Savoy | 2 | *whereof at the* Pesthouse | |

*Buried in the 5 Parishes in the City and Liberties of* Westminster — 66 *Plague* — 0

# *The Diseases and Casualties this Week.*

| | |
|---|---|
| Abortive | 5 |
| Aged | 29 |
| Apoplexie | 1 |
| Broke his neck by a fall aboard a Ship at St. Katherines | 1 |
| Childbed | 7 |
| Chrisomes | 7 |
| Collick | 1 |
| Consumption | 89 |
| Convulsion | 27 |
| Cough | 1 |
| Dropsie | 38 |
| Drowned in a pond at Stepney | 1 |
| Feaver | 35 |
| Flox and Small-pox | 9 |
| Flux | 1 |
| French-pox | 2 |
| Gangrene | 2 |
| Griping in the Guts | 16 |
| Imposthume | 1 |
| Infants | 17 |
| Killed 4, one at St. Andrew Holborn, one at St. Martin in the Fields, one by the kick of an Horse at St. Andrew VVardrobe, and one by a fall from a Garret VVindow at St. Olaves in Southwark | 4 |
| Kingsevil | 2 |
| Livergrown | 1 |
| Measles | 1 |
| Murthered at St. Paul Covent Garden | 1 |
| Overlaid | 3 |
| Quinsie | 1 |
| Rickets | 16 |
| Rising of the Lights | 6 |
| Scurvy | 3 |
| Spotted Feaver | 4 |
| Stilborn | 6 |
| Stone | 3 |
| Stopping of the stomach | 6 |
| Strangury | 1 |
| Surfeit | 9 |
| Teeth | 16 |
| Tissick | 3 |
| Ulcer | 2 |
| Vomiting | 1 |
| Winde | 4 |
| Wormes | 2 |
| VVounded | 3 |

| | | | | | |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| Christned | Males | 123 | Buried | Males | 198 |
| | Females | 114 | | Females | 190 |
| | In all | 237 | | In all | 388 |

Plague — 0

Decreased in the Burials this Week — 10

Parishes clear of the Plague — 130 Parishes Infected — 0

*The Assize of Bread set forth by Order of the Lord Maior and Court of Aldermen,*

A penny Wheaten Loaf to contain Ten Ounces, and three half-penny White Loaves the like weight.

| | Bur. | Plag. | | Bur. | Plag. | | Bur. | Plag. |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| St Alban Woodstreet | | | St George Botolphlane | | | St Martin Ludgate | | |
| Alhallows Barking | 3 | | St Gregory by St Pauls | 2 | | St Martin Orgars | | |
| Alhallows Breadstreet | | | St Hellen | | | St Martin Outwitch | | |
| Alhallows Great | 2 | | St James Dukes place | 2 | | St Martin Vintrey | | |
| Alhallows Honylane | | | St James Garlickhithe | 2 | | St Matthew Fridaystreet | | |
| Alhallows Lesse | 1 | | St John Baptist | | | St Maudlin Milkstreet | | |
| Alhallows Lumbardstreet | | | St John Evangelist | 2 | | St Maudlin Oldfishstreet | 1 | |
| Alhallows Staining | | | St John Zachary | | | St Michael Bassishaw | 2 | |
| Alhallows the Wall | 3 | | St Katharine Coleman | | | St Michael Cornhil | | |
| St Alphage | | | St Katharine Crechurch | | | St Michael Crookedlane | 1 | |
| St Andrew Hubbard | | | St Lawrence Jewry | 2 | | St Michael Queenhithe | 2 | |
| St Andrew Undershaft | 1 | | St Lawrence Pountney | | | St Michael Quern | | |
| St Andrew Wardrobe | 1 | | St Leonard Eastcheap | | | St Michael Royal | | |
| St Ann Aldersgate | | | St Leonard Fosterlane | | | St Michael Woodstreet | 1 | |
| St Ann Blackfryers | 1 | | St Magnus Parish | | | St Mildred Breadstreet | | |
| St Antholins Parish | 1 | | St Margaret Lothbury | 1 | | St Mildred Poultrey | | |
| St Austins Parish | | | St Margaret Moses | | | St Nicholas Acons | | |
| St Bartholomew Exchange | 1 | | St Margaret Newfishstreet | 1 | | St Nicholas Coleabby | | |
| St Bennet Fynck | | | St Margaret Pattons | | | St Nicholas Olaves | | |
| St Bennet Gracechurch | | | St Mary Abchurch | | | St Olave Hartstreet | 1 | |
| St Bennet Paulswharf | | | St Mary Aldermanbury | 1 | | St Olave Jewry | 2 | |
| St Bennet Sherehog | | | St Mary Aldermary | 1 | | St Olave Silverstreet | | |
| St Botolph Billingsgate | | | St Mary le Bow | | | St Pancras Soperlane | | |
| Christs Church | 1 | | St Mary Bothaw | | | St Peter Cheap | | |
| St Christophers | 1 | | St Mary Colechurch | | | St Peter Cornhil | | |
| St Clement Eastcheap | 1 | | St Mary Hill | | | St Peter Paulswharf | | |
| St Dionis Backchurch | 2 | | St Mary Mounthaw | | | St Peter Poor | 1 | |
| St Dunstan East | | | St Mary Sommerset | 1 | | St Steven Colemanstreet | 1 | |
| St Edmund Lumbardstr. | 2 | | St Mary Stayning | | | St Steven Walbrook | | |
| St Ethelborough | 3 | | St Mary Woolchurch | 1 | 1 | St Swithin | | |
| St Faith | | | St Mary Woolnoth | 1 | | St Thomas Apostle | | |
| St Foster | | | St Martin Iremongerlane | | | Trinity Parish | | |
| St Gabriel Fenchurch | 1 | | | | | | | |

*Buried in the 97 Parishes within the Walls* — 54 *Plague* — 1

| | | | | | | | | |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| St Andrew Holborn | 17 | 1 | St Botolph Aldgate | 17 | | Saviours Southwark | 14 | |
| St Bartholomew Great | | | St Botolph Bishopsgate | 7 | | S. Sepulchres Parish | 12 | |
| St Bartholomew Lesse | 1 | | St Dunstan West | 5 | | St Thomas Southwark | | |
| St Bridget | 5 | | St George Southwark | 3 | | Trinity Minories | | |
| Bridewel Precinct | | | St Giles Cripplegate | 24 | | At the Pesthouse | | |
| St Botolph Aldersgate | 2 | | St Olave Southwark | 16 | | | | |

*Buried in the 16 Parishes without the Walls, and at the Pesthouse* — 123 *Plague* — 1

| | | | | | | | | |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| St Giles in the fields | 30 | 3 | Lambeth Parish | 6 | | St Mary Islington | 2 | |
| Hackney Parish | 5 | | St Leonard Shoreditch | 9 | | St Mary Whitechappel | 2 | |
| St James Clerkenwel | 4 | | St Magdalen Bermondsey | 8 | | Rothorith Parish | 5 | |
| St Kath. near the Tower | 5 | | St Mary Newington | 8 | | Stepney Parish | 30 | |

*Buried in the 12 out Parishes in* Middlesex *and* Surry — 114 *Plague* — 3

| | | | | | | | | |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| St Clement Danes | 16 | 4 | St Martin in the fields | 25 | | St Margaret Westminster | 10 | |
| St Paul Covent Garden | 2 | | St Mary Savoy | 3 | | *whereof at the* Pesthouse | | |

*Buried in the 5 Parishes in the City and Liberties of Westminster* — 56 *Plague* — 4

# The Diseases and Casualties this Week.

| | |
|---|---|
| Aged | 20 |
| Cancer | 1 |
| Canker | 1 |
| Childbed | 2 |
| Chrisomes | 12 |
| Consumption | 80 |
| Convulsion | 22 |
| Dropsie | 15 |
| Drownd at St. Olaves in Southwark | 1 |
| Feaver | 37 |
| Flox and Small-pox | 15 |
| French-pox | 3 |
| Griping in the Guts | 18 |
| Jaundies | 1 |
| Imposthume | 4 |
| Infants | 15 |
| Killed by a fall down stairs at Alhallows the Great | 1 |
| Kingsevil | 3 |
| Murthered 2, one by the Mother (an Infant) at St. Giles Cripplegate, and one (an Infant) at St. Clement Danes | 2 |
| Overlaid | 1 |
| Plague | 9 |
| Plurisie | 1 |
| Rickets | 7 |
| Rising of the Lights | 2 |
| Scowring | 3 |
| Spotted Feaver | 6 |
| Stilborn | 10 |
| Stone | 3 |
| Stopping of the stomach | 3 |
| Suddenly | 4 |
| Surfeit | 15 |
| Teeth | 19 |
| Thrush | 2 |
| Tissick | 2 |
| Ulcer | 3 |
| Vomiting | 1 |
| Winde | 1 |
| Wormes | 1 |
| VVounded at Sea (at Stepney) | 1 |

| | | | | | |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| Christned | Males | 109 | Buried | Males | 185 |
| | Females | 102 | | Females | 162 |
| | In all | 211 | | In all | 347 |

Plague 9

Decreased in the Burials this Week 41

Parishes clear of the Plague 126 Parishes Infected 4

*The Assize of Bread set forth by Order of the Lord Maior and Court of Aldermen,*

A penny Wheaten Loaf to contain Ten Ounces, and three half-penny White Loaves the like weight.

| | Bur. | Plag. | | Bur. | Plag. | | Bur. | Plag. |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| St Alban Woodstreet | 1 | | St George Botolphlane | | | St Martin Ludgate | | |
| Alhallows Barking | 2 | | St Gregory by St Pauls | 3 | | St Martin Orgars | | |
| Alhallows Breadstreet | | | St Hellen | 3 | | St Martin Outwitch | | |
| Alhallows Great | 1 | | St James Dukes place | 3 | | St Martin Vintrey | | |
| Alhallows Honylane | | | St James Garlickhithe | | | St Matthew Fridaystreet | 2 | |
| Alhallows Lesse | 2 | | St John Baptist | | | St Maudlin Milkstreet | 1 | |
| Alhallows Lumbardstreet | | | St John Evangelist | | | St Maudlin Oldfishstreet | | |
| Alhallows Stayning | | | St John Zachary | | | St Michael Bassishaw | | |
| Alhallows the Wall | 2 | | St Katharine Coleman | | | St Michael Cornhil | | |
| St Alphage | 2 | | St Katharine Crechurch | 3 | | St Michael Crookedlane | 1 | |
| St Andrew Hubbard | | | St Lawrence Jewry | | | St Michael Queenhithe | | |
| St Andrew Undershaft | | | St Lawrence Pountney | | | St Michael Quern | | |
| St Andrew Wardrobe | 1 | | St Leonard Eastcheap | | | St Michael Royal | | |
| St Ann Aldersgate | | | St Leonard Fosterlane | | | St Michael Woodstreet | 1 | |
| St Ann Blackfryers | 2 | | St Magnus Parish | | | St Mildred Breadstreet | | |
| St Antholins Parish | | | St Margaret Lothbury | | | St Mildred Poultrey | | |
| St Austins Parish | 1 | | St Margaret Moses | | | St Nicholas Acons | | |
| St Bartholomew Exchange | 3 | | St Margaret Newfishstre. | | | St Nicholas Coleabby | 1 | |
| St Bennet Fynck | | | St Margaret Pattons | | | St Nicholas Olaves | | |
| St Bennet Gracechurch | 1 | | St Mary Abchurch | | | St Olave Hartstreet | 1 | |
| St Bennet Paulswharf | | | St Mary Aldermanbury | | | St Olave Jewry | | |
| St Bennet Sherehog | 1 | | St Mary Aldermary | 1 | | St Olave Silverstreet | | |
| St Botolph Billingsgate | 2 | | St Mary le Bow | | | St Pancras Soperlane | | |
| Christ Church | 2 | | St Mary Bothaw | 1 | | St Peter Cheap | | |
| St Christophers | | | St Mary Colechurch | | | St Peter Cornhil | | |
| St Clement Eastcheap | 1 | | St Mary Hill | | | St Peter Paulswharf | | |
| St Dionis Backchurch | | | St Mary Mounthaw | | | St Peter Poor | | |
| St Dunstan East | 3 | | St Mary Sommerset | 2 | | St Steven Colemanstreet | 1 | |
| St Edmund Lumbardstr. | | | St Mary Stayning | 2 | | St Steven Walbrook | | |
| St Ethelborough | | | St Mary Woolchurch | | | St Swithin | 1 | |
| St Faith | | | St Mary Woolnoth | | | St Thomas Apostles | | |
| St Foster | | | St Martin Iremongerlane | | | Trinity Parish | | |
| St Gabriel Fenchurch | 1 | | | | | | | |

*Buried in the 97 Parishes within the Walls* — 55 *Plague* — 0

| | | | | | | | | |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| St Andrew Holborn | 15 | | St Botolph Aldgate | 16 | | Saviours Southwark | 10 | |
| St Bartholomew Great | | | St Botolph Bishopsgate | 9 | | S Sepulchres Parish | 18 | |
| St Bartholomew Lesse | 1 | | St Dunstan West | 5 | | St Thomas Southwark | 2 | |
| St Bridget | 7 | | St George Southwark | | | Trinity Minories | 1 | |
| Bridewel Precinct | 1 | | St Giles Cripplegate | 25 | | At the Pesthouse | | |
| St Botolph Aldersgate | 3 | | St Olave Southwark | 13 | | | | |

*Buried in the 16 Parishes without the Walls, and at the Pesthouse* — 126 *Plague* — 0

| | | | | | | | | |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| St Giles in the fields | 32 | 1 | Lambeth Parish | 5 | | St Mary Islington | 2 | |
| Hackney Parish | 3 | | St Leonard Shoreditch | 8 | | St Mary Whitechappel | 12 | |
| St James Clerkenwel | 4 | | St Magdalen Bermondsey | 9 | | Rothorith Parish | | |
| St Kath. near the Tower | 4 | | St Mary Newington | 4 | | Stepney Parish | 33 | |

*Buried in the 12 out Parishes in* Middlesex *and* Surrey — 116 *Plague* — 1

| | | | | | | | | |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| St Clement Danes | 10 | 2 | St Martin in the fields | 26 | | St Margaret Westminster | 16 | |
| St Paul Covent Garden | 3 | | St Mary Savoy | 1 | | *Whereof at the* Pesthouse | | |

*Buried in the 5 Parishes in the City and Liberties of* Westminster — 56 *Plague* — 2

# *The Diseases and Casualties this Week.*

| | |
|---|---|
| Abortive | 2 |
| Aged | 22 |
| Ague | 2 |
| Childbed | 4 |
| Chrisomes | 12 |
| Consumption | 75 |
| Convulsion | 34 |
| Cough | 2 |
| Dropsie | 22 |
| Executed | 1 |
| Feaver | 32 |
| Flox and Small-pox | 14 |
| French-pox | 1 |
| Grief | 1 |
| Griping in the Guts | 20 |
| Jaundies | 3 |
| Imposthume | 1 |
| Infants | 10 |
| Kild 2, one by a fall from a Garret window at St. Nicholas Coleaby, and one with a Cart at Stepney | 2 |
| Lethargy | 1 |
| Livergrown | 3 |
| Overlaid | 1 |
| Plague | 3 |
| Plurisie | 1 |
| Purples | 1 |
| Quinsie | 1 |
| Rickets | 7 |
| Rising of the Lights | 6 |
| Scowring | 1 |
| Spotted Feaver | 10 |
| Stilborn | 5 |
| Stone | 1 |
| Stopping of the stomach | 3 |
| Strangury | 1 |
| Suddenly | 2 |
| Surfeit | 13 |
| Teeth | 23 |
| Tissick | 3 |
| Winde | 3 |
| Wormes | 4 |

| | | | | | |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| Christned | Males | 116 | Buried | Males | 180 |
| | Females | 111 | | Females | 173 |
| | In all | 227 | | In all | 353 |

Plague 3

Increased in the Burials this Week 6

Parishes clear of the Plague 128 Parishes Infected 2

*The Assize of Bread set forth by Order of the Lord Maior and Court of Aldermen,*
A penny Wheaten Loaf to contain Ten Ounces, and three half-penny White Loaves the like weight.

| | Bur. | Plag. | | Bur. | Plag. | | Bur. | Plag. |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| St ALban Woodstreet | 1 | | St George Botolphlane | | | St Martin Ludgate | | |
| Alhallows Barking | 3 | | St Gregory by St Pauls | | | St Martin Orgars | 1 | |
| Alhallows Breadstreet | | | St Hellen | | | St Martin Outwitch | | |
| Alhallows Great | 1 | | St James Dukes place | | | St Martin Vintrey | | |
| Alhallows Honylane | | | St James Garlickhithe | | | St Matthew Fridaystreet | | |
| Alhallows Lesse | | | St John Baptist | 1 | | St Maudlin Milkstreet | 1 | |
| Alhallows Lumbardstreet | | | St John Evangelist | | | St Maudlin Oldfishstreet | 1 | |
| Alhallows Stayning | 2 | | St John Zachary | | | St Michael Bassishaw | | |
| Alhallows the Wall | | | St Katharine Coleman | | | St Michael Cornhil | | |
| St Alphage | 3 | | St Katharine Crechurch | 1 | | St Michael Crookedlane | | |
| St Andrew Hubbard | | | St Lawrence Jewry | 2 | | St Michael Queenhithe | 2 | |
| St Andrew Undershaft | 2 | | St Lawrence Pountney | | | St Michael Quern | 2 | |
| St Andrew Wardrobe | | | St Leonard Eastcheap | | | St Michael Royal | | |
| St Ann Aldersgate | 1 | | St Leonard Fosterlane | 1 | | St Michael Woodstreet | 1 | |
| St Ann Blackfryers | 3 | | St Magnus Parish | | | St Mildred Breadstreet | | |
| St Antholins Parish | 1 | | St Margaret Lothbury | 1 | | St Mildred Poultrey | 1 | |
| St Austins Parish | 1 | | St Margaret Moses | 1 | | St Nicholas Acons | | |
| St BartholomewExchange | 1 | | St Margaret Newfishstre. | 2 | | St Nicholas Coleabby | | |
| St Bennet Fynck | | | St Margaret Pattons | 1 | | St Nicholas Olaves | | |
| St Bennet Gracechurch | 1 | | St Mary Abchurch | | | St Olave Hartstreet | | |
| St Bennet Paulswharf | 2 | | St Mary Aldermanbury | | | St Olave Jewry | | |
| St Bennet Sherehog | | | St Mary Aldermary | 1 | | St Olave Silverstreet | 2 | |
| St Botolph Billingsgate | 1 | | St Mary le Bow | 1 | | St Pancras Soperlane | | |
| Christ Church | 3 | | St Mary Bothaw | | | St Peter Cheap | | |
| St Christophers | | | St Mary Colechurch | | | St Peter Cornhil | | |
| St Clement Eastcheap | | | St Mary Hill | | | St Peter Paulswharf | | |
| St Dionis Backchurch | | | St Mary Mounthaw | | | St Peter Poor | 2 | |
| St Dunstan East | | | St Mary Sommerset | 1 | | St Steven Colemanstreet | 4 | |
| St Edmund Lumbardstr. | | | St Mary Stayning | | | St Steven Walbrook | 1 | |
| St Ethelborough | | | St Mary Woolchurch | | | St Swithin | | |
| St Faith | | | St Mary Woolnoth | | | St Thomas Apostles | | |
| St Foster | 4 | | St Martin Iremongerlane | | | Trinity Parish | 2 | |
| St Gabriel Fenchurch | | | | | | | | |

*Buried in the 97 Parishes within the Walls* — 63 *Plague* — 0

| | | | | | | | | |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| St Andrew Holborn | 16 | | St Botolph Aldgate | 11 | | Saviours Southwark | 15 | |
| St Bartholomew Great | 2 | | St Botolph Bishopsgate | 11 | | S Sepulchres Parish | 18 | |
| St Bartholomew Lesse | | | St Dunstan West | 2 | 1 | St Thomas Southwark | 3 | |
| St Bridget | 7 | | St George Southwark | 2 | | Trinity Minories | | |
| Bridewel Precinct | | | St Giles Cripplegate | 23 | | At the Pesthouse | 1 | 1 |
| St Botolph Aldersgate | 7 | | St Olave Southwark | 7 | | | | |

*Buried in the 16 Parishes without the Walls, and at the Pesthouse* — 125 *Plague* — 2

| | | | | | | | | |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| St Giles in the fields | 40 | 7 | Lambeth Parish | 1 | | St Mary Islington | 2 | |
| Hackney Parish | 3 | | St Leonard Shoreditch | 10 | | St Mary Whitechappel | 14 | |
| St James Clerkenwel | 3 | | St Magdalen Bermondsey | 7 | | Rothorith Parish | | |
| St Kath. near the Tower | 5 | | St Mary Newington | 5 | | Stepney Parish | 38 | |

*Buried in the 12 out Parishes in* Middlesex *and* Surrey — 129 *Plague* — 7

| | | | | | | | | |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| St Clement Danes | 19 | 5 | St Martin in the fields | 22 | | St Margaret Westminster | 21 | |
| St Paul Covent Garden | 4 | | St Mary Savoy | 2 | | *Whereof at the Pesthouse* | | |

*Buried in the 5 Parishes in the City and Liberties of* Westminster — 68 *Plague* — 5

# *The Diseases and Casualties this Week.*

| | |
|---|---|
| Abortive | 4 |
| Aged | 23 |
| Blasted | 1 |
| Bloody flux | 1 |
| Canker | 1 |
| Childbed | 4 |
| Chrisomes | 9 |
| Consumption | 73 |
| Convulsion | 35 |
| Dropsie | 26 |
| Drowned 3, one at St. James Clerkenwel, one at St. Katherines Tower, and one at St. Clement Danes | 3 |
| Executed | 1 |
| Feaver | 34 |
| Flox and Small-pox | 14 |
| Flux | 1 |
| Found dead in a Barn at Stepney | 1 |
| Found murthered (a child) in the street at St. Margaret VVestminster | 1 |
| French-pox | 1 |
| Grief | 1 |
| Griping in the Guts | 18 |
| Hanged her self at St. Maudlin Milkstreet (being distracted) | 1 |
| Jaundies | 2 |
| Impostbume | 2 |
| Infants | 11 |
| Kild 3, one at St Mary Newington, one with a Cart at St. Giles in the Fields, and one with wrastling at St. Margaret VVestminster | 3 |
| Kingsevil | 3 |
| Overlaid | 3 |
| Plague | 14 |
| Rickets | 10 |
| Rising of the Lights | 6 |
| Rupture | 2 |
| Scowring | 2 |
| Scurvy | 1 |
| Spleen | 1 |
| Spotted Feaver | 14 |
| Stilborn | 4 |
| Stone | 2 |
| Stopping of the stomach | 8 |
| Suddenly | 2 |
| Surfeit | 11 |
| Teeth | 23 |
| Thrush | 1 |
| Tissick | 3 |
| Ulcer | 2 |
| Vomiting | 1 |
| Wormes | 1 |

| | | | | | |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| Christned | Males | 121 | Buried | Males | 191 |
| | Females | 110 | | Females | 194 |
| | In all | 231 | | In all | 385 |

Plague 14

Increased in the Burials this Week 32

Parishes clear of the Plague 127 Parishes Infected 3

*The Assize of Bread set forth by Order of the Lord Maior and Court of Aldermen,*

A penny Wheaten Loaf to contain Ten Ounces, and three half-penny White Loaves the like weight.

| | Bur. | Plag. | | Bur. | Plag. | | Bur. | Plag. |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| St Alban Woodstreet | 2 | | St George Botolphlane | 1 | | St Martin Ludgate | | |
| Alhallows Barking | 3 | | St Gregory by St Pauls | | | St Martin Orgars | | |
| Alhallows Breadstreet | | | St Hellen | | | St Martin Outwitch | | |
| Alhallows Great | 2 | | St James Dukes place | 1 | | St Martin Vintrey | | |
| Alhallows Honylane | | | St James Garlickhithe | 2 | | St Matthew Fridaystreet | | |
| Alhallows Lesse | | | St John Baptist | | | St Maudlin Milkstreet | | |
| Alhallows Lumbardstreet | 1 | | St John Evangelist | | | St Maudlin Oldfishstreet | | |
| Alhallows Staining | | | St John Zachary | 1 | | St Michael Bassishaw | 3 | |
| Alhallows the Wall | 2 | | St Katharine Coleman | 2 | | St Michael Cornhil | | |
| St Alphage | 2 | | St Katharine Crechurch | 2 | | St Michael Crookedlane | | |
| St Andrew Hubbard | 1 | | St Lawrence Jewry | 1 | | St Michael Queenhithe | | |
| St Andrew Undershaft | | | St Lawrence Pountney | 1 | | St Michael Quern | | |
| St Andrew Wardrobe | | | St Leonard Eastcheap | | | St Michael Royal | | |
| St Ann Aldersgate | | | St Leonard Fosterlane | | | St Michael Woodstreet | | |
| St Ann Blackfryers | 3 | | St Magnus Parish | | | St Mildred Breadstreet | 1 | |
| St Antholins Parish | | | St Margaret Lothbury | | | St Mildred Poultrey | | |
| St Austins Parish | 1 | | St Margaret Moses | | | St Nicholas Acons | 1 | |
| St Bartholomew Exchange | | | St Margaret Newfishstreet | 1 | | St Nicholas Coleabby | 1 | |
| St Bennet Fynck | | | St Margaret Pattons | | | St Nicholas Olaves | | |
| St Bennet Gracechurch | | | St Mary Abchurch | | | St Olave Hartstreet | | |
| St Bennet Paulswharf | | | St Mary Aldermanbury | 1 | | St Olave Jewry | 1 | |
| St Bennet Sherehog | | | St Mary Aldermary | | | St Olave Silverstreet | 2 | |
| St Botolph Billingsgate | 1 | | St Mary le Bow | | | St Pancras Soperlane | | |
| Christs Church | 1 | | St Mary Bothaw | 3 | | St Peter Cheap | | |
| St Christophers | | | St Mary Colechurch | | | St Peter Cornhil | | |
| St Clement Eastcheap | | | St Mary Hill | | | St Peter Paulswharf | 1 | |
| St Dionis Backchurch | 1 | | St Mary Mounthaw | | | St Peter Poor | | |
| St Dunstan East | 1 | | St Mary Sommerset | 4 | | St Steven Colemanstreet | 2 | |
| St Edmund Lumbardstr. | | | St Mary Stayning | | | St Steven Walbrook | | |
| St Ethelborough | | | St Mary Woolchurch | 1 | | St Swithin | 1 | |
| St Faith | 1 | | St Mary Woolnoth | | | St Thomas Apostle | | |
| St Foster | | | St Martin Iremongerlane | | | Trinity Parish | | |
| St Gabriel Fenchurch | | | | | | | | |

*Buried in the 97 Parishes within the Walls* — 56. *Plague* — 0

| | | | | | | | | |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| St Andrew Holborn | 18 | 1 | St Botolph Aldgate | 11 | | Saviours Southwark | 14 | |
| St Bartholomew Great | | | St Botolph Bishopsgate | 4 | 1 | S. Sepulchres Parish | 18 | |
| St Bartholomew Lesse | | | St Dunstan West | 5 | | St Thomas Southwark | | |
| St Bridget | 8 | | St George Southwark | 2 | | Trinity Minories | | |
| Bridewel Precinct | 2 | | St Giles Cripplegate | 21 | | At the Pesthouse | 1 | 1 |
| St Botolph Aldersgate | 4 | | St Olave Southwark | 19 | 1 | | | |

*Buried in the 16 Parishes without the Walls, and at the Pesthouse* — 127 *Plague* — 4

| | | | | | | | | |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| St Giles in the fields | 53 | 7 | Lambeth Parish | 6 | | St Mary Islington | 1 | |
| Hackney Parish | | | St Leonard Shoreditch | 9 | | St Mary Whitechappel | 19 | |
| St James Clerkenwel | 9 | | St Magdalen Bermondsey | 9 | | Rotherith Parish | | |
| St Kath. near the Tower | 2 | | St Mary Newington | 3 | | Stepney Parish | 34 | |

*Buried in the 12 out Parishes in Middlesex and Surry* — 145 *Plague* — 9

| | | | | | | | | |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| St Clement Danes | 10 | 4 | St Martin in the fields | 37 | | St Margaret Westminster | 21 | |
| St Paul Covent Garden | 4 | | St Mary Savoy | | | *Whereof at the* Pesthouse | | |

*Buried in the 5 Parishes in the City and Liberties of* Westminster — 72 *Plague* — 4

# *The Diſeaſes and Caſualties this Week.*

| | |
|---|---|
| Abortive | 4 |
| Aged | 23 |
| Childbed | 13 |
| Chriſomes | 8 |
| Conſumption | 80 |
| Convulſion | 29 |
| Cough | 2 |
| Dropſie | 27 |
| Feaver | 30 |
| Flox and Small-pox | 20 |
| Gowt | 1 |
| Griping in the Guts | 18 |
| Jaundies | 2 |
| Impoſthume | 4 |
| Infants | 12 |
| Killed with a fall off a Horſe at St. Martin in the fields | 1 |
| Overlaid | 1 |
| Plague | 17 |
| Pluriſie | 2 |
| Quinſie | 1 |
| Rickets | 14 |
| Riſing of the Lights | 4 |
| Scowring | 2 |
| Scurvy | 1 |
| Spotted Feaver | 23 |
| Stilborn | 9 |
| Stone | 1 |
| Stopping of the ſtomach | 5 |
| Suddenly | 2 |
| Surfeit | 13 |
| Teeth | 19 |
| Timpany | 1 |
| Tiſſick | 2 |
| Vomiting | 2 |
| Winde | 2 |
| Wormes | 4 |

| | | | | | |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| Chriſtned | Males | 127 | Buried | Males | 198 |
| | Females | 102 | | Females | 202 |
| | In all | 229 | | In all | 400 |

Plague 17

Increaſed in the Burials this Week 15

Pariſhes clear of the Plague 125 Pariſhes Infected 5

*The Aſſize of Bread ſet forth by Order of the Lord Maior and Court of Aldermen,*
A penny Wheaten Loaf to contain Ten Ounces, and three half-penny White Loaves the like weight.

| | Bur. | Plag. | | Bur. | Plag. | | Bur. | Plag. |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| St Alban Woodstreet | | | St George Botolphlane | | | St Martin Ludgate | | |
| Alhallows Barking | 1 | | St Gregory by St Pauls | 3 | | St Martin Orgars | | |
| Alhallows Breadstreet | 2 | | St Hellen | | | St Martin Outwitch | | |
| Alhallows Great | 3 | | St James Dukes place | 2 | | St Martin Vintrey | 2 | |
| Alhallows Honylane | | | St James Garlickhithe | | | St Matthew Fridaystreet | | |
| Alhallows Lesse | 1 | | St John Baptist | 2 | | St Maudlin Milkstreet | | |
| Alhallows Lumbardstreet | | | St John Evangelist | | | St Maudlin Oldfishstreet | | |
| Alhallows Staining | 1 | | St John Zachary | | | St Michael Bassishaw | | |
| Alhallows the Wall | 3 | | St Katharine Coleman | 2 | | St Michael Cornhil | | |
| St Alphage | | | St Katharine Crechurch | 3 | | St Michael Crookedlane | 2 | |
| St Andrew Hubbard | | | St Lawrence Jewry | 2 | | St Michael Queenhithe | | |
| St Andrew Undershaft | | | St Lawrence Pountney | 2 | | St Michael Quern | | |
| St Andrew Wardrobe | 3 | | St Leonard Eastcheap | | | St Michael Royal | | |
| St Ann Aldersgate | | | St Leonard Fosterlane | 3 | | St Michael Woodstreet | | |
| St Ann Blackfryers | 3 | | St Magnus Parish | 1 | | St Mildred Breadstreet | | |
| St Antholins Parish | | | St Margaret Lothbury | | | St Mildred Poultrey | 1 | |
| St Austins Parish | 1 | | St Margaret Moses | | | St Nicholas Acons | | |
| St Bartholomew Exchange | | | St Margaret Newfishstreet | 1 | | St Nicholas Coleabby | | |
| St Bennet Fynck | | | St Margaret Pattons | | | St Nicholas Olaves | | |
| St Bennet Gracechurch | | | St Mary Abchurch | | | St Olave Hartstreet | | |
| St Bennet Paulswharf | 4 | | St Mary Aldermanbury | 1 | | St Olave Jewry | | |
| St Bennet Sherehog | | | St Mary Aldermary | | | St Olave Silverstreet | | |
| St Botolph Billingsgate | | | St Mary le Bow | | | St Pancras Soperlane | | |
| Christs Church | 4 | | St Mary Bothaw | | | St Peter Cheap | | |
| St Christophers | | | St Mary Colechurch | | | St Peter Cornhil | 1 | |
| St Clement Eastcheap | | | St Mary Hill | | | St Peter Paulswharf | 1 | |
| St Dionis Backchurch | | | St Mary Mounthaw | | | St Peter Poor | | |
| St Dunstan East | 4 | | St Mary Sommerset | 3 | | St Steven Colemanstreet | 2 | |
| St Edmund Lumbardstr. | | | St Mary Stayning | | | St Steven Walbrook | | |
| St Ethelborough | | | St Mary Woolchurch | | | St Swithin | | |
| St Faith | | | St Mary Woolnoth | 2 | | St Thomas Apostle | 2 | |
| St Foster | 1 | | St Martin Iremongerlane | | | Trinity Parish | | |
| St Gabriel Fenchurch | | | | | | | | |

*Buried in the 97 Parishes within the Walls* — 69 *Plague* — 0

| | | | | | | | | |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| St Andrew Holborn | 19 | 1 | St Botolph Aldgate | 10 | | Saviours Southwark | 6 | |
| St Bartholomew Great | | | St Botolph Bishopsgate | 10 | | S. Sepulchres Parish | 32 | |
| St Bartholomew Lesse | | | St Dunstan West | 8 | 2 | St Thomas Southwark | 5 | |
| St Bridget | 5 | | St George Southwark | 3 | | Trinity Minories | | |
| Bridewel Precinct | | | St Giles Cripplegate | 28 | 2 | At the Pesthouse | | |
| St Botolph Aldersgate | 1 | | St Olave Southwark | 31 | | | | |

*Buried in the 16 Parishes without the Walls, and at the Pesthouse* — 135 *Plague* — 10

| | | | | | | | | |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| St Giles in the fields | 74 | 31 | Lambeth Parish | 4 | | St Mary Islington | 1 | |
| Hackney Parish | | | St Leonard Shoreditch | | | St Mary Whitechappel | 15 | 1 |
| St James Clerkenwel | 2 | | St Magdalen Bermondsey | 7 | | Rothorith Parish | 1 | |
| St Kath. near the Tower | 3 | | St Mary Newington | 3 | | Stepney Parish | 28 | |

*Buried in the 12 out Parishes in* Middlesex *and* Surry — 138 *Plague* — 32

| | | | | | | | | |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| St Clement Danes | 15 | | St Martin in the fields | 22 | 1 | St Margaret Westminster | 23 | |
| St Paul Covent Garden | 2 | | St Mary Savoy | 1 | | *Whereof at the* Pesthouse | | |

*Buried in the 5 Parishes in the City and Liberties of* Westminster — 63 *Plague* — 1

# *The Diſeaſes and Caſualties this Week.*

| | |
|---|---|
| Aged | 19 |
| Blaſted | 1 |
| Bruiſed | 1 |
| Childbed | 4 |
| Chriſomes | 9 |
| Collick | 1 |
| Conſumption | 63 |
| Convulſion | 31 |
| Cough | 1 |
| Dropſie | 27 |
| Drowned at Stepney | 1 |
| Feaver | 43 |
| Fiſtula | 1 |
| Flox and Small-pox | 20 |
| Flux | 2 |
| Found dead in the Abby, at St. Margaret VVeſtminſter | 1 |
| Gangrene | 1 |
| Griping in the Guts | 27 |
| Jaundies | 1 |
| Impoſthume | 3 |
| Infants | 12 |
| Kingſevil | 1 |
| Meaſles | 1 |
| Palſie | 1 |
| Plague | 43 |
| Purples | 1 |
| Rickets | 11 |
| Riſing of the Lights | 2 |
| Rupture | 1 |
| Scurvy | 3 |
| Sore mouth | 1 |
| Spotted Feaver | 16 |
| Stilborn | 7 |
| Stone | 1 |
| Stopping of the ſtomach | 2 |
| Strangury | 1 |
| Suddenly | 3 |
| Surfeit | 9 |
| Teeth | 25 |
| Timpany | 2 |
| Tiſſick | 2 |
| Vomiting | 2 |
| Wormes | 1 |

| | | | | | | |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| Chriſtned | Males | 119 | Buried | Males | 211 | Plague 43 |
| | Females | 115 | | Females | 194 | |
| | In all | 234 | | In all | 405 | |

Increaſed in the Burials this Week — 5

Pariſhes clear of the Plague — 123 Pariſhes Infected — 7

*The Aſſize of Bread ſet forth by Order of the Lord Maior and Court of Aldermen,*

A penny Wheaten Loaf to contain Nine Ounces and a half, and three half-penny White Loaves the like weight.

| | Bur. | Plag. | | Bur. | Plag. | | Bur. | Plag |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| St ALban Woodstreet | 3 | 1 | St George Botolphlane | | | St Martin Ludgate | 1 | |
| Alhallows Barking | 1 | | St Gregory by St Pauls | 3 | | St Martin Orgars | | |
| Alhallows Breadstreet | | | St Hellen | | | St Martin Outwitch | | |
| Alhallows Great | 3 | | St James Dukes place | 2 | | St Martin Vintrey | 1 | |
| Alhallows Honylane | | | St James Garlickhithe | 1 | | St Matthew Fridaystreet | | |
| Alhallows Lesse | | | St John Baptist | | | St Maudlin Milkstreet | 1 | |
| Alhallows Lumbardstreet | | | St John Evangelist | 1 | | St Maudlin Oldfishstreet | | |
| Alhallows Stayning | 1 | | St John Zachary | | | St Michael Bassishaw | 2 | |
| Alhallows the Wall | 4 | | St Katharine Coleman | | | St Michael Cornhil | | |
| St Alphage | | | St Katharine Crochurch | | | St Michael Crookedlane | 2 | 2 |
| St Andrew Hubbard | | | St Lawrence Jewry | | | St Michael Queenhithe | | |
| St Andrew Undershaft | 1 | | St Lawrence Pountney | 1 | | St Michael Quern | | |
| St Andrew Wardrobe | 2 | | St Leonard Eastcheap | | | St Michael Royal | | |
| St Ann Aldersgate | 1 | | St Leonard Fosterlane | 1 | | St Michael Woodstreet | 2 | |
| St Ann Blackfryers | 4 | | St Magnus Parish | 1 | | St Mildred Breadstreet | | |
| St Antholins Parish | | | St Margaret Lothbury | | | St Mildred Poultrey | | |
| St Austins Parish | | | St Margaret Moses | | | St Nicholas Acons | | |
| St Bartholomew Exchange | | | St Margaret Newfishstre. | | | St Nicholas Coleabby | | |
| St Bennet Fynck | | | St Margaret Pattons | | | St Nicholas Olaves | | |
| St Bennet Gracechurch | | | St Mary Abchurch | 1 | | St Olave Hartstreet | 2 | |
| St Bennet Paulswharf | 3 | | St Mary Aldermanbury | | | St Olave Jewry | | |
| St Bennet Sherehog | | | St Mary Aldermary | 1 | | St Olave Silverstreet | 1 | |
| St Botolph Billingsgate | 1 | | St Mary le Bow | | | St Pancras Soperlane | | |
| Christ Church | 1 | | St Mary Bothaw | | | St Peter Cheap | 1 | |
| St Christophers | | | St Mary Colechurch | | | St Peter Cornhil | | |
| St Clement Eastcheap | | | St Mary Hill | | | St Peter Paulswharf | 1 | |
| St Dionis Backchurch | 1 | | St Mary Mounthaw | | | St Peter Poor | 1 | |
| St Dunstan East | 2 | | St Mary Sommerset | 3 | | St Steven Colemanstreet | 3 | |
| St Edmund Lumbardstr. | 1 | | St Mary Stayning | | | St Steven Walbrook | | |
| St Ethelborough | | | St Mary Woolchurch | | | St Swithin | | |
| St Faith | | | St Mary Woolnoth | 2 | | St Thomas Apostles | 1 | |
| St Foster | | | St Martin Iremongerlane | | | Trinity Parish | | |
| St Gabriel Fenchurch | 2 | 1 | | | | | | |

*Buried in the 97 Parishes within the Walls* — 67 *Plague* — 4

| | | | | | | | | |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| St Andrew Holborn | 20 | 7 | St Botolph Aldgate | 19 | | Saviours Southwark | 15 | |
| St Bartholomew Great | 2 | | St Botolph Bishopsgate | 15 | 2 | S. Sepulchres Parish | 25 | 10 |
| St Bartholomew Lesse | | | St Dunstan West | 1 | | St Thomas Southwark | 2 | |
| St Bridget | 14 | 3 | St George Southwark | 7 | | Trinity Minories | | |
| Bridewel Precinct | | | St Giles Cripplegate | 37 | 1 | At the Pesthouse | 5 | 4 |
| St Botolph Aldersgate | 3 | | St Olave Southwark | 14 | | | | |

*Buried in the 16 Parishes without the Walls, and at the Pesthouse* — 179 *Plague* — 27

| | | | | | | | | |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| St Giles in the fields | 120 | 68 | Lambeth Parish | 6 | | St Mary Islington | | |
| Hackney Parish | 2 | | St Leonard Shoreditch | 21 | | St Mary Whitechappel | 23 | 3 |
| St James Clerkenwel | 13 | | St Magdalen Bermondsey | 6 | | Rothorith Parish | 3 | |
| St Kath. near the Tower | 9 | | St Mary Newington | 3 | | Stepney Parish | 32 | |

*Buried in the 12 out Parishes in* Middlesex *and* Surrey — 238 *Plague* — 71

| | | | | | | | |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| St Clement Danes | 14 | 8 | St Martin in the fields | 34 | 2 | St Margaret Westminster | 20 |
| St Paul Covent Garden | 2 | | St Mary Savoy | 4 | | *Whereof at the* Pesthouse | |

*Buried in the 5 Parishes in the City and Liberties of* Westminster — 74 *Plague* — 10

# *The Diseases and Casualties this Week.*

| | |
|---|---|
| Aged | 24 |
| Apoplexie | 1 |
| Bloody flux | 1 |
| Burnt at St. Sepulchres | 1 |
| Childbed | 9 |
| Chrisomes | 8 |
| Consumption | 98 |
| Convulsion | 38 |
| Dropsie | 28 |
| Drowned two, one at St. Martins Vintery, and one at St. Margaret VVestminster | 2 |
| Feaver | 54 |
| Flox and Small-pox | 12 |
| Flux | 1 |
| French-pox | 3 |
| Gangrene | 1 |
| Griping in the Guts | 23 |
| Hanged her self at St. Leonard Shoreditch | 1 |
| Jaundies | 1 |
| Imposthume | 4 |
| Infants | 9 |
| Lethargy | 1 |
| Measles | 2 |
| Plague | 112 |
| Purples | 1 |
| Quinsie | 2 |
| Rickets | 13 |
| Rising of the Lights | 12 |
| Rupture | 1 |
| Scowring | 1 |
| Scurvy | 4 |
| Sore Brest | 1 |
| Spotted Feaver | 11 |
| Stilborn | 5 |
| Stone | 6 |
| Stopping of the stomach | 8 |
| Suddenly | 3 |
| Surfeit | 24 |
| Teeth | 25 |
| Thrush | 1 |
| Tissick | 1 |
| Winde | 3 |
| Wormes | 1 |
| VVounded at Sea | 1 |

| | | | | | |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| Christned | Males 97 | Buried | Males 270 | Plague 112 | |
| | Females 109 | | Females 288 | | |
| | In all 206 | | In all 558 | | |

Increased in the Burials this Week 153

Parishes clear of the Plague 118 | Parishes Infected 12

*The Assize of Bread set forth by Order of the Lord Maior and Court of Aldermen;*

A penny Wheaten Loaf to contain Nine Ounces and a half, and three half-penny White Loaves the like weight.

| | Bur. | Plag. | | Bur. | Plag. | | Bur. | Plag. |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| St Alban Woodstreet | 4 | 2 | St George Botolphlane | | | St Martin Ludgate | 1 | |
| Alhallows Barking | 1 | | St Gregory by St Pauls | | | St Martin Orgars | | |
| Alhallows Breadstreet | | | St Hellen | 2 | | St Martin Outwitch | | |
| Alhallows Great | 4 | | St James Dukes place | 1 | | St Martin Vintrey | 1 | |
| Alhallows Honylane | | | St James Garlickhithe | | | St Matthew Fridaystreet | 1 | |
| Alhallows Lesse | 3 | | St John Baptist | | | St Maudlin Milkstreet | | |
| Alhallows Lumbardstreet | | | St John Evangelist | | | St Maudlin Oldfishstreet | | |
| Alhallows Stayning | | | St John Zachary | 1 | | St Michael Bassishaw | 3 | |
| Alhallows the Wall | | | St Katharine Coleman | 2 | | St Michael Cornhil | | |
| St Alphage | 1 | | St Katharine Crechurch | 1 | | St Michael Crookedlane | 2 | 2 |
| St Andrew Hubbard | 1 | | St Lawrence Jewry | 1 | | St Michael Queenhithe | | |
| St Andrew Undershaft | | | St Lawrence Pountney | | | St Michael Quern | | |
| St Andrew Wardrobe | 1 | | St Leonard Eastcheap | | | St Michael Royal | | |
| St Ann Aldersgate | | | St Leonard Fosterlane | | | St Michael Woodstreet | | |
| St Ann Blackfryers | 1 | | St Magnus Parish | 1 | | St Mildred Breadstreet | 1 | |
| St Antholins Parish | 1 | | St Margaret Lothbury | | | St Mildred Poultrey | 1 | |
| St Austins Parish | | | St Margaret Moses | | | St Nicholas Acons | | |
| St Bartholomew Exchange | | | St Margaret Newfishstre. | | | St Nicholas Coleabby | | |
| St Bennet Fynck | 1 | 1 | St Margaret Pattons | 1 | | St Nicholas Olaves | | |
| St Bennet Gracechurch | | | St Mary Abchurch | | | St Olave Hartstreet | | |
| St Bennet Paulswharf | 6 | 4 | St Mary Aldermanbury | | | St Olave Jewry | | |
| St Bennet Sherehog | | | St Mary Aldermary | | | St Olave Silverstreet | 1 | 1 |
| St Botolph Billingsgate | 2 | | St Mary le Bow | | | St Pancras Soperlane | | |
| Christ Church | 2 | | St Mary Bothaw | | | St Peter Cheap | 1 | |
| St Christophers | | | St Mary Colechurch | | | St Peter Cornhil | | |
| St Clement Eastcheap | | | St Mary Hill | 2 | | St Peter Paulswharf | | |
| St Dionis Backchurch | | | St Mary Mounthaw | | | St Peter Poor | | |
| St Dunstan East | 3 | | St Mary Sommerset | | | St Steven Colemanstreet | 3 | |
| St Edmund Lumbardstr. | 2 | | St Mary Stayning | | | St Steven Walbrook | | |
| St Ethelborough | 1 | | St Mary Woolchurch | | | St Swithin | | |
| St Faith | | | St Mary Woolnoth | 2 | | St Thomas Apostles | | |
| St Foster | 1 | | St Martin Iremongerlane | | | Trinity Parish | | |
| St Gabriel Fenchurch | | | | | | | | |

*Buried in the 97 Parishes within the Walls* — 64 *Plague* — 10

| | | | | | | | | |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| St Andrew Holborn | 24 | 10 | St Botolph Aldgate | 10 | | Saviours Southwark | 16 | |
| St Bartholomew Great | 4 | | St Botolph Bishopsgate | 21 | 2 | S. Sepulchres Parish | 32 | 11 |
| St Bartholomew Lesse | | | St Dunstan West | 9 | | St Thomas Southwark | 3 | |
| St Bridget | 7 | 2 | St George Southwark | 4 | | Trinity Minories | | |
| Bridewel Precinct | 1 | 1 | St Giles Cripplegate | 36 | 3 | At the Pesthouse | 4 | 4 |
| St Botolph Aldersgate | 3 | | St Olave Southwark | 18 | 1 | | | |

*Buried in the 16 Parishes without the Walls, and at the Pesthouse* — 192 *Plague* — 34

| | | | | | | | | |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| St Giles in the fields | 150 | 101 | Lambeth Parish | 4 | | St Mary Islington | 3 | 1 |
| Hackney Parish | 2 | | St Leonard Shoreditch | 10 | | St Mary Whitechappel | 14 | |
| St James Clerkenwel | 17 | 3 | St Magdalen Bermondsey | 9 | | Rothorith Parish | 6 | |
| St Kath. near the Tower | 4 | | St Mary Newington | 1 | | Stepney Parish | 38 | |

*Buried in the 12 out Parishes in* Middlesex *and* Surrey — 258 *Plague* — 105

| | | | | | | | | |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| St Clement Danes | 19 | 7 | St Martin in the fields | 47 | 4 | St Margaret Westminster | 31 | 7 |
| St Paul Covent Garden | 2 | | St Mary Savoy | 2 | 1 | *Whereof at the* Pesthouse | | |

*Buried in the 5 Parishes in the City and Liberties of* Westminster — 101 *Plague* — 19

# *The Diseases and Casualties this Week.*

| | |
|---|---|
| Abortive | 2 |
| Aged | 27 |
| Ague | 1 |
| Bedridden | 1 |
| Bleeding | 1 |
| Childbed | 7 |
| Chrisomes | 10 |
| Consumption | 103 |
| Convulsion | 28 |
| Cough | 1 |
| Dropsie | 24 |
| Drowned at St. Kather. Tower | 1 |
| Feaver | 48 |
| Flox and Small-pox | 8 |
| French-pox | 2 |
| Frighted | 2 |
| Griping in the Guts | 25 |
| Hanged her self at St. James Clerkenwel | 1 |
| Jaundies | 4 |
| Imposthume | 5 |
| Infants | 8 |
| Kingsevil | 3 |
| Kild two, one with a fall at St. Albans VVoodstreet, and one with a fall from a Scaffold at St. Giles in the fields | 2 |
| Lethargy | 1 |
| Overlaid | 1 |
| Palsie | 2 |
| Plague | 168 |
| Rickets | 15 |
| Rising of the Lights | 6 |
| Scowring | 4 |
| Scurvy | 1 |
| Spotted Feaver | 23 |
| Stilborn | 9 |
| Stone | 3 |
| Stopping of the stomach | 5 |
| Strangury | 1 |
| Suddenly | 2 |
| Surfeit | 18 |
| Teeth | 19 |
| Thrush | 5 |
| Winde | 2 |
| Wormes | 12 |

| | | | | | |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| Christned | Males | 101 | Buried | Males | 305 |
| | Females | 103 | | Females | 310 |
| | In all | 204 | | In all | 615 |

Plague 168

Increased in the Burials this Week 57

Parishes clear of the Plague 111 Parishes Infected 19

*The Assize of Bread set forth by Order of the Lord Maior and Court of Aldermen;*

A penny Wheaten Loaf to contain Nine Ounces and a half, and three half-penny White Loaves the like weight.

| | Bur. | Plag. | | Bur. | Plag. | | Bur. | Plag. |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| St ALban Woodstreet | 1 | | St George Botolphlane | | | St Martin Ludgate | | |
| Alhallows Barking | 2 | | St Gregory by St Pauls | | | St Martin Orgars | | |
| Alhallows Breadstreet | | | St Hellen | | | St Martin Outwitch | | |
| Alhallows Great | 3 | | St James Dukes place | 1 | | St Martin Vintrey | 1 | |
| Alhallows Honylane | | | St James Garlickhithe | | | St Matthew Fridaystreet | | |
| Alhallows Lesse | | | St John Baptist | | | St Maudlin Milkstreet | 1 | |
| Alhallows Lumbardstreet | | | St John Evangelist | | | St Maudlin Oldfishstreet | | |
| Alhallows Staining | | | St John Zachary | 1 | | St Michael Bassishaw | 2 | 1 |
| Alhallows the Wall | 1 | | St Katharine Coleman | | | St Michael Cornhil | | |
| St Alphage | | | St Katharine Crechurch | 1 | | St Michael Crookedlane | 2 | 1 |
| St Andrew Hubbard | 1 | | St Lawrence Jewry | | | St Michael Queenhithe | | |
| St Andrew Undershaft | 2 | | St Lawrence Pountney | 1 | | St Michael Quern | | |
| St Andrew Wardrobe | 2 | | St Leonard Eastcheap | | | St Michael Royal | | |
| St Ann Aldersgate | | | St Leonard Fosterlane | | | St Michael Woodstreet | | |
| St Ann Blackfryers | 2 | | St Magnus Parish | | | St Mildred Breadstreet | | |
| St Antholins Parish | | | St Margaret Lothbury | 1 | | St Mildred Poultrey | | |
| St Austins Parish | 1 | | St Margaret Moses | | | St Nicholas Acons | | |
| St Bartholomew Exchange | 1 | | St Margaret Newfishstreet | | | St Nicholas Coleabby | | |
| St Bennet Fynck | 1 | | St Margaret Pattons | | | St Nicholas Olaves | 1 | |
| St Bennet Gracechurch | | | St Mary Abchurch | 1 | | St Olave Hartstreet | 1 | |
| St Bennet Paulswharf | 1 | | St Mary Aldermanbury | | | St Olave Jewry | 1 | |
| St Bennet Sherehog | | | St Mary Aldermary | | | St Olave Silverstreet | | |
| St Botolph Billingsgate | | | St Mary le Bow | | | St Pancras Soperlane | | |
| Christs Church | 3 | | St Mary Bothaw | | | St Peter Cheap | 3 | 2 |
| St Christophers | | | St Mary Colechurch | | | St Peter Cornhil | 1 | |
| St Clement Eastcheap | | | St Mary Hill | | | St Peter Paulswharf | | |
| St Dionis Backchurch | | | St Mary Mounthaw | | | St Peter Poor | | |
| St Dunstan East | 1 | | St Mary Sommerset | 3 | | St Steven Colemanstreet | 2 | |
| St Edmund Lumbardstr. | | | St Mary Stayning | | | St Steven Walbrook | 1 | |
| St Ethelborough | | | St Mary Woolchurch | | | St Swithin | 1 | |
| St Faith | | | St Mary Woolnoth | | | St Thomas Apostle | 1 | |
| St Foster | | | St Martin Iremongerlane | | | Trinity Parish | | |
| St Gabriel Fenchurch | | | | | | | | |

*Buried in the 97 Parishes within the Walls* — 49 *Plague* — 4

| | | | | | | | | |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| St Andrew Holborn | 37 | 15 | St Botolph Aldgate | 14 | | Saviours Southwark | 16 | |
| St Bartholomew Great | 1 | 1 | St Botolph Bishopsgate | 11 | 3 | S. Sepulchres Parish | 45 | 18 |
| St Bartholomew Lesse | 1 | | St Dunstan West | 5 | | St Thomas Southwark | 4 | 1 |
| St Bridget | 16 | 3 | St George Southwark | 7 | 1 | Trinity Minories | | |
| Bridewel Precinct | | | St Giles Cripplegate | 42 | 7 | At the Pesthouse | 3 | 3 |
| St Botolph Aldersgate | 4 | 3 | St Olave Southwark | 19 | | | | |

*Buried in the 16 Parishes without the Walls, and at the Pesthouse* — 225 *Plague* — 55

| | | | | | | | | |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| St Giles in the fields | 185 | 143 | Lambeth Parish | 4 | | St Mary Islington | 3 | 1 |
| Hackney Parish | 2 | | St Leonard Shoreditch | 5 | | St Mary Whitechappel | 26 | |
| St James Clerkenwel | 13 | 8 | St Magdalen Bermondsey | 6 | | Rotherith Parish | 1 | |
| St Kath. near the Tower | 6 | | St Mary Newington | 3 | | Stepney Parish | 37 | 1 |

*Buried in the 12 out Parishes in* Middlesex *and* Surry — 291 *Plague* — 153

| | | | | | | | | |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| St Clement Danes | 28 | 16 | St Martin in the fields | 46 | 11 | St Margaret Westminster | 38 | 26 |
| St Paul Covent Garden | 5 | 2 | St Mary Savoy | 2 | | *Whereof at the* Pesthouse | | 4 |

*Buried in the 5 Parishes in the City and Liberties of* Westminster — 119 *Plague* — 55

# *The Diseases and Casualties this Week.*

| | |
|---|---|
| Abortive | 3 |
| Aged | 19 |
| Bleeding | 1 |
| Cancer | 1 |
| Childbed | 7 |
| Chrisomes | 14 |
| Consumption | 83 |
| Convulsion | 31 |
| Dropsie | 22 |
| Drowned 3, two at St. Katharines Tower, and one at St. Magdalen Bermondsie | 3 |
| Executed | 3 |
| Feaver | 48 |
| Fistula | 1 |
| Flox and Small-pox | 23 |
| Flux | 1 |
| Found dead in the street at St. Peters in Cheapside | 1 |
| French-pox | 1 |
| Griping in the Guts | 34 |
| Jaundies | 1 |
| Imposthume | 3 |
| Infants | 11 |
| Killd at St. Martins in the fields | 1 |
| Kingsevil | 1 |
| Livergrown | 1 |
| Palsie | 1 |
| Plague | 267 |
| Rickets | 9 |
| Rising of the Lights | 4 |
| Scurvy | 1 |
| Shot with a Pistol at Saviours Southwark | 1 |
| Spotted Feaver | 12 |
| Stilborn | 11 |
| Stopping of the stomach | 3 |
| Strangury | 1 |
| Surfeit | 14 |
| Teeth | 32 |
| Thrush | 3 |
| Timpany | 1 |
| Tissick | 2 |
| Vomiting | 1 |
| Winde | 3 |
| Wormes | 4 |

| | | | | | |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| Christned | Males | 107 | Buried | Males | 331 |
| | Females | 92 | | Females | 353 |
| | In all | 199 | | In all | 684 |

Plague — 267

Increased in the Burials this Week — 69

Parishes clear of the Plague — 110 Parishes Infected — 20

*The Assize of Bread set forth by Order of the Lord Maior and Court of Aldermen,*
A penny Wheaten Loaf to contain Nine Ounces and a half, and three half-penny White Loaves the like weight.

| | Bur. | Plag. | | Bur. | Plag. | | Bur. | Plag. |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| St Alban Woodstreet | 3 | | St George Botolphlane | | | St Martin Ludgate | 1 | |
| Alhallows Barking | 4 | 1 | St Gregory by St Pauls | 5 | | St Martin Orgars | 1 | |
| Alhallows Breadstreet | 1 | | St Hellen | | | St Martin Outwitch | 1 | |
| Alhallows Great | 1 | | St James Dukes place | 1 | | St Martin Vintrey | | |
| Alhallows Honylane | | | St James Garlickhithe | 1 | | St Matthew Fridaystreet | | |
| Alhallows Lesse | 1 | | St John Baptist | | | St Maudlin Milkstreet | | |
| Alhallows Lumbardstreet | | | St John Evangelist | | | St Maudlin Oldfishstreet | 1 | |
| Alhallows Staining | 1 | | St John Zachary | 1 | 1 | St Michael Bassishaw | 8 | 8 |
| Alhallows the Wall | 2 | | St Katharine Coleman | 1 | | St Michael Cornhil | | |
| St Alphage | | | St Katharine Crechurch | 3 | | St Michael Crookedlane | 4 | 2 |
| St Andrew Hubbard | 1 | | St Lawrence Jewry | | | St Michael Queenhithe | 2 | |
| St Andrew Undershaft | 1 | | St Lawrence Pountney | 1 | | St Michael Quern | 1 | |
| St Andrew Wardrobe | 2 | | St Leonard Eastcheap | 1 | | St Michael Royal | | |
| St Ann Aldersgate | | | St Leonard Fosterlane | | | St Michael Woodstreet | | |
| St Ann Blackfryers | 1 | | St Magnus Parish | 1 | | St Mildred Breadstreet | 1 | |
| St Antholins Parish | | | St Margaret Lothbury | | | St Mildred Poultrey | 1 | |
| St Austins Parish | 1 | | St Margaret Moses | | | St Nicholas Acons | | |
| St Bartholomew Exchange | 1 | | St Margaret Newfishstreet | | | St Nicholas Coleabby | | |
| St Bennet Fynck | 1 | 1 | St Margaret Pattons | | | St Nicholas Olaves | | |
| St Bennet Gracechurch | | | St Mary Abchurch | 1 | | St Olave Hartstreet | | |
| St Bennet Paulswharf | 6 | 2 | St Mary Aldermanbury | 2 | 2 | St Olave Jewry | | |
| St Bennet Sherehog | | | St Mary Aldermary | | | St Olave Silverstreet | 1 | |
| St Botolph Billingsgate | | | St Mary le Bow | | | St Pancras Soperlane | | |
| Christs Church | 7 | 4 | St Mary Bothaw | 1 | | St Peter Cheap | | |
| St Christophers | | | St Mary Colechurch | | | St Peter Cornhil | | |
| St Clement Eastcheap | | | St Mary Hill | | | St Peter Paulswharf | | |
| St Dionis Backchurch | | | St Mary Mounthaw | | | St Peter Poor | | |
| St Dunstan East | 5 | | St Mary Sommerset | | | St Steven Colemanstreet | 4 | 2 |
| St Edmund Lumbardstr. | | | St Mary Stayning | | | St Steven Walbrook | 1 | |
| St Ethelborough | 1 | | St Mary Woolchurch | | | St Swithin | | |
| St Faith | 1 | | St Mary Woolnoth | 1 | | St Thomas Apostle | 1 | |
| St Foster | 1 | | St Martin Iremongerlane | 1 | | Trinity Parish | | |
| St Gabriel Fenchurch | 2 | | | | | | | |

*Buried in the 97 Parishes within the Walls* — 93 *Plague* — 23

| | | | | | | | | |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| St Andrew Holborn | 48 | 35 | St Botolph Aldgate | 19 | 1 | Saviours Southwark | 7 | |
| St Bartholomew Great | 4 | 4 | St Botolph Bishopsgate | 38 | 17 | S. Sepulchres Parish | 78 | 48 |
| St Bartholomew Lesse | 2 | | St Dunstan West | 8 | 5 | St Thomas Southwark | 5 | 2 |
| St Bridget | 20 | 7 | St George Southwark | 6 | 2 | Trinity Minories | | |
| Bridewel Precinct | 2 | 2 | St Giles Cripplegate | 96 | 32 | At the Pesthouse | 5 | 5 |
| St Botolph Aldersgate | 8 | 4 | St Olave Southwark | 14 | 2 | | | |

*Buried in the 16 Parishes without the Walls, and at the Pesthouse* — 360 *Plague* — 166

| | | | | | | | | |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| St Giles in the fields | 203 | 149 | Lambeth Parish | 3 | | St Mary Islington | 4 | 2 |
| Hackney Parish | 2 | | St Leonard Shoreditch | 21 | 7 | St Mary Whitechappel | 18 | 6 |
| St James Clerkenwel | 34 | 10 | St Magdalen Bermondsey | 11 | | Rothorith Parish | 3 | |
| St Kath. near the Tower | 1 | | St Mary Newington | 4 | | Stepney Parish | 41 | 2 |

*Buried in the 12 out Parishes in* Middlesex *and* Surry — 345 *Plague* — 176

| | | | | | | | | |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| St Clement Danes | 33 | 19 | St Martin in the fields | 114 | 55 | St Margaret Westminster | 50 | 26 |
| St Paul Covent Garden | 4 | 1 | St Mary Savoy | 7 | 4 | *Whereof at the* Pesthouse | | 4 |

*Buried in the 5 Parishes in the City and Liberties of* Westminster — 208 *Plague* — 105

# The Diseases and Casualties this Week.

| | |
|---|---|
| Abortive | 5 |
| Aged | 22 |
| Calenture | 1 |
| Cancer | 2 |
| Childbed | 10 |
| Chrisomes | 6 |
| Collick | 1 |
| Consumption | 76 |
| Convulsion | 26 |
| Dropsie | 26 |
| Drowned 4, one at St. Michael Crooked-lane, one at St. Mary VVhitechappel, one at Stepney, and one in a Tub of water at St. James Clerkenwell | 4 |
| Feaver | 78 |
| Flox and Small-pox | 20 |
| Flux | 4 |
| French-pox | 3 |
| Gangrene | 2 |
| Griping in the Guts | 33 |
| Jaundies | 1 |
| Impostbume | 7 |
| Infants | 9 |
| Kingsevil | 3 |
| Kild 3, one at Lambeth, one by a Cart at St. Giles in the fields, and one with a bruise on his head by a VVaterman at St. Dunstans in the west | 3 |
| Meagrome | 1 |
| Plague | 470 |
| Rickets | 14 |
| Rising of the Lights | 2 |
| Scowring | 4 |
| Scurvy | 2 |
| Spleen | 2 |
| Spotted Feaver | 33 |
| Stilborn | 6 |
| Stone | 1 |
| Stopping of the stomach | 4 |
| Strangury | 1 |
| Suddenly | 4 |
| Surfeit | 36 |
| Teeth | 60 |
| Thrush | 6 |
| Timpany | 1 |
| Tissick | 5 |
| Vomiting | 1 |
| Winde | 2 |
| Wormes | 9 |

| | | | | | |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| Christned | Males | 103 | Buried | Males | 497 |
| | Females | 104 | | Females | 509 |
| | In all | 207 | | In all | 1006 |

Plague 470

Increased in the Burials this Week 322

Parishes clear of the Plague 97 Parishes Infected 33

*The Assize of Bread set forth by Order of the Lord Maior and Court of Aldermen,*
A penny Wheaten Loaf to contain Nine Ounces and a half, and three half-penny White Loaves the like weight.

| | Bur. | Plag. | | Bur. | Plag | | Bur. | Plag. |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| St Alban Woodstreet | 5 | 1 | St George Botolphlane | | | St Martin Ludgate | 2 | 1 |
| Alhallows Barking | 2 | | St Gregory by St Pauls | | | St Martin Orgars | | |
| Alhallows Breadstreet | | | St Hellen | 2 | 2 | St Martin Outwitch | 1 | |
| Alhallows Great | 1 | | St James Dukes place | 1 | | St Martin Vintrey | 1 | |
| Alhallows Honylane | | | St James Garlickhithe | 1 | | St Matthew Fridaystreet | | |
| Alhallows Lesse | 1 | | St John Baptist | | | St Maudlin Milkstreet | | |
| Alhallows Lumbardstreet | | | St John Evangelist | | | St Maudlin Oldfishstreet | | |
| Alhallows Stayning | 1 | | St John Zachary | | | St Michael Bassishaw | 5 | 4 |
| Alhallows the Wall | 4 | 3 | St Katharine Coleman | 1 | | St Michael Cornhil | | |
| St Alphage | 1 | | St Katharine Crechurch | | | St Michael Crookedlane | 4 | 3 |
| St Andrew Hubbard | | | St Lawrence Jewry | | | St Michael Queenhithe | 3 | |
| St Andrew Undershaft | 3 | | St Lawrence Pountney | | | St Michael Quern | 1 | |
| St Andrew Wardrobe | 1 | | St Leonard Eastcheap | | | St Michael Royal | | |
| St Ann Aldersgate | 1 | | St Leonard Fosterlane | | | St Michael Woodstreet | | |
| St Ann Blackfryers | 7 | 6 | St Magnus Parish | 1 | | St Mildred Breadstreet | | |
| St Antholins Parish | 1 | | St Margaret Lothbury | | | St Mildred Poultrey | | |
| St Austins Parish | | | St Margaret Moses | | | St Nicholas Acons | | |
| St Bartholomew Exchange | 1 | | St Margaret Newfishstre. | | | St Nicholas Coleabby | | |
| St Bennet Fynck | | | St Margaret Pattons | | | St Nicholas Olaves | | |
| St Bennet Gracechurch | 2 | | St Mary Abchurch | 1 | | St Olave Hartstreet | | |
| St Bennet Paulswharf | 7 | | St Mary Aldermanbury | | | St Olave Jewry | | |
| St Bennet Sherehog | | | St Mary Aldermary | | | St Olave Silverstreet | 4 | 1 |
| St Botolph Billingsgate | | | St Mary le Bow | | | St Pancras Soperlane | | |
| Christ Church | 5 | 3 | St Mary Bothaw | | | St Peter Cheap | | |
| St Christophers | | | St Mary Colechurch | | | St Peter Cornhil | | |
| St Clement Eastcheap | | | St Mary Hill | | | St Peter Paulswharf | | |
| St Dionis Backchurch | 1 | | St Mary Mounthaw | | | St Peter Poor | 1 | |
| St Dunstan East | 2 | | St Mary Sommerset | 2 | 1 | St Steven Colemanstreet | 2 | 1 |
| St Edmund Lumbardstr. | | | St Mary Stayning | | | St Steven Walbrook | | |
| St Ethelborough | 2 | | St Mary Woolchurch | | | St Swithin | 2 | 1 |
| St Faith | 1 | | St Mary Woolnoth | | | St Thomas Apostles | 1 | 1 |
| St Foster | | | St Martin Iremongerlane | | | Trinity Parish | 1 | |
| St Gabriel Fenchurch | | | | | | | | |

*Buried in the 97 Parishes within the Walls* — 86 *Plague* — 28

| | | | | | | | | |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| St Andrew Holborn | 66 | 40 | St Botolph Aldgate | 24 | 4 | Saviours Southwark | 21 | 1 |
| St Bartholomew Great | 4 | 2 | St Botolph Bishopsgate | 37 | 20 | S Sepulchres Parish | 117 | 81 |
| St Bartholomew Lesse | | | St Dunstan West | 19 | 9 | St Thomas Southwark | 7 | 5 |
| St Bridget | 24 | 14 | St George Southwark | 13 | 4 | Trinity Minories | | |
| Bridewel Precinct | 1 | 1 | St Giles Cripplegate | 103 | 49 | At the Pesthouse | 6 | 6 |
| St Botolph Aldersgate | 11 | 9 | St Olave Southwark | 20 | 6 | | | |

*Buried in the 16 Parishes without the Walls, and at the Pesthouse* — 473 *Plague* — 251

| | | | | | | | | |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| St Giles in the fields | 268 | 213 | Lambeth Parish | 4 | | St Mary Islington | 3 | 2 |
| Hackney Parish | 1 | | St Leonard Shoreditch | 21 | 13 | St Mary Whitechappel | 16 | 3 |
| St James Clerkenwel | 65 | 50 | St Magdalen Bermondsey | 14 | | Rothorith Parish | 7 | 3 |
| St Kath. near the Tower | 5 | 1 | St Mary Newington | 4 | | Stepney Parish | 17 | 1 |

*Buried in the 12 out Parishes in Middlesex and Surrey* — 455 *Plague* — 286

| | | | | | | | | |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| St Clement Danes | 29 | 15 | St Martin in the fields | 153 | 101 | St Margaret Westminster | 58 | 34 |
| St Paul Covent Garden | 6 | 4 | St Mary Savoy | 8 | 6 | *Whereof at the* Pesthouse | | 3 |

*Buried in the 5 Parishes in the City and Liberties of* Westminster — 254 *Plague* — 160

# *The Diseases and Casualties this Week.*

| | |
|---|---|
| Abortive | 6 |
| Aged | 14 |
| Bruised | 1 |
| Cancer | 1 |
| Childbed | 10 |
| Chrisomes | 10 |
| Consumption | 116 |
| Convulsion | 41 |
| Dropsie | 20 |
| Drowned two, one in a Fish Pond, the other in a Ditch, at Saviours Southwark | 2 |
| Feaver | 79 |
| Flox and Small-pox | 20 |
| Flux | 1 |
| French-pox | 3 |
| Frighted | 1 |
| Grief | 1 |
| Griping in the Guts | 33 |
| Jaundies | 5 |
| Impostbume | 3 |
| Infants | 7 |
| Kild by the Mother (being Distracted) an Infant at St. Michael Crooked-lane | 1 |
| Kingsevil | 3 |
| Lethargy | 1 |
| Livergrown | 1 |
| Murthered her Infant at Stepney | 1 |
| Overlaid | 2 |
| Plague | 725 |
| Quinsie | 2 |
| Rickets | 7 |
| Rising of the Lights | 6 |
| Rupture | 1 |
| Scurvy | 3 |
| Spotted Feaver | 32 |
| Stilborn | 9 |
| Stone | 2 |
| Stopping of the stomach | 8 |
| Surfeit | 34 |
| Teeth | 42 |
| Thrush | 1 |
| Timpany | 2 |
| Tissick | 2 |
| Ulcer | 1 |
| Winde | 3 |
| Wormes | 5 |

| | | | | | |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| Christned | Males | 109 | Buried | Males | 629 |
| | Females | 88 | | Females | 639 |
| | In all | 197 | | In all | 1268 |

Plague 725

Increased in the Burials this Week 262

Parishes clear of the Plague 90 Parishes Infected 40

*The Assize of Bread set forth by Order of the Lord Maior and Court of Aldermen,*

A penny Wheaten Loaf to contain Nine Ounces and a half, and three half-penny White Loaves the like weight.

| | Bur. | Plag | | Bur. | Plag. | | Bur. | Plag |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| St Alban Woodstreet | 4 | 2 | St George Botolphlane | | | St Martin Ludgate | | |
| Alhallows Barking | 4 | | St Gregory by St Pauls | 6 | 3 | St Martin Orgars | | |
| Alhallows Breadstreet | | | St Hellen | | | St Martin Outwitch | | |
| Alhallows Great | 2 | 1 | St James Dukes place | 1 | | St Martin Vintrey | 1 | 1 |
| Alhallows Honylane | | | St James Garlickhithe | 1 | | St Matthew Fridaystreet | | |
| Alhallows Lesse | | | St John Baptist | | | St Maudlin Milkstreet | | |
| Alhallows Lumbardstreet | | | St John Evangelist | | | St Maudlin Oldfishstreet | 1 | |
| Alhallows Stayning | 4 | 2 | St John Zachary | 2 | 1 | St Michael Bassishaw | 13 | 10 |
| Alhallows the Wall | 7 | 5 | St Katharine Coleman | 2 | | St Michael Cornhil | 1 | |
| St Alphage | 1 | | St Katharine Crechurch | 1 | | St Michael Crookedlane | 3 | 3 |
| St Andrew Hubbard | 1 | 1 | St Lawrence Jewry | | | St Michael Queenhithe | 2 | |
| St Andrew Undershaft | 1 | 1 | St Lawrence Pountney | 2 | | St Michael Quern | | |
| St Andrew Wardrobe | 5 | 2 | St Leonard Eastcheap | | | St Michael Royal | 2 | |
| St Ann Aldersgate | 2 | | St Leonard Fosterlane | 1 | 1 | St Michael Woodstreet | 1 | |
| St Ann Blackfryers | 10 | 5 | St Magnus Parish | | | St Mildred Breadstreet | | |
| St Antholins Parish | | | St Margaret Lothbury | 1 | 1 | St Mildred Poultrey | | |
| St Austins Parish | 1 | 1 | St Margaret Moses | | | St Nicholas Acons | 1 | |
| St Bartholomew Exchange | | | St Margaret Newfishstre. | 1 | | St Nicholas Coleabby | | |
| St Bennet Fynck | | | St Margaret Pattons | | | St Nicholas Olaves | 1 | |
| St Bennet Gracechurch | | | St Mary Abchurch | 1 | | St Olave Hartstreet | 4 | |
| St Bennet Paulswharf | 6 | 1 | St Mary Aldermanbury | | | St Olave Jewry | | |
| St Bennet Sherehog | | | St Mary Aldermary | 1 | | St Olave Silverstreet | 5 | 1 |
| St Botolph Billingsgate | | | St Mary le Bow | | | St Pancras Soperlane | | |
| Christ Church | 12 | 6 | St Mary Bothaw | | | St Peter Cheap | | |
| St Christophers | 1 | 1 | St Mary Colechurch | | | St Peter Cornhil | 2 | 2 |
| St Clement Eastcheap | | | St Mary Hill | | | St Peter Paulswharf | | |
| St Dionis Backchurch | | | St Mary Mounthaw | | | St Peter Poor | 2 | 1 |
| St Dunstan East | 2 | | St Mary Sommerset | 1 | 1 | St Steven Colemanstreet | 6 | 1 |
| St Edmund Lumbardstr. | | | St Mary Stayning | 1 | 1 | St Steven Walbrook | | |
| St Ethelborough | 3 | | St Mary Woolchurch | | | St Swithin | 1 | |
| St Faith | 3 | | St Mary Woolnoth | | | St Thomas Apostles | 3 | 1 |
| St Foster | | | St Martin Iremongerlane | | | Trinity Parish | | |
| St Gabriel Fenchurch | | | | | | | | |

*Buried in the 97 Parishes within the Walls* — 141 *Plague* — 56

| | | | | | | | | |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| St Andrew Holborn | 117 | 91 | St Botolph Aldgate | 35 | 14 | Saviours Southwark | 24 | 1 |
| St Bartholomew Great | 13 | 9 | St Botolph Bishopsgate | 65 | 39 | S Sepulchres Parish | 150 | 100 |
| St Bartholomew Lesse | 5 | | St Dunstan West | 4 | 3 | St Thomas Southwark | 3 | 2 |
| St Bridget | 31 | 16 | St George Southwark | 13 | 4 | Trinity Minories | 1 | 1 |
| Bridewel Precinct | | | St Giles Cripplegate | 232 | 114 | At the Pesthouse | 8 | 8 |
| St Botolph Aldersgate | 8 | 5 | St Olave Southwark | 26 | 9 | | | |

*Buried in the 16 Parishes without the Walls, and at the Pesthouse* — 735 *Plague* — 416

| | | | | | | | | |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| St Giles in the fields | 268 | 218 | Lambeth Parish | 8 | | St Mary Islington | 17 | 14 |
| Hackney Parish | 2 | | St Leonard Shoreditch | 64 | 40 | St Mary Whitechappel | 42 | 21 |
| St James Clerkenwel | 89 | 78 | St Magdalen Bermondsey | 12 | | Rothorith Parish | 9 | 7 |
| St Kath. near the Tower | 6 | 2 | St Mary Newington | 6 | 4 | Stepney Parish | 72 | 33 |

*Buried in the 12 out Parishes in* Middlesex *and* Surrey — 595 *Plague* — 417

| | | | | | | | | |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| St Clement Danes | 31 | 24 | St Martin in the fields | 171 | 113 | St Margaret Westminster | 79 | 56 |
| St Paul Covent Garden | 5 | 3 | St Mary Savoy | 4 | 4 | *Whereof at the* Pesthouse | | 3 |

*Buried in the 5 Parishes in the City and Liberties of* Westminster — 290 *Plague* — 200

# *The Diseases and Casualties this Week.*

| | |
|---|---|
| Abortive | 3 |
| Aged | 43 |
| Apoplexie | 3 |
| Blasted | 1 |
| Bleeding | 1 |
| Childbed | 10 |
| Chrisomes | 16 |
| Consumption | 104 |
| Convulsion | 38 |
| Dropsie | 28 |
| Drowned in a Brewers well at Saviours Southwark | 1 |
| Feaver | 104 |
| Flox and Small-pox | 11 |
| Flux | 3 |
| French-pox | 1 |
| Frighted | 1 |
| Gowt | 2 |
| Griping in the Guts | 35 |
| Jaundies | 6 |
| Impostbume | 9 |
| Infants | 12 |
| Kingsevil | 2 |
| Livergrown | 1 |
| Overlaid | 1 |
| Palsie | 1 |
| Plague | 1089 |
| Quinsie | 1 |
| Rickets | 13 |
| Rising of the Lights | 7 |
| Rupture | 1 |
| Scowring | 2 |
| Scurvy | 7 |
| Spleen | 1 |
| Spotted Feaver | 60 |
| Starved at Stepney | 1 |
| Stilborn | 12 |
| Stone | 1 |
| Stopping of the stomach | 6 |
| Suddenly | 2 |
| Surfeit | 47 |
| Teeth | 54 |
| Thrush | 1 |
| Timpany | 1 |
| Tissick | 3 |
| Ulcer | 2 |
| Vomiting | 1 |
| Winde | 2 |
| Wormes | 10 |

| | | | | | |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| Christned | Males | 103 | Buried | Males | 902 |
| | Females | 91 | | Females | 859 |
| | In all | 194 | | In all | 1761 |

Plague—1089

Increased in the Burials this Week — 493

Parishes clear of the Plague — 76 Parishes Infected — 54

*The Assize of Bread set forth by Order of the Lord Maior and Court of Aldermen;*
A penny Wheaten Loaf to contain Nine Ounces and a half, and three half-penny White Loaves the like weight.

| | Bur. | Plag. | | Bur. | Plag. | | Bur. | Plag. |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| St Alban Woodstreet | 2 | 1 | St George Botolphlane | | | St Martin Ludgate | 1 | 1 |
| Alhallows Barking | 2 | | St Gregory by St Pauls | 12 | 3 | St Martin Orgars | | |
| Alhallows Breadstreet | | | St Hellen | 2 | 2 | St Martin Outwitch | 2 | 1 |
| Alhallows Great | 6 | 2 | St James Dukes place | | | St Martin Vintrey | 6 | 5 |
| Alhallows Honylane | | | St James Garlickhithe | 2 | | St Matthew Fridaystreet | | |
| Alhallows Lesse | 2 | 2 | St John Baptist | 1 | | St Maudlin Milkstreet | 1 | |
| Alhallows Lumbardstreet | 2 | | St John Evangelist | | | St Maudlin Oldfishstreet | 1 | 1 |
| Alhallows Staining | 1 | 1 | St John Zachary | 2 | 2 | St Michael Bassishaw | 24 | 22 |
| Alhallows the Wall | 8 | 5 | St Katharine Coleman | 2 | | St Michael Cornhil | 1 | |
| St Alphage | 4 | | St Katharine Crechurch | 1 | | St Michael Crookedlane | | |
| St Andrew Hubbard | 4 | 3 | St Lawrence Jewry | 1 | | St Michael Queenhithe | 2 | 2 |
| St Andrew Undershaft | 6 | 4 | St Lawrence Pountney | | | St Michael Quern | 1 | |
| St Andrew Wardrobe | 6 | 2 | St Leonard Eastcheap | 2 | | St Michael Royal | | |
| St Ann Aldersgate | | | St Leonard Fosterlane | 2 | 1 | St Michael Woodstreet | 1 | |
| St Ann Blackfryers | 19 | 5 | St Magnus Parish | 3 | 1 | St Mildred Breadstreet | | |
| St Antholins Parish | | | St Margaret Lothbury | 1 | | St Mildred Poultrey | 2 | 2 |
| St Austins Parish | 1 | | St Margaret Moses | | | St Nicholas Acons | | |
| St Bartholomew Exchange | | | St Margaret Newfishstreet | 2 | | St Nicholas Coleabby | 1 | |
| St Bennet Fynck | | | St Margaret Pattons | | | St Nicholas Olaves | | |
| St Bennet Gracechurch | | | St Mary Abchurch | | | St Olave Hartstreet | 4 | 1 |
| St Bennet Paulswharf | 10 | 2 | St Mary Aldermanbury | 5 | 1 | St Olave Jewry | | |
| St Bennet Sherehog | | | St Mary Aldermary | 1 | 1 | St Olave Silverstreet | 6 | |
| St Botolph Billingsgate | | | St Mary le Bow | | | St Pancras Soperlane | | |
| Christs Church | 16 | 12 | St Mary Bothaw | | | St Peter Cheap | | |
| St Christophers | 1 | 1 | St Mary Colechurch | | | St Peter Cornhil | 4 | 3 |
| St Clement Eastcheap | 1 | 1 | St Mary Hill | | | St Peter Paulswharf | 1 | |
| St Dionis Backchurch | | | St Mary Mounthaw | 1 | 1 | St Peter Poor | 2 | 2 |
| St Dunstan East | 1 | | St Mary Sommerset | 1 | | St Steven Colemanstreet | 7 | 4 |
| St Edmund Lumbardstr. | | | St Mary Stayning | 1 | | St Steven Walbrook | | |
| St Ethelborough | 17 | 14 | St Mary Woolchurch | | | St Swithin | 9 | 7 |
| St Faith | | | St Mary Woolnoth | 1 | | St Thomas Apostle | 9 | 7 |
| St Foster | 3 | 3 | St Martin Iremongerlane | 1 | | Trinity Parish | | |
| St Gabriel Fenchurch | | | | | | | | |

*Buried in the 97 Parishes within the Walls* — 241 *Plague* — 128

| | | | | | | | | |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| St Andrew Holborn | 163 | 142 | St Botolph Aldgate | 57 | 34 | Saviours Southwark | 30 | 15 |
| St Bartholomew Great | 15 | 7 | St Botolph Bishopsgate | 105 | 77 | S. Sepulchres Parish | 207 | 141 |
| St Bartholomew Lesse | 2 | | St Dunstan West | 17 | 11 | St Thomas Southwark | 8 | 6 |
| St Bridget | 59 | 39 | St George Southwark | 28 | 20 | Trinity Minories | 1 | 1 |
| Bridewel Precinct | 7 | 4 | St Giles Cripplegate | 421 | 208 | At the Pesthouse | 9 | 8 |
| St Botolph Aldersgate | 35 | 17 | St Olave Southwark | 46 | 25 | | | |

*Buried in the 16 Parishes without the Walls, and at the Pesthouse* — 1210 *Plague* — 755

| | | | | | | | | |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| St Giles in the fields | 370 | 323 | Lambeth Parish | 8 | 2 | St Mary Islington | 12 | 7 |
| Hackney Parish | 7 | 5 | St Leonard Shoreditch | 84 | 50 | St Mary Whitechappel | 84 | 48 |
| St James Clerkenwel | 143 | 121 | St Magdalen Bermondsey | 11 | 2 | Rotherith Parish | 6 | 4 |
| St Kath. near the Tower | 11 | 4 | St Mary Newington | 11 | 4 | Stepney Parish | 110 | 58 |

*Buried in the 12 out Parishes in* Middlesex *and* Surry — 857 *Plague* — 628

| | | | | | | | | |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| St Clement Danes | 62 | 45 | St Martin in the fields | 270 | 176 | St Margaret Westminster | 120 | 98 |
| St Paul Covent Garden | 13 | 5 | St Mary Savoy | 12 | 8 | *Whereof at the* Pesthouse | | 4 |

*Buried in the 5 Parishes in the City and Liberties of* Westminster — 477 *Plague* — 332

# *The Diſeaſes and Caſualties this Week.*

| | |
|---|---|
| Abortive | 5 |
| Aged | 31 |
| Apoplexie | 1 |
| Blaſted | 2 |
| Bleeding | 1 |
| Cancer | 1 |
| Childbed | 19 |
| Chriſomes | 21 |
| Collick | 3 |
| Conſumption | 136 |
| Convulſion | 52 |
| Cough | 1 |
| Dropſie | 53 |
| Drowned 4, one at Saviours Southwark, two at St. Katharines Tower, and one at St. Margaret VVeſtminſter | 4 |
| Feaver | 164 |
| Flox and Small-pox | 16 |
| Flux | 2 |
| French-pox | 1 |
| Frighted | 1 |
| Gangrene | 1 |
| Griping in the Guts | 40 |
| Jaundies | 2 |
| Impoſthume | 6 |
| Infants | 10 |
| Kingſevil | 3 |
| Livergrown | 3 |
| Plague | 1843 |
| Purples | 3 |
| Quinſie | 2 |
| Rickets | 10 |
| Riſing of the Lights | 14 |
| Rupture | 1 |
| Scowring | 8 |
| Scurvy | 6 |
| Spotted Feaver | 114 |
| Stilborn | 9 |
| Stone | 1 |
| Stopping of the ſtomach | 2 |
| Strangury | 1 |
| Surfeit | 103 |
| Teeth | 67 |
| Thruſh | 5 |
| Timpany | 1 |
| Tiſſick | 1 |
| Ulcer | 3 |
| Vomiting | 2 |
| Winde | 1 |
| Wormes | 9 |

| | | | | | |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| Chriſtned | Males | 93 | Buried | Males | 1382 |
| | Females | 100 | | Females | 1403 |
| | In all | 193 | | In all | 2785 |

Plague—1843

Increaſed in the Burials this Week — 1024

Pariſhes clear of the Plague — 62 Pariſhes Infected — 68

*The Aſſize of Bread ſet forth by Order of the Lord Maior and Court of Aldermen,*
A penny Wheaten Loaf to contain Nine Ounces and a half, and three half-penny White Loaves the like weight.

| | Bur. | Plag. | | Bur. | Plag. | | Bur. | Plag. |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| St ALban Woodstreet | 1 | | St George Botolphlane | | | St Martin Ludgate | 1 | |
| Alhallows Barking | 4 | | St Gregory by St Pauls | 9 | 5 | St Martin Orgars | 2 | |
| Alhallows Breadstreet | | | St Hellen | 1 | 1 | St Martin Outwitch | 2 | |
| Alhallows Great | 5 | 2 | St James Dukes place | 6 | 4 | St Martin Vintrey | 6 | 4 |
| Alhallows Honylane | | | St James Garlickhithe | 1 | 1 | St Matthew Fridaystreet | 2 | |
| Alhallows Lesse | 3 | 1 | St John Baptist | 1 | 1 | St Maudlin Milkstreet | | |
| Alhallows Lumbardstreet | 2 | 1 | St John Evangelist | | | St Maudlin Oldfishstreet | | |
| Alhallows Staining | 5 | | St John Zachary | 1 | 1 | St Michael Bassishaw | 8 | 6 |
| Alhallows the Wall | 6 | 3 | St Katharine Coleman | | | St Michael Cornhil | | |
| St Alphage | 3 | 3 | St Katharine Crechurch | | | St Michael Crookedlane | 2 | 2 |
| St Andrew Hubbard | 1 | | St Lawrence Jewry | | | St Michael Queenhithe | 3 | |
| St Andrew Undershaft | 10 | 6 | St Lawrence Pountney | 1 | | St Michael Quern | 2 | 2 |
| St Andrew Wardrobe | 2 | | St Leonard Eastcheap | | | St Michael Royal | 1 | |
| St Ann Aldersgate | 5 | | St Leonard Fosterlane | 6 | 5 | St Michael Woodstreet | 3 | 3 |
| St Ann Blackfryers | 10 | 6 | St Magnus Parish | 2 | 1 | St Mildred Breadstreet | | |
| St Antholins Parish | | | St Margaret Lothbury | | | St Mildred Poultrey | 2 | 1 |
| St Austins Parish | | | St Margaret Moses | | | St Nicholas Acons | 1 | 1 |
| St Bartholomew Exchange | | | St Margaret Newfishstreet | | | St Nicholas Coleabby | 2 | 1 |
| St Bennet Fynck | | | St Margaret Pattons | | | St Nicholas Olaves | | |
| St Bennet Gracechurch | 1 | 1 | St Mary Abchurch | 1 | | St Olave Hartstreet | 9 | 3 |
| St Bennet Paulswharf | 6 | 4 | St Mary Aldermanbury | 6 | 2 | St Olave Jewry | | |
| St Bennet Sherehog | | | St Mary Aldermary | 1 | | St Olave Silverstreet | 15 | 3 |
| St Botolph Billingsgate | | | St Mary le Bow | 1 | 1 | St Pancras Soperlane | | |
| Christs Church | 17 | 13 | St Mary Bothaw | | | St Peter Cheap | | |
| St Christophers | 3 | 2 | St Mary Colechurch | | | St Peter Cornhil | 3 | 2 |
| St Clement Eastcheap | | | St Mary Hill | 2 | | St Peter Paulswharf | 1 | |
| St Dionis Backchurch | 2 | | St Mary Mounthaw | 2 | 2 | St Peter Poor | | |
| St Dunstan East | 2 | | St Mary Sommerset | 3 | 2 | St Steven Colemanstreet | 11 | 7 |
| St Edmund Lumbardstr. | | | St Mary Stayning | | | St Steven Walbrook | 1 | |
| St Ethelborough | 4 | 2 | St Mary Woolchurch | 1 | | St Swithin | 4 | 2 |
| St Faith | | | St Mary Woolnoth | 1 | | St Thomas Apostle | 4 | 2 |
| St Foster | 2 | 1 | St Martin Iremongerlane | 1 | 1 | Trinity Parish | 1 | |
| St Gabriel Fenchurch | 1 | | | | | | | |

*Christned in the 97 Parishes within the Walls* — 39 *Buried* — 228 *Plague* — 111

| | | | | | | | | |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| St Andrew Holborn | 216 | 193 | St Botolph Aldgate | 92 | 65 | Saviours Southwark | 52 | 29 |
| St Bartholomew Great | 14 | 10 | St Botolph Bishopsgate | 116 | 80 | S. Sepulchres Parish | 250 | 160 |
| St Bartholomew Lesse | 5 | 2 | St Dunstan West | 15 | 10 | St Thomas Southwark | 5 | 2 |
| St Bridget | 53 | 36 | St George Southwark | 36 | 26 | Trinity Minories | 5 | 4 |
| Bridewel Precinct | 2 | 2 | St Giles Cripplegate | 554 | 302 | At the Pesthouse | 10 | 10 |
| St Botolph Aldersgate | 37 | 23 | St Olave Southwark | 77 | 36 | | | |

*Christned in the 16 Parishes without the Walls* — 76 *Buried, and at the Pesthouse* — 1539 *Plague* — 990

| | | | | | | | | |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| St Giles in the fields | 282 | 229 | Lambeth Parish | 4 | 2 | St Mary Islington | 27 | 23 |
| Hackney Parish | 6 | 5 | St Leonard Shoreditch | 110 | 65 | St Mary Whitechappel | 104 | 79 |
| St James Clerkenwel | 103 | 92 | St Magdalen Bermondsey | 14 | 2 | Rothorith Parish | 7 | 4 |
| St Kath. near the Tower | 10 | 4 | St Mary Newington | 10 | 6 | Stepney Parish | 127 | 76 |

*Christned in the 12 out Parishes in* Middlesex *and* Surry — 62 *Buried* — 804 *Plague* — 587

| | | | | | | | | |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| St Clement Danes | 60 | 42 | St Martin in the fields | 226 | 160 | St Margaret Westminster | 133 | 101 |
| St Paul Covent Garden | 13 | 12 | St Mary Savoy | 11 | 7 | *Whereof at the* Pesthouse | | 11 |

*Christned in the 5 Parishes in the City and Liberties of* Westminster — 38 *Buried* — 443 *Plague* — 322

# *The Diseases and Casualties this Week.*

| | |
|---|---|
| Abortive | 5 |
| Aged | 30 |
| Bleeding | 2 |
| Bruised | 2 |
| Childbed | 16 |
| Chrisomes | 24 |
| Collick | 3 |
| Consumption | 131 |
| Convulsion | 63 |
| Dropsie | 24 |
| Feaver | 194 |
| Fistula | 1 |
| Flox and Small-pox | 18 |
| Flux | 4 |
| Found dead in the street 2, one at St. Dunstan in the East, and one at St. Olave Southwark | 2 |
| French-pox | 3 |
| Frighted | 2 |
| Grief | 2 |
| Griping in the Guts | 56 |
| Hanged himself at St. Magnus | 1 |
| Jaundies | 3 |
| Imposthume | 7 |
| Infants | 15 |
| Killd 2, one by a fall from a Tree, and one by a fall from a Ship at Stepney | 2 |
| Kingsevil | 2 |
| Livergrown | 1 |
| Measles | 1 |
| Palsie | 1 |
| Plague | 2010 |
| Plurisie | 1 |
| Purples | 2 |
| Quinsie | 1 |
| Rickets | 16 |
| Rising of the Lights | 11 |
| Rupture | 1 |
| Scowring | 2 |
| Scurvy | 3 |
| Sore legge | 1 |
| Spotted Feaver | 139 |
| Stilborn | 11 |
| Stone | 3 |
| Stopping of the stomach | 14 |
| Suddenly | 2 |
| Surfeit | 80 |
| Teeth | 82 |
| Thrush | 2 |
| Tissick | 5 |
| Ulcer | 1 |
| Vomiting | 1 |
| Wormes | 11 |

| | | | | | |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| Christned | Males | 113 | Buried | Males | 1495 |
| | Females | 102 | | Females | 1519 |
| | In all | 215 | | In all | 3014 |

Plague — 2010

Increased in the Burials this Week — 229

Parishes clear of the Plague — 57 Parishes Infected — 73

*The Assize of Bread set forth by Order of the Lord Maior and Court of Aldermen,*
A penny Wheaten Loaf to contain Nine Ounces and a half, and three half-penny White Loaves the like weight.

| | Bur. | Plag. | | Bur. | Plag | | Bur | Plag. |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| St ALban Woodstreet | 9 | 8 | St George Botolphlane | | | St Martin Ludgate | 2 | 2 |
| Alhallows Barking | 8 | 3 | St Gregory by St Pauls | 12 | 6 | St Martin Orgars | 2 | 1 |
| Alhallows Breadstreet | 3 | 1 | St Hellen | 3 | 2 | St Martin Outwitch | 2 | 2 |
| Alhallows Great | 2 | | St James Dukes place | 7 | 6 | St Martin Vintrey | 7 | 4 |
| Alhallows Honylane | | | St James Garlickhithe | | | St Matthew Fridaystreet | 1 | |
| Alhallows Lesse | 2 | 1 | St John Baptist | 2 | 2 | St Maudlin Milkstreet | 1 | 1 |
| Alhallows Lumbardstreet | 4 | 3 | St John Evangelist | | | St Maudlin Oldfishstreet | 2 | 2 |
| Alhallows Stayning | 3 | 1 | St John Zachary | 1 | 1 | St Michael Bassishaw | 11 | 7 |
| Alhallows the Wall | 15 | 13 | St Katharine Coleman | | | St Michael Cornhil | 2 | |
| St Alphage | 14 | 5 | St Katharine Crechurch | 2 | 1 | St Michael Crookedlane | 1 | |
| St Andrew Hubbard | 1 | | St Lawrence Jewry | 3 | 1 | St Michael Queenhithe | 2 | 1 |
| St Andrew Undershaft | 9 | 9 | St Lawrence Pountney | 1 | | St Michael Quern | | |
| St Andrew Wardrobe | 11 | 8 | St Leonard Eastcheap | | | St Michael Royal | 1 | 1 |
| St Ann Aldersgate | 5 | 1 | St Leonard Fosterlane | 11 | 11 | St Michael Woodstreet | 3 | 1 |
| St Ann Blackfryers | 21 | 15 | St Magnus Parish | 3 | 2 | St Mildred Breadstreet | 1 | |
| St Antholins Parish | | | St Margaret Lothbury | 9 | 6 | St Mildred Poultrey | 3 | 2 |
| St Austins Parish | | | St Margaret Moses | | | St Nicholas Acons | | |
| St Bartholomew Exchange | 2 | | St Margaret Newfishstre. | | | St Nicholas Coleabby | 1 | 1 |
| St Bennet Fynck | 1 | | St Margaret Pattons | 1 | | St Nicholas Olaves | 2 | 1 |
| St Bennet Gracechurch | | | St Mary Abchurch | 2 | | St Olave Hartstreet | 4 | 2 |
| St Bennet Paulswharf | 9 | 2 | St Mary Aldermanbury | 5 | 1 | St Olave Jewry | | |
| St Bennet Sherehog | | | St Mary Aldermary | 5 | 3 | St Olave Silverstreet | 17 | 8 |
| St Botolph Billingsgate | | | St Mary le Bow | 3 | 1 | St Pancras Soperlane | | |
| Christ Church | 22 | 15 | St Mary Bothaw | 1 | | St Peter Cheap | | |
| St Christophers | | | St Mary Colechurch | | | St Peter Cornhil | 3 | 3 |
| St Clement Eastcheap | 1 | | St Mary Hill | | | St Peter Paulswharf | 1 | 1 |
| St Dionis Backchurch | 2 | 1 | St Mary Mounthaw | | | St Peter Poor | 1 | 1 |
| St Dunstan East | | | St Mary Sommerset | 4 | 4 | St Steven Colemanstreet | 15 | 10 |
| St Edmund Lumbardst. | | | St Mary Stayning | 1 | | St Steven Walbrook | | |
| St Ethelborough | 10 | 9 | St Mary Woolchurch | 2 | | St Swithin | 3 | 1 |
| St Faith | 2 | 1 | St Mary Woolnoth | | | St Thomas Apostles | 10 | 8 |
| St Foster | 7 | 4 | St Martin Iremongerlane | | | Trinity Parish | 2 | 1 |
| St Gabriel Fenchurch | | | | | | | | |

*Christned in the 97 Parishes within the Walls* — 36 *Buried* — 341 *Plague* — 208

| | | | | | | | | |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| St Andrew Holborn | 190 | 183 | St Botolph Aldgate | 103 | 81 | Saviours Southwark | 61 | 41 |
| St Bartholomew Great | 30 | 17 | St Botolph Bishopsgate | 180 | 133 | S Sepulchres Parish | 325 | 205 |
| St Bartholomew Lesse | 12 | 6 | St Dunstan West | 26 | 20 | St Thomas Southwark | 9 | 8 |
| St Bridget | 81 | 66 | St George Southwark | 60 | 39 | Trinity Minories | | |
| Bridewel Precinct | 7 | 5 | St Giles Cripplegate | 691 | 356 | At the Pesthouse | 10 | 10 |
| St Botolph Aldersgate | 57 | 46 | St Olave Southwark | 142 | 64 | | | |

*Christned in the 16 Parishes without the Walls* — 67 *Buried, and at the Pesthouse* — 1992 *Plague* — 1280

| | | | | | | | | |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| St Giles in the fields | 290 | 259 | Lambeth Parish | 9 | 1 | St Mary Islington | 28 | 24 |
| Hackney Parish | 10 | 5 | St Leonard Shoreditch | 183 | 122 | St Mary Whitechappel | 177 | 158 |
| St James Clerkenwel | 148 | 136 | St Magdalen Bermondsey | 14 | 7 | Rothorith Parish | 3 | 2 |
| St Kath. near the Tower | 16 | 12 | St Mary Newington | 23 | 16 | Stepney Parish | 204 | 136 |

*Christned in the 12 out Parishes in Middlesex and Surrey* — 53 *Buried* — 1105 *Plague* — 879

| | | | | | | | | |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| St Clement Danes | 61 | 42 | St Martin in the fields | 304 | 213 | St Margaret Westminster | 199 | 173 |
| St Paul Covent Garden | 20 | 16 | St Mary Savoy | 8 | 6 | *Whereof at the Pesthouse* | | 39 |

*Christned in the 5 Parishes in the City and Liberties of Westminster* — 22 *Buried* — 592 *Plague* — 450

# The Diseases and Casualties this Week.

| | |
|---|---|
| Abortive | 5 |
| Aged | 36 |
| Apoplexie | 1 |
| Childbed | 25 |
| Chrisomes | 22 |
| Consumption | 130 |
| Convulsion | 58 |
| Cough | 2 |
| Distracted | 1 |
| Dropsie | 32 |
| Drowned in a Ditch at Saviours Southwark | 1 |
| Feaver | 314 |
| Flox and Small-pox | 11 |
| Flux | 1 |
| Grief | 3 |
| Griping in the Guts | 70 |
| Jaundies | 2 |
| Imposthume | 16 |
| Infants | 13 |
| Kingsevil | 2 |
| Leprosie | 1 |
| Meagrome | 1 |
| Mother | 1 |
| Plague | 2817 |
| Plurisie | 1 |
| Purples | 2 |
| Quinsie | 3 |
| Rickets | 14 |
| Rising of the Lights | 32 |
| Rupture | 3 |
| Scowring | 3 |
| Scurvy | 3 |
| Spotted Feaver | 174 |
| Stilborn | 11 |
| Stone | 3 |
| Stopping of the stomach | 10 |
| Suddenly | 2 |
| Surfeit | 85 |
| Teeth | 90 |
| Thrush | 4 |
| Tissick | 3 |
| Ulcer | 3 |
| Vomiting | 1 |
| Wormes | 18 |

Christned { Males — 90, Females — 88, In all — 178 }

Buried { Males — 2022, Females — 2008, In all — 4030 } Plague — 2817

Increased in the Burials this Week — 1016

Parishes clear of the Plague — 44 Parishes Infected — 86

*The Assize of Bread set forth by Order of the Lord Maior and Court of Aldermen;*

A penny Wheaten Loaf to contain Nine Ounces and a half, and three half-penny White Loaves the like weight.

| | Bur. | Plag. | | Bur. | Plag | | Bur. | Plag. |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| St ALban Woodstreet | 8 | 5 | St George Botolphlane | | | St Martin Ludgate | 5 | 4 |
| Alhallows Barking | 10 | 7 | St Gregory by St Pauls | 15 | 11 | St Martin Orgars | 3 | |
| Alhallows Breadstreet | 2 | 1 | St Hellen | 11 | 10 | St Martin Outwitch | 1 | 1 |
| Alhallows Great | 8 | 5 | St James Dukes place | 9 | 6 | St Martin Vintrey | 10 | 7 |
| Alhallows Honylane | 1 | 1 | St James Garlickhithe | 3 | 3 | St Matthew Fridaystreet | | |
| Alhallows Lesse | 2 | | St John Baptist | 1 | 1 | St Maudlin Milkstreet | | |
| Alhallows Lumbardstreet | 5 | 4 | St John Evangelist | | | St Maudlin Oldfishstreet | 3 | 1 |
| Alhallows Stayning | 2 | 2 | St John Zachary | 2 | 1 | St Michael Bassishaw | 11 | 7 |
| Alhallows the Wall | 2 | 18 | St Katharine Coleman | | | St Michael Cornhil | | |
| St Alphage | 16 | 9 | St Katharine Crechurch | 3 | 2 | St Michael Crookedlane | 2 | |
| St Andrew Hubbard | | | St Lawrence Jewry | 7 | 3 | St Michael Queenhithe | 8 | |
| St Andrew Undershaft | 13 | 11 | St Lawrence Pountney | 6 | 3 | St Michael Querne | 1 | |
| St Andrew Wardrobe | 24 | 16 | St Leonard Eastcheap | | | St Michael Royal | 7 | 5 |
| St Ann Aldersgate | 15 | 6 | St Leonard Fosterlane | 13 | 9 | St Michael Woodstreet | 11 | 4 |
| St Ann Blackfryers | 11 | 10 | St Magnus Parish | 8 | 4 | St Mildred Breadstreet | | |
| St Antholins Parish | 1 | 1 | St Margaret Lothbury | 3 | 2 | St Mildred Poultrey | 1 | 1 |
| St Austins Parish | 2 | 1 | St Margaret Moses | 1 | 1 | St Nicholas Acons | | |
| St Bartholomew Exchange | 1 | 1 | St Margaret Newfishstre. | | | St Nicholas Coleabby | 7 | 5 |
| St Bennet Fynck | 1 | | St Margaret Pattons | | | St Nicholas Olaves | 2 | |
| St Bennet Gracechurch | 3 | 3 | St Mary Abchurch | 1 | | St Olave Hartstreet | 7 | 6 |
| St Bennet Paulswharf | 13 | 7 | St Mary Aldermanbury | 9 | 2 | St Olave Jewry | 1 | 1 |
| St Bennet Sherehog | | | St Mary Aldermary | 2 | 1 | St Olave Silverstreet | 21 | 12 |
| St Botolph Billingsgate | 1 | | St Mary le Bow | 6 | 3 | St Pancras Soperlane | | |
| Christ Church | 31 | 20 | St Mary Bothaw | | | St Peter Cheap | 1 | |
| St Christophers | 4 | 2 | St Mary Colechurch | 1 | 1 | St Peter Cornhil | 5 | 4 |
| St Clement Eastcheap | 1 | | St Mary Hill | 1 | | St Peter Paulswharf | 1 | 1 |
| St Dionis Backchurch | 2 | 1 | St Mary Mounthaw | 4 | 2 | St Peter Poor | 2 | 1 |
| St Dunstan East | 3 | 1 | St Mary Sommerset | 12 | 10 | St Steven Colemanstreet | 14 | 10 |
| St Edmund Lumbardst | 1 | | St Mary Stayning | 2 | 1 | St Steven Walbrook | | |
| St Ethelborough | 17 | 8 | St Mary Woolchurch | 2 | | St Swithin | 3 | 2 |
| St Faith | | | St Mary Woolnoth | 1 | 1 | St Thomas Apostles | 9 | 6 |
| St Foster | 10 | 8 | St Martin Iremongerlane | | | Trinity Parish | 2 | 1 |
| St Gabriel Fenchurch | 2 | | | | | | | |

*Christned in the 97 Parishes within the Walls* — 28 *Buried* — 496 *Plague* — 304

| | | | | | | | | |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| St Andrew Holborn | 287 | 272 | St Botolph Aldgate | 297 | 173 | Saviours Southwark | 132 | 100 |
| St Bartholomew Great | 64 | 48 | St Botolph Bishopsgate | 259 | 196 | S. Sepulchres Parish | 365 | 241 |
| St Bartholomew Lesse | 9 | 8 | St Dunstan West | 35 | 25 | St Thomas Southwark | 5 | 4 |
| St Bridget | 103 | 90 | St George Southwark | 99 | 71 | Trinity Minories | 1 | |
| Bridewel Precinct | 4 | 2 | St Giles Cripplegate | 836 | 521 | At the Pesthouse | 12 | 12 |
| St Botolph Aldersgate | 61 | 47 | St Olave Southwark | 218 | 114 | | | |

*Christned in the 16 Parishes without the Walls* — 62 *Buried, and at the Pesthouse* — 2747 *Plague* — 1924

| | | | | | | | | |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| St Giles in the fields | 277 | 242 | Lambeth Parish | 18 | 10 | St Mary Islington | 42 | 36 |
| Hackney Parish | 5 | 4 | St Leonard Shoreditch | 207 | 163 | St Mary Whitechappel | 285 | 240 |
| St James Clerkenwel | 155 | 145 | St Magdalen Bermondsey | 44 | 24 | Rotherith Parish | 7 | 3 |
| St Kath. near the Tower | 24 | 18 | St Mary Newington | 47 | 37 | Stepney Parish | 293 | 197 |

*Christned in the 12 out Parishes in Middlesex and Surrey* — 45 *Buried* — 1404 *Plague* — 1119

| | | | | | | | | |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| St Clement Danes | 74 | 57 | St Martin in the fields | 301 | 229 | St Margaret Westminster | 269 | 228 |
| St Paul Covent Garden | 13 | 7 | St Mary Savoy | 15 | 12 | *Whereof at the* Pesthouse | | 12 |

*Christned in the 5 Parishes in the City and Liberties of* Westminster — 21 *Buried* — 672 *Plague* — 533

# *The Diseases and Casualties this Week.*

| | | | |
|---|---|---|---|
| Abortive | 6 | Kingsevil | 10 |
| Aged | 54 | Lethargy | 1 |
| Apoplexie | 1 | Murthered at Stepney | 1 |
| Bedridden | 1 | Palsie | 2 |
| Cancer | 2 | Plague | 3880 |
| Childbed | 23 | Plurisie | 1 |
| Chrisomes | 15 | Quinsie | 6 |
| Collick | 1 | Rickets | 23 |
| Consumption | 174 | Rising of the Lights | 19 |
| Convulsion | 88 | Rupture | 2 |
| Dropsie | 40 | Sciatica | 1 |
| Drowned 2, one at St. Kath. Tower, and one at Lambeth | 2 | Scowring | 13 |
| Feaver | 353 | Scurvy | 1 |
| Fistula | 1 | Sore legge | 1 |
| Flox and Small-pox | 10 | Spotted Feaver and Purples | 190 |
| Flux | 2 | Starved at Nurse | 1 |
| Found dead in the Street at St. Bartholomew the Less | 1 | Stilborn | 8 |
| Frighted | 1 | Stone | 2 |
| Gangrene | 1 | Stopping of the stomach | 16 |
| Gowt | 1 | Strangury | 1 |
| Grief | 1 | Suddenly | 1 |
| Griping in the Guts | 74 | Surfeit | 87 |
| Jaundies | 3 | Teeth | 113 |
| Impostbume | 18 | Thrush | 3 |
| Infants | 21 | Tissick | 6 |
| Kild by a fall down stairs at St. Thomas Apostle | 1 | Ulcer | 2 |
| | | Vomiting | 7 |
| | | Winde | 8 |
| | | Wormes | 18 |

| | | | | | |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| Christned | Males | 83 | Buried | Males | 2656 |
| | Females | 83 | | Females | 2663 |
| | In all | 166 | | In all | 5319 |

Plague — 3880

Increased in the Burials this Week — 1289

Parishes clear of the Plague — 34. Parishes Infected — 96.

*The Assize of Bread set forth by Order of the Lord Maior and Court of Aldermen;*

A penny Wheaten Loaf to contain Nine Ounces and a half, and three half-penny White Loaves the like weight.

| | Bur. | Plag. | | Bur. | Plag. | | Bur. | Plag. |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| St Alban Woodstreet | 11 | 8 | St George Botolphlane | | | St Martin Ludgate | 4 | 4 |
| Alhallows Barking | 13 | 11 | St Gregory by St Pauls | 9 | 5 | St Martin Orgars | 8 | 6 |
| Alhallows Breadstreet | 1 | 1 | St Hellen | 11 | 11 | St Martin Outwitch | 1 | |
| Alhallows Great | 6 | 5 | St James Dukes place | 7 | 5 | St Martin Vintrey | 17 | 17 |
| Alhallows Honylane | | | St James Garlickhithe | 3 | 1 | St Matthew Fridaystreet | 1 | |
| Alhallows Lesse | 3 | 2 | St John Baptist | 7 | 4 | St Maudlin Milkstreet | 2 | 2 |
| Alhallows Lumbardstreet | 6 | 4 | St John Evangelist | | | St Maudlin Oldfishstreet | 8 | 4 |
| Alhallows Staining | 7 | 5 | St John Zachary | 1 | 1 | St Michael Bassishaw | 12 | 11 |
| Alhallows the Wall | 23 | 11 | St Katharine Coleman | 5 | 1 | St Michael Cornhil | 3 | 1 |
| St Alphage | 18 | 10 | St Katharine Crechurch | 7 | 4 | St Michael Crookedlane | 7 | 4 |
| St Andrew Hubbard | 1 | | St Lawrence Jewry | 2 | 1 | St Michael Queenhithe | 7 | 6 |
| St Andrew Undershaft | 14 | 9 | St Lawrence Pountney | 6 | 5 | St Michael Quern | 1 | |
| St Andrew Wardrobe | 21 | 16 | St Leonard Eastcheap | 1 | 1 | St Michael Royal | 2 | 1 |
| St Ann Aldersgate | 18 | 11 | St Leonard Fosterlane | 17 | 13 | St Michael Woodstreet | 2 | 1 |
| St Ann Blackfryers | 22 | 17 | St Magnus Parish | 2 | 2 | St Mildred Breadstreet | 2 | 1 |
| St Antholins Parish | | | St Margaret Lothbury | 2 | 1 | St Mildred Poultrey | 4 | 3 |
| St Austins Parish | | | St Margaret Moses | 1 | | St Nicholas Acons | | |
| St Bartholomew Exchange | 2 | 2 | St Margaret Newfishstreet | 1 | | St Nicholas Coleabby | 1 | |
| St Bennet Fynck | 2 | 2 | St Margaret Pattons | 1 | | St Nicholas Olaves | 3 | 1 |
| St Bennet Gracechurch | | | St Mary Abchurch | 1 | | St Olave Hartstreet | 7 | 4 |
| St Bennet Paulswharf | 16 | 8 | St Mary Aldermanbury | 11 | 5 | St Olave Jewry | 1 | 1 |
| St Bennet Sherehog | | | St Mary Aldermary | 2 | 1 | St Olave Silverstreet | 23 | 15 |
| St Botolph Billingsgate | 2 | | St Mary le Bow | 6 | 6 | St Pancras Soperlane | | |
| Christs Church | 27 | 22 | St Mary Bothaw | 1 | 1 | St Peter Cheap | 1 | 1 |
| St Christophers | 1 | | St Mary Colechurch | | | St Peter Cornhil | 7 | 6 |
| St Clement Eastcheap | 2 | 2 | St Mary Hill | 2 | 1 | St Peter Paulswharf | 5 | 2 |
| St Dionis Backchurch | 2 | 1 | St Mary Mounthaw | 1 | | St Peter Poor | 3 | 2 |
| St Dunstan East | 7 | 2 | St Mary Sommerset | 6 | 5 | St Steven Colemanstreet | 15 | 11 |
| St Edmund Lumbardstr. | 2 | 2 | St Mary Stayning | 1 | | St Steven Walbrook | | |
| St Ethelborough | 13 | 7 | St Mary Woolchurch | 1 | | St Swithin | 2 | 2 |
| St Faith | 6 | 6 | St Mary Woolnoth | 1 | 1 | St Thomas Apostle | 8 | 7 |
| St Foster | 13 | 11 | St Martin Iremongerlane | | | Trinity Parish | 5 | 3 |
| St Gabriel Fenchurch | 1 | | | | | | | |

*Christned in the 97 Parishes within the Walls* — 34 *Buried* — 538 *Plague* — 366

| | | | | | | | | |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| St Andrew Holborn | 232 | 220 | St Botolph Aldgate | 238 | 212 | Saviours Southwark | 160 | 120 |
| St Bartholomew Great | 58 | 50 | St Botolph Bishopsgate | 288 | 236 | S. Sepulchres Parish | 403 | 274 |
| St Bartholomew Lesse | 19 | 15 | St Dunstan West | 36 | 29 | St Thomas Southwark | 24 | 21 |
| St Bridget | 147 | 119 | St George Southwark | 80 | 60 | Trinity Minories | 8 | 5 |
| Bridewel Precinct | 7 | 5 | St Giles Cripplegate | 847 | 572 | At the Pesthouse | 9 | 9 |
| St Botolph Aldersgate | 70 | 61 | St Olave Southwark | 235 | 131 | | | |

*Christned in the 16 Parishes without the Walls* — 61 *Buried, and at the Pesthouse* — 2861 *Plague* — 2139

| | | | | | | | | |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| St Giles in the fields | 204 | 175 | Lambeth Parish | 13 | 9 | St Mary Islington | 50 | 45 |
| Hackney Parish | 12 | 8 | St Leonard Shoreditch | 252 | 168 | St Mary Whitechappel | 319 | 270 |
| St James Clerkenwel | 172 | 172 | St Magdalen Bermondsey | 57 | 36 | Rotherith Parish | 7 | 2 |
| St Kath. near the Tower | 40 | 34 | St Mary Newington | 74 | 52 | Stepney Parish | 371 | 273 |

*Christned in the 12 out Parishes in* Middlesex *and* Surry — 49 *Buried* — 1571 *Plague* — 1244

| | | | | | | | | |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| St Clement Danes | 94 | 78 | St Martin in the fields | 255 | 193 | St Margaret Westminster | 220 | 191 |
| St Paul Covent Garden | 18 | 16 | St Mary Savoy | 11 | 10 | *whereof at the* Pesthouse | | 13 |

*Christned in the 5 Parishes in the City and Liberties of* Westminster — 27 *Buried* — 598 *Plague* — 488

# *The Diseases and Casualties this Week.*

| | |
|---|---|
| Abortive | 4 |
| Aged | 45 |
| Bleeding | 1 |
| Broken legge | 1 |
| Broke her scull by a fall in the street at St. Mary VVoolchurch | 1 |
| Childbed | 28 |
| Chrisomes | 9 |
| Consumption | 126 |
| Convulsion | 89 |
| Cough | 1 |
| Dropsie | 53 |
| Feaver | 348 |
| Flox and Small-pox | 11 |
| Flux | 1 |
| Frighted | 2 |
| Gowt | 1 |
| Grief | 3 |
| Griping in the Guts | 79 |
| Head-mould-shot | 1 |
| Jaundies | 7 |
| Impostume | 8 |
| Infants | 22 |
| Kingsevil | 4 |
| Lethargy | 1 |
| Livergrown | 1 |
| Meagrome | 1 |
| Palsie | 1 |
| Plague | 4237 |
| Purples | 2 |
| Quinsie | 5 |
| Rickets | 23 |
| Rising of the Lights | 18 |
| Rupture | 1 |
| Scurvy | 3 |
| Shingles | 1 |
| Spotted Feaver | 166 |
| Stilborn | 4 |
| Stone | 2 |
| Stopping of the stomach | 17 |
| Strangury | 3 |
| Suddenly | 2 |
| Surfeit | 74 |
| Teeth | 111 |
| Thrush | 6 |
| Tisick | 9 |
| Ulcer | 1 |
| Vomiting | 10 |
| Winde | 4 |
| Wormes | 20 |

| | | | | | |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| Christned | Males | 90 | Buried | Males | 2777 |
| | Females | 81 | | Females | 2791 |
| | In all | 171 | | In all | 5568 |

Plague 4237

Increased in the Burials this Week — 249

Parishes clear of the Plague — 27 Parishes Infected — 103

*The Assize of Bread set forth by Order of the Lord Maior and Court of Aldermen,*

A penny Wheaten Loaf to contain Nine Ounces and a half, and three half-penny White Loaves the like weight.

| | Bur. | Plag. | | Bur. | Plag. | | Bur. | Plag. |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| St Alban Woodstreet | 16 | 12 | St George Botolphlane | | | St Martin Ludgate | 9 | 6 |
| Alhallows Barking | 25 | 21 | St Gregory by St Pauls | 32 | 25 | St Martin Orgars | 10 | 9 |
| Alhallows Breadstreet | 2 | | St Hellen | 7 | 6 | St Martin Outwitch | 5 | 4 |
| Alhallows Great | 21 | 10 | St James Dukes place | 9 | 6 | St Martin Vintrey | 23 | 22 |
| Alhallows Honylane | 1 | 1 | St James Garlickhithe | 6 | 4 | St Matthew Fridaystreet | 1 | 1 |
| Alhallows Lesse | 11 | 9 | St John Baptist | 6 | 5 | St Maudlin Milkstreet | 8 | 7 |
| Alhallows Lumbardstreet | 8 | 7 | St John Evangelist | | | St Maudlin Oldfishstreet | 6 | 5 |
| Alhallows Staining | 7 | 5 | St John Zachary | 1 | 1 | St Michael Bassishaw | 19 | 18 |
| Alhallows the Wall | 44 | 40 | St Katharine Coleman | 9 | 5 | St Michael Cornhil | 3 | 1 |
| St Alphage | 38 | 22 | St Katharine Crechurch | 8 | 5 | St Michael Crookedlane | 6 | 3 |
| St Andrew Hubbard | 1 | | St Lawrence Jewry | 12 | 8 | St Michael Queenhithe | 18 | 11 |
| St Andrew Undershaft | 18 | 14 | St Lawrence Pountney | 18 | 9 | St Michael Quern | | |
| St Andrew Wardrobe | 35 | 29 | St Leonard Eastcheap | | | St Michael Royal | 14 | 11 |
| St Ann Aldersgate | 21 | 13 | St Leonard Fosterlane | 34 | 30 | St Michael Woodstreet | 8 | 6 |
| St Ann Blackfryers | 41 | 31 | St Magnus Parish | 4 | 4 | St Mildred Breadstreet | 2 | 2 |
| St Antholins Parish | 4 | 2 | St Margaret Lothbury | 1 | | St Mildred Poultrey | 4 | 4 |
| St Austins Parish | 3 | 3 | St Margaret Moses | 3 | 3 | St Nicholas Acons | 1 | 1 |
| St Bartholomew Exchange | 4 | 3 | St Margaret New fishstreet | 2 | 1 | St Nicholas Coleabby | 5 | 3 |
| St Benner Fynck | 2 | 2 | St Margaret Pattons | 1 | | St Nicholas Olaves | 6 | 6 |
| St Benner Gracechurch | 1 | 1 | St Mary Abchurch | 5 | 4 | St Olave Hartstreet | 9 | 6 |
| St Benner Paulswharf | 41 | 29 | St Mary Aldermanbury | 11 | 7 | St Olave Jewry | 8 | 4 |
| St Benner Sherehog | | | St Mary Aldermary | 8 | 6 | St Olave Silverstreet | 23 | 17 |
| St Botolph Billingsgate | 2 | 2 | St Mary le Bow | 6 | 4 | St Pancras Soperlane | 2 | 2 |
| Christs Church | 43 | 37 | St Mary Bothaw | 5 | 5 | St Peter Cheap | 1 | |
| St Christophers | | | St Mary Colechurch | 1 | | St Peter Cornhil | 4 | 1 |
| St Clement Eastcheap | 1 | 1 | St Mary Hill | 2 | 1 | St Peter Paulswharf | 10 | 7 |
| St Dionis Backchurch | 3 | 2 | St Mary Mounthaw | 5 | 3 | St Peter Poor | 1 | 1 |
| St Dunstan East | 9 | 5 | St Mary Sommerset | 22 | 18 | St Steven Colemanstreet | 36 | 29 |
| St Edmund Lumbardstr. | 2 | 1 | St Mary Staining | 5 | 4 | St Steven Walbrook | 1 | |
| St Ethelborough | 23 | 18 | St Mary Woolchurch | 1 | 1 | St Swithin | 4 | 2 |
| St Faith | 1 | | St Mary Woolnoth | 2 | 1 | St Thomas Apostle | 12 | 10 |
| St Foster | 14 | 13 | St Martin Iremongerlane | 2 | | Trinity Parish | 4 | 3 |
| St Gabriel Fenchurch | | | | | | | | |

*Christned in the 97 Parishes within the Walls* — 29 *Buried* — 933 *Plague* — 700

| | | | | | | | | |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| St Andrew Holborn | 399 | 380 | St Botolph Aldgate | 374 | 346 | Saviours Southwark | 319 | 261 |
| St Bartholomew Great | 72 | 65 | St Botolph Bishopsgate | 316 | 280 | S. Sepulchres Parish | 447 | 336 |
| St Bartholomew Lesse | 12 | 8 | St Dunstan West | 53 | 42 | St Thomas Southwark | 27 | 22 |
| St Bridget | 181 | 152 | St George Southwark | 147 | 120 | Trinity Minories | 5 | 4 |
| Bridewel Precinct | 12 | 9 | St Giles Cripplegate | 842 | 605 | At the Pesthouse | 9 | 9 |
| St Botolph Aldersgate | 91 | 80 | St Olave Southwark | 321 | 209 | | | |

*Christned in the 16 Parishes without the Walls* — 61 *Buried, and at the Pesthouse* — 3627 *Plague* — 2928

| | | | | | | | | |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| St Giles in the fields | 170 | 146 | Lambeth Parish | 25 | 17 | St Mary Islington | 69 | 66 |
| Hackney Parish | 10 | 7 | St Leonard Shoreditch | 280 | 238 | St Mary Whitechappel | 496 | 462 |
| St James Clerkenwel | 142 | 122 | St Magdalen Bermondsey | 108 | 78 | Rotherith Parish | 7 | 6 |
| St Kath near the Tower | 87 | 71 | St Mary Newington | 121 | 104 | Stepney Parish | 530 | 442 |

*Christned in the 12 out Parishes in Middlesex and Surry* — 58 *Buried* — 2045 *Plague* — 1759

| | | | | | | | | |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| St Clement Danes | 110 | 82 | St Martin in the fields | 357 | 287 | St Margaret Westminster | 345 | 309 |
| St Paul Covent Garden | 24 | 21 | St Mary Savoy | 25 | 16 | *whereof at the Pesthouse* | | 8 |

*Christned in the 5 Parishes in the City and Liberties of Westminster* — 21 *Buried* — 891 *Plague* — 715

# The Diseases and Casualties this Week.

| | |
|---|---|
| Abortive | 6 |
| Aged | 52 |
| Bleeding | 1 |
| Cancer | 2 |
| Childbed | 40 |
| Chrisomes | 19 |
| Collick | 1 |
| Consumption | 145 |
| Convulsion | 93 |
| Dropsie | 34 |
| Feaver | 383 |
| Flox and Small-pox | 5 |
| Flux | 1 |
| Gangrene | 1 |
| Gowt | 1 |
| Grief | 4 |
| Griping in the Guts | 65 |
| Jaundies | 4 |
| Imposthume | 13 |
| Infants | 17 |
| Killed by a fall from a horse at Alhallowes Lumberstreet | 1 |
| Kingsevil | 3 |
| Meagrome | 1 |
| Plague | 6102 |
| Plannet | 3 |
| Purples | 3 |
| Quinsie | 2 |
| Rickets | 23 |
| Rising of the Lights | 18 |
| Scowring | 3 |
| Scurvy | 3 |
| Spotted Feaver | 165 |
| Stilborn | 10 |
| Stone | 1 |
| Stopping of the stomach | 7 |
| Strangury | 1 |
| Suddenly | 2 |
| Surfeit | 99 |
| Teeth | 133 |
| Thrush | 3 |
| Timpany | 1 |
| Tissick | 3 |
| Ulcer | 4 |
| Winde | 4 |
| Wormes | 23 |

Christned { Males — 87, Females — 82, In all — 169 }

Buried { Males — 3811, Females — 3685, In all — 7496 } Plague — 6102

Increased in the Burials this Week — 1928

Parishes clear of the Plague — 17 Parishes Infected — 113

*The Assize of Bread set forth by Order of the Lord Maior and Court of Aldermen,*
A penny Wheaten Loaf to contain Nine Ounces and a half, and three half-penny White Loaves the like weight

| | Bur. | Plag. | | Bur. | Plag | | Bur. | Plag |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| St Alban Woodstreet | 12 | 9 | St George Botolphlane | 1 | | St Martin Ludgate | 16 | 14 |
| Alhallows Barking | 31 | 23 | St Gregory by St Pauls | 22 | 20 | St Martin Orgars | 16 | 15 |
| Alhallows Breadstreet | 2 | 1 | St Hellen | 10 | 10 | St Martin Outwitch | 6 | 4 |
| Alhallows Great | 21 | 9 | St James Dukes place | 8 | 5 | St Martin Vintrey | 25 | 23 |
| Alhallows Honylane | | | St James Garlickhithe | 7 | 4 | St Matthew Fridaystreet | | |
| Alhallows Lesse | 17 | 16 | St John Baptist | 10 | 9 | St Maudlin Milkstreet | 5 | 3 |
| Alhallows Lumbardstreet | 7 | 6 | St John Evangelist | | | St Maudlin Oldfishstreet | 24 | 21 |
| Alhallows Stayning | 14 | 11 | St John Zachary | 8 | 7 | St Michael Bassishaw | 19 | 11 |
| Alhallows the Wall | 46 | 40 | St Katharine Coleman | 17 | 10 | St Michael Cornhil | 11 | 7 |
| St Alphage | 40 | 22 | St Katharine Crechurch | 23 | 19 | St Michael Crookedlane | 5 | 5 |
| St Andrew Hubbard | 6 | 3 | St Lawrence Jewry | 6 | 4 | St Michael Queenhithe | 17 | 12 |
| St Andrew Undershaft | 30 | 24 | St Lawrence Pountney | 20 | 14 | St Michael Quern | 1 | 1 |
| St Andrew Wardrobe | 48 | 37 | St Leonard Eastcheap | 2 | | St Michael Royal | 4 | 4 |
| St Ann Aldersgate | 30 | 24 | St Leonard Fosterlane | 35 | 33 | St Michael Woodstreet | 10 | 8 |
| St Ann Blackfryers | 47 | 36 | St Magnus Parish | 8 | 6 | St Mildred Breadstreet | 3 | 2 |
| St Antholins Parish | 10 | 9 | St Margaret Lothbury | 10 | 8 | St Mildred Poultrey | 1 | 1 |
| St Austins Parish | 1 | 1 | St Margaret Moses | 3 | 3 | St Nicholas Acons | | |
| St Bartholomew Exchange | 2 | 2 | St Margaret Newfishstre. | 9 | 3 | St Nicholas Coleabby | 8 | 8 |
| St Bennet Fynck | 5 | 2 | St Margaret Pattons | | | St Nicholas Olaves | 8 | 7 |
| St Bennet Gracechurch | 1 | 1 | St Mary Abchurch | 5 | 2 | St Olave Hartstreet | 12 | 10 |
| St Bennet Paulswharf | 30 | 21 | St Mary Aldermanbury | 15 | 15 | St Olave Jewry | 5 | 4 |
| St Bennet Sherehog | | | St Mary Aldermary | 7 | 7 | St Olave Silverstreet | 23 | 18 |
| St Botolph Billingsgate | 3 | 1 | St Mary le Bow | 9 | 8 | St Pancras Soperlane | 4 | 1 |
| Christ Church | 68 | 61 | St Mary Bothaw | 7 | 4 | St Peter Cheap | 6 | 3 |
| St Christophers | 8 | 7 | St Mary Colechurch | | | St Peter Cornhil | 4 | 2 |
| St Clement Eastcheap | 3 | 1 | St Mary Hill | 7 | 5 | St Peter Paulswharf | 8 | 7 |
| St Dionis Backchurch | 1 | 1 | St Mary Mounthaw | 3 | 2 | St Peter Poor | 2 | 2 |
| St Dunstan East | 11 | 6 | St Mary Sommerset | 14 | 12 | St Steven Colemanstreet | 47 | 38 |
| St Edmund Lumbardsta. | 1 | | St Mary Stayning | 5 | 5 | St Steven Walbrook | 2 | 1 |
| St Ethelborough | 13 | 9 | St Mary Woolchurch | 1 | | St Swithin | 4 | 2 |
| St Faith | 7 | 4 | St Mary Woolnoth | 3 | 2 | St Thomas Apostles | 11 | 7 |
| St Foster | 14 | 12 | St Martin Iremongerlane | | | Trinity Parish | 3 | 3 |
| St Gabriel Fenchurch | 4 | 4 | | | | | | |

*Christned in the 97 Parishes within the Walls* — 34 *Buried* — 1118 *Plague* — 864

| | | | | | | | | |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| St Andrew Holborn | 356 | 345 | St Botolph Aldgate | 443 | 439 | Saviours Southwark | 374 | 339 |
| St Bartholomew Great | 48 | 42 | St Botolph Bishopsgate | 368 | 299 | S. Sepulchres Parish | 344 | 264 |
| St Bartholomew Lesse | 23 | 21 | St Dunstan West | 86 | 74 | St Thomas Southwark | 40 | 33 |
| St Bridget | 219 | 189 | St George Southwark | 162 | 150 | Trinity Minories | 23 | 19 |
| Bridewel Precinct | 18 | 17 | St Giles Cripplegate | 690 | 567 | At the Pesthouse | 10 | 10 |
| St Botolph Aldersgate | 93 | 79 | St Olave Southwark | 439 | 264 | | | |

*Christned in the 16 Parishes without the Walls* — 64 *Buried, and at the Pesthouse* — 3736 *Plague* — 3151

| | | | | | | | | |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| St Giles in the fields | 202 | 178 | Lambeth Parish | 31 | 21 | St Mary Islington | 94 | 94 |
| Hackney Parish | 13 | 10 | St Leonard Shoreditch | 300 | 276 | St Mary Whitechappel | 586 | 540 |
| St James Clerkenwel | 137 | 119 | St Magdalen Bermondsey | 146 | 116 | Rothorith Parish | 11 | 8 |
| St Kath. near the Tower | 117 | 87 | St Mary Newington | 171 | 146 | Stepney Parish | 741 | 666 |

*Christned in the 12 out Parishes in* Middlesex *and* Surrey — 49 *Buried* — 2543 *Plague* — 2261

| | | | | | | | | |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| St Clement Danes | 142 | 114 | St Martin in the fields | 303 | 230 | St Margaret Westminster | 348 | 321 |
| St Paul Covent Garden | 32 | 26 | St Mary Savoy | 24 | 21 | *Whereof at the* Pesthouse | | 12 |

*Christned in the 5 Parishes in the City and Liberties of* Westminster — 20 *Buried* — 849 *Plague* — 712

# *The Diseases and Casualties this Week.*

| | |
|---|---|
| Abortive | 2 |
| Aged | 52 |
| Apoplexie | 1 |
| Bleeding | 1 |
| Childbed | 38 |
| Chrisomes | 28 |
| Consumption | 106 |
| Convulsion | 81 |
| Cough | 1 |
| Dropsie | 18 |
| Drowned 2, one at St. Michael Queenhithe, and one at Stepney | 2 |
| Feaver | 364 |
| Flux | 1 |
| Found dead in the street 3, one at St. Mary hill, and two at St. Botolph Bishopsgate | 3 |
| Frighted | 1 |
| Gowt | 1 |
| Grief | 2 |
| Griping in the Guts | 43 |
| Jaundies | 8 |
| Imposthume | 10 |
| Infants | 26 |
| Lethargy | 1 |
| Livergrown | 2 |
| Meagrome | 1 |
| Palsie | 2 |
| Plague | 6988 |
| Purples | 7 |
| Quinsie | 1 |
| Rickets | 7 |
| Rising of the Lights | 16 |
| Rupture | 1 |
| Scowring | 6 |
| Small-Pox | 2 |
| Spotted Feaver | 157 |
| Stilborn | 11 |
| Stone | 2 |
| Stopping of the stomach | 8 |
| Strangury | 1 |
| Surfeit | 69 |
| Teeth | 138 |
| Thrush | 3 |
| Tissick | 6 |
| Ulcer | 5 |
| Vomiting | 1 |
| Winde | 3 |
| Wormes | 25 |

| | | | | | |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| Christned | Males | 79 | Buried | Males | 4116 |
| | Females | 88 | | Females | 4136 |
| | In all | 167 | | In all | 8252 |

Plague—6988

Increased in the Burials this Week — 756

Parishes clear of the Plague — 12 Parishes Infected — 118

*The Assize of Bread set forth by Order of the Lord Maior and Court of Aldermen;*

A penny Wheaten Loaf to contain Nine Ounces and a half, and three half-penny White Loaves the like weight.

| | Bur. | Plag. |
|---|---|---|
| St Alban Woodstreet | 12 | 7 |
| Alhallows Barking | 42 | 32 |
| Alhallows Breadstreet | | |
| Alhallows Great | 41 | 32 |
| Alhallows Honylane | 1 | 1 |
| Alhallows Lesse | 19 | 17 |
| Alhallows Lumbardstreet | 7 | 5 |
| Alhallows Stayning | 13 | 8 |
| Alhallows the Wall | 45 | 40 |
| St Alphage | 31 | 13 |
| St Andrew Hubbard | 2 | 1 |
| St Andrew Undershaft | 25 | 19 |
| St Andrew Wardrobe | 46 | 35 |
| St Ann Aldersgate | 31 | 25 |
| St Ann Blackfryers | 64 | 56 |
| St Antholins Parish | 2 | 1 |
| St Austins Parish | 4 | 3 |
| St Bartholomew Exchange | 6 | 5 |
| St Bennet Fynck | 5 | 3 |
| St Bennet Gracechurch | 5 | 4 |
| St Bennet Paulswharf | 30 | 19 |
| St Bennet Sherehog | | |
| St Botolph Billingsgate | 5 | 2 |
| Christ Church | 43 | 39 |
| St Christophers | 4 | 4 |
| St Clement Eastcheap | 3 | 3 |
| St Dionis Backchurch | 2 | 2 |
| St Dunstan East | 13 | 12 |
| St Edmund Lumbardstr. | 2 | 2 |
| St Ethelborough | 18 | 10 |
| St Faith | 11 | 8 |
| St Foster | 9 | 7 |
| St Gabriel Fenchurch | 1 | |

| | Bur. | Plag |
|---|---|---|
| St George Botolphlane | | |
| St Gregory by St Pauls | 28 | 19 |
| St Hellen | 8 | 6 |
| St James Dukes place | 22 | 20 |
| St James Garlickhithe | 12 | 8 |
| St John Baptist | 3 | 3 |
| St John Evangelist | | |
| St John Zachary | 3 | 1 |
| St Katharine Coleman | 26 | 22 |
| St Katharine Crechurch | 42 | 33 |
| St Lawrence Jewry | 3 | 1 |
| St Lawrence Pountney | 17 | 13 |
| St Leonard Eastcheap | 2 | 1 |
| St Leonard Fosterlane | 23 | 20 |
| St Magnus Parish | 9 | 8 |
| St Margaret Lothbury | 7 | 6 |
| St Margaret Moses | 3 | 2 |
| St Margaret Newfishstre. | 9 | 6 |
| St Margaret Pattons | 8 | 4 |
| St Mary Abchurch | 5 | 4 |
| St Mary Aldermanbury | 12 | 7 |
| St Mary Aldermary | 9 | 7 |
| St Mary le Bow | 2 | 1 |
| St Mary Bothaw | 1 | |
| St Mary Colechurch | 2 | |
| St Mary Hill | 5 | 4 |
| St Mary Mounthaw | 8 | 7 |
| St Mary Sommerset | 19 | 18 |
| St Mary Stayning | 6 | 5 |
| St Mary Woolchurch | 3 | 1 |
| St Mary Woolnoth | 3 | 2 |
| St Martin Iremongerlane | | |

| | Bur. | Plag |
|---|---|---|
| St Martin Ludgate | 14 | 10 |
| St Martin Orgars | 12 | 11 |
| St Martin Outwitch | 4 | 4 |
| St Martin Vintrey | 36 | 35 |
| St Matthew Fridaystreet | | |
| St Maudlin Milkstreet | 1 | |
| St Maudlin Oldfishstreet | 16 | 13 |
| St Michael Bassishaw | 13 | 9 |
| St Michael Cornhil | 12 | 8 |
| St Michael Crookedlane | 13 | 11 |
| St Michael Queenhithe | 11 | 9 |
| St Michael Quern | 3 | 2 |
| St Michael Royal | 11 | 10 |
| St Michael Woodstreet | 7 | 2 |
| St Mildred Breadstreet | 9 | 7 |
| St Mildred Poultrey | 8 | 7 |
| St Nicholas Acons | 3 | 2 |
| St Nicholas Coleabby | 7 | 6 |
| St Nicholas Olaves | 3 | 3 |
| St Olave Hartstreet | 14 | 13 |
| St Olave Jewry | 4 | 3 |
| St Olave Silverstreet | 19 | 12 |
| St Pancras Soperlane | | |
| St Peter Cheap | 5 | 4 |
| St Peter Cornhil | 8 | 3 |
| St Peter Paulswharf | 10 | 9 |
| St Peter Poor | 7 | 6 |
| St Steven Colemanstreet | 36 | 31 |
| St Steven Walbrook | 2 | 1 |
| St Swithin | 2 | 2 |
| St Thomas Apostles | 10 | 8 |
| Trinity Parish | 12 | 11 |

*Christned in the 97 Parishes within the Walls* — 42 *Buried* — 1154 *Plague* — 896

| | | | | | | | | |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| St Andrew Holborn | 255 | 235 | St Botolph Aldgate | 584 | 570 | Saviours Southwark | 419 | 394 |
| St Bartholomew Great | 32 | 21 | St Botolph Bishopsgate | 354 | 298 | S. Sepulchres Parish | 284 | 206 |
| St Bartholomew Lesse | 19 | 19 | St Dunstan West | 60 | 50 | St Thomas Southwark | 50 | 44 |
| St Bridget | 177 | 149 | St George Southwark | 154 | 140 | Trinity Minories | 14 | 10 |
| Bridewel Precinct | 22 | 19 | St Giles Cripplegate | 504 | 401 | At the Pesthouse | 12 | 12 |
| St Botolph Aldersgate | 70 | 61 | St Olave Southwark | 478 | 307 | | | |

*Christned in the 16 Parishes without the Walls* — 58 *Buried, and at the Pesthouse* — 3488 *Plague* — 2936

| | | | | | | | | |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| St Giles in the fields | 167 | 156 | Lambeth Parish | 46 | 37 | St Mary Islington | 66 | 62 |
| Hackney Parish | 11 | 9 | St Leonard Shoreditch | 235 | 210 | St Mary Whitechappel | 428 | 400 |
| St James Clerkenwel | 94 | 73 | St Magdalen Bermondsey | 190 | 172 | Rothorith Parish | 18 | 16 |
| St Kath. near the Tower | 97 | 61 | St Mary Newington | 156 | 149 | Stepney Parish | 742 | 685 |

*Christned in the 12 out Parishes in* Middlesex *and* Surrey — 43 *Buried* — 2250 *Plague* — 2030

| | | | | | | | | |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| St Clement Danes | 124 | 98 | St Martin in the fields | 277 | 214 | St Margaret Westminster | 349 | 331 |
| St Paul Covent Garden | 29 | 26 | St Mary Savoy | 19 | 13 | *Whereof at the* Pesthouse | | 9 |

*Christned in the 5 Parishes in the City and Liberties of* Westminster — 25 *Buried* — 798 *Plague* — 682

# *The Diſeaſes and Caſualties this Week.*

| | |
|---|---|
| Abortive | 23 |
| Aged | 57 |
| Bedridden | 1 |
| Bleeding | 1 |
| Cancer | 1 |
| Childbed | 39 |
| Chriſomes | 20 |
| Collick | 1 |
| Conſumption | 129 |
| Convulſion | 71 |
| Dropſie | 31 |
| Drowned 3. one at Stepney, one at St. Katharine near the Tower, and one at St. Margaret VVeſtminſter | 3 |
| Feaver | 332 |
| Flox and Small-pox | 8 |
| Found dead in the ſtreet at St. Olave Southwark | 1 |
| French-pox | 1 |
| Frightened | 1 |
| Gangrene | 1 |
| Grief | 1 |
| Griping in the Guts | 45 |
| Head-mould-ſhot | 2 |
| Jaundies | 3 |
| Impoſthume | 6 |
| Infants | 10 |
| Kingſevil | 1 |
| Lethargy | 1 |
| Meagrome | 1 |
| Plague | 6544 |
| Plannet | 1 |
| Quinſie | 3 |
| Rickets | 20 |
| Riſing of the Lights | 15 |
| Rupture | 4 |
| Scowring | 3 |
| Scurvy | 2 |
| Spotted Feaver | 97 |
| Stone | 1 |
| Stopping of the ſtomach | 5 |
| Strangury | 2 |
| Surfeit | 45 |
| Teeth | 128 |
| Thruſh | 6 |
| Timpany | 1 |
| Tiſſick | 4 |
| Ulcer | 1 |
| Vomiting | 2 |
| Wormes | 15 |

| | | | | | |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| Chriſtned | Males | 90 | Buried | Males | 3783 |
| | Females | 78 | | Females | 3907 |
| | In all | 168 | | In all | 7690 |

Plague—6544

Decreaſed in the Burials this Week — 562

Pariſhes clear of the Plague — 11 Pariſhes Infected — 119

*The Aſſize of Bread ſet forth by Order of the Lord Maior and Court of Aldermen;*
A penny Wheaten Loaf to contain Nine Ounces and a half, and three half-penny White Loaves the like weight.

| | Bur. | Plag. | | Bur. | Plag. | | Bur. | Plag. |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| St Alban Woodstreet | 23 | 19 | St George Botolphlane | 5 | 3 | St Martin Ludgate | 21 | 11 |
| Alhallows Barking | 41 | 32 | St Gregory by St Pauls | 32 | 23 | St Martin Orgars | 9 | 7 |
| Alhallows Breadstreet | 4 | 3 | St Hellen | 8 | 8 | St Martin Outwitch | 8 | 3 |
| Alhallows Great | 59 | 53 | St James Dukes place | 29 | 26 | St Martin Vintrey | 64 | 61 |
| Alhallows Honylane | 1 | | St James Garlickhithe | 13 | 11 | St Matthew Fridaystreet | 1 | 1 |
| Alhallows Lesse | 29 | 26 | St John Baptist | 7 | 6 | St Maudlin Milkstreet | 5 | 3 |
| Alhallows Lumbardstreet | 8 | 7 | St John Evangelist | | | St Maudlin Oldfishstreet | 16 | 11 |
| Alhallows Staining | 16 | 10 | St John Zachary | 3 | 2 | St Michael Bassishaw | 17 | 12 |
| Alhallows the Wall | 41 | 30 | St Katharine Coleman | 44 | 36 | St Michael Cornhil | 14 | 11 |
| St Alphage | 25 | 13 | St Katharine Crechurch | 35 | 31 | St Michael Crookedlane | 10 | 10 |
| St Andrew Hubbard | 6 | 5 | St Lawrence Jewry | 8 | 6 | St Michael Queenhithe | 11 | 6 |
| St Andrew Undershaft | 25 | 22 | St Lawrence Pountney | 22 | 17 | St Michael Quern | 4 | 3 |
| St Andrew Wardrobe | 63 | 54 | St Leonard Eastcheap | 5 | 4 | St Michael Royal | 20 | 17 |
| St Ann Aldersgate | 33 | 28 | St Leonard Fosterlane | 34 | 32 | St Michael Woodstreet | 6 | 2 |
| St Ann Blackfryers | 79 | 65 | St Magnus Parish | 7 | 6 | St Mildred Breadstreet | 6 | 3 |
| St Antholins Parish | 6 | 5 | St Margaret Lothbury | 8 | 8 | St Mildred Poultrey | 4 | 2 |
| St Austins Parish | 2 | 2 | St Margaret Moses | 5 | 5 | St Nicholas Acons | 8 | 7 |
| St Bartholomew Exchange | 3 | 3 | St Margaret Newfishstreet | 17 | 13 | St Nicholas Coleabby | 14 | 13 |
| St Bennet Fynck | 1 | | St Margaret Pattons | 5 | 3 | St Nicholas Olaves | 12 | 9 |
| St Bennet Gracechurch | 5 | 4 | St Mary Abchurch | 13 | 9 | St Olave Hartstreet | 20 | 18 |
| St Bennet Paulswharf | 35 | 15 | St Mary Aldermanbury | 20 | 16 | St Olave Jewry | 7 | 5 |
| St Bennet Sherehog | 1 | | St Mary Aldermary | 11 | 10 | St Olave Silverstreet | 23 | 17 |
| St Botolph Billingsgate | 4 | 4 | St Mary le Bow | 4 | 2 | St Pancras Soperlane | 2 | 2 |
| Christs Church | 55 | 48 | St Mary Bothaw | 9 | 8 | St Peter Cheap | 4 | 3 |
| St Christophers | 6 | 5 | St Mary Colechurch | 2 | 1 | St Peter Cornhil | 10 | 6 |
| St Clement Eastcheap | 3 | 3 | St Mary Hill | 12 | 8 | St Peter Paulswharf | 12 | 12 |
| St Dionis Backchurch | 10 | 3 | St Mary Mounthaw | 9 | 9 | St Peter Poor | 6 | 6 |
| St Dunstan East | 20 | 10 | St Mary Sommerset | 36 | 34 | St Steven Colemanstreet | 47 | 40 |
| St Edmund Lumbardstr. | 4 | 4 | St Mary Stayning | 2 | 1 | St Steven Walbrook | 5 | 5 |
| St Ethelborough | 16 | 6 | St Mary Woolchurch | 2 | 2 | St Swithin | 11 | 9 |
| St Faith | 7 | 6 | St Mary Woolnoth | 9 | 6 | St Thomas Apostle | 19 | 17 |
| St Foster | 10 | 9 | St Martin Iremongerlane | 1 | 1 | Trinity Parish | 13 | 13 |
| St Gabriel Fenchurch | 6 | 3 | | | | | | |

*Christned in the 97 Parishes within the Walls* — 40 *Buried* — 1493 *Plague* — 1189

| | | | | | | | | |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| St Andrew Holborn | 271 | 247 | St Botolph Aldgate | 623 | 589 | Saviours Southwark | 427 | 403 |
| St Bartholomew Great | 21 | 17 | St Botolph Bishopsgate | 294 | 256 | S. Sepulchres Parish | 301 | 214 |
| St Bartholomew Lesse | 14 | 12 | St Dunstan West | 88 | 79 | St Thomas Southwark | 57 | 52 |
| St Bridget | 236 | 180 | St George Southwark | 195 | 176 | Trinity Minories | 12 | 10 |
| Bridewel Precinct | 32 | 31 | St Giles Cripplegate | 456 | 373 | At the Pesthouse | 6 | 6 |
| St Botolph Aldersgate | 68 | 62 | St Olave Southwark | 530 | 363 | | | |

*Christned in the 16 Parishes without the Walls* — 65 *Buried, and at the Pesthouse* — 3631 *Plague* — 3070

| | | | | | | | | |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| St Giles in the fields | 140 | 125 | Lambeth Parish | 48 | 43 | St Mary Islington | 68 | 66 |
| Hackney Parish | 22 | 18 | St Leonard Shoreditch | 183 | 173 | St Mary Whitechappel | 532 | 502 |
| St James Clerkenwel | 77 | 67 | St Magdalen Bermondsey | 207 | 180 | Rothorith Parish | 17 | 13 |
| St Kath. near the Tower | 93 | 66 | St Mary Newington | 155 | 152 | Stepney Parish | 716 | 686 |

*Christned in the 12 out Parishes in* Middlesex *and* Surry — 42 *Buried* — 2258 *Plague* — 2091

| | | | | | | | | |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| St Clement Danes | 168 | 140 | St Martin in the fields | 286 | 228 | St Margaret Westminster | 411 | 399 |
| St Paul Covent Garden | 30 | 29 | St Mary Savoy | 20 | 19 | *Whereof at the* Pesthouse | | 7 |

*Christned in the 5 Parishes in the City and Liberties of* Westminster — 29 *Buried* — 915 *Plague* — 815

# *The Diseases and Casualties this Week.*

| | |
|---|---|
| Abortive | 5 |
| Aged | 43 |
| Ague | 2 |
| Apoplexie | 1 |
| Bleeding | 2 |
| Burnt in his Bed by a Candle at St. Giles Cripplegate | 1 |
| Canker | 1 |
| Childbed | 42 |
| Chrisomes | 18 |
| Consumption | 134 |
| Convulsion | 64 |
| Cough | 2 |
| Dropsie | 33 |
| Feaver | 309 |
| Flox and Small-pox | 5 |
| Frighted | 3 |
| Gowt | 1 |
| Grief | 3 |
| Griping in the Guts | 51 |
| Jaundies | 5 |
| Impostbume | 11 |
| Infants | 16 |
| Killed by a fall from the Belfrey at Alhallows the Great | 1 |
| Kingsevil | 2 |
| Lethargy | 1 |
| Palsie | 1 |
| Plague | 7165 |
| Rickets | 17 |
| Rising of the Lights | 11 |
| Scowring | 5 |
| Scurvy | 2 |
| Spleen | 1 |
| Spotted Feaver | 101 |
| Stilborn | 17 |
| Stone | 2 |
| Stopping of the stomach | 9 |
| Strangury | 1 |
| Suddenly | 1 |
| Surfeit | 49 |
| Teeth | 121 |
| Thrush | 5 |
| Timpany | 1 |
| Tissick | 11 |
| Vomiting | 3 |
| Winde | 3 |
| Wormes | 15 |

| | | | | | |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| Christned | Males | 95 | Buried | Males | 4095 |
| | Females | 81 | | Females | 4202 |
| | In all | 176 | | In all | 8297 |

Plague 7165

Increased in the Burials this Week 607

Parishes clear of the Plague 4 Parishes Infected 126

*The Assize of Bread set forth by Order of the Lord Maior and Court of Aldermen,*

A penny Wheaten Loaf to contain Nine Ounces and a half, and three half-penny White Loaves the like weight.

| | Bur. | Plag. | | Bur. | Plag. | | Bur. | Plag. |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| St ALban Woodstreet | 10 | 5 | St George Botolphlane | 2 | | St Martin Ludgate | 27 | 20 |
| Alhallows Barking | 52 | 41 | St Gregory by St Pauls | 31 | 26 | St Martin Orgars | 8 | 3 |
| Alhallows Breadstreet | 3 | 3 | St Hellen | 4 | 3 | St Martin Outwitch | 5 | 5 |
| Alhallows Great | 64 | 59 | St James Dukes place | 24 | 21 | St Martin Vintrey | 38 | 36 |
| Alhallows Honylane | 1 | 1 | St James Garlickhithe | 14 | 10 | St Matthew Fridaystreet | 1 | |
| Alhallows Lesse | 25 | 24 | St John Baptist | 10 | 7 | St Maudlin Milkstreet | 2 | 1 |
| Alhallows Lumbardstreet | 11 | 10 | St John Evangelist | | | St Maudlin Oldfishstreet | 10 | 8 |
| Alhallows Staining | 16 | 11 | St John Zachary | 9 | 7 | St Michael Bassishaw | 18 | 16 |
| Alhallows the Wall | 41 | 35 | St Katharine Coleman | 36 | 35 | St Michael Cornhil | 7 | 5 |
| St Alphage | 11 | 3 | St Katharine Crechurch | 30 | 20 | St Michael Crookedlane | 15 | 13 |
| St Andrew Hubbard | 3 | | St Lawrence Jewry | 7 | 5 | St Michael Queenhithe | 12 | 10 |
| St Andrew Undershaft | 26 | 22 | St Lawrence Pountney | 17 | 14 | St Michael Quern | 4 | 3 |
| St Andrew Wardrobe | 50 | 37 | St Leonard Eastcheap | 3 | 2 | St Michael Royal | 14 | 12 |
| St Ann Aldersgate | 20 | 16 | St Leonard Fosterlane | 30 | 27 | St Michael Woodstreet | 9 | 5 |
| St Ann Blackfryers | 39 | 31 | St Magnus Parish | 3 | 1 | St Mildred Breadstreet | 1 | 1 |
| St Antholins Parish | 8 | 7 | St Margaret Lothbury | 6 | 5 | St Mildred Poultrey | 4 | 4 |
| St Austins Parish | 5 | 3 | St Margaret Moses | 3 | 3 | St Nicholas Acons | 7 | 5 |
| St Bartholomew Exchange | 6 | 6 | St Margaret Newfishstreet | 7 | 7 | St Nicholas Coleabby | 14 | 14 |
| St Bennet Fynck | 2 | | St Margaret Pattons | 5 | 4 | St Nicholas Olaves | 7 | 4 |
| St Bennet Gracechurch | 3 | 2 | St Mary Abchurch | 6 | 4 | St Olave Hartstreet | 20 | 19 |
| St Bennet Paulswharf | 30 | 19 | St Mary Aldermanbury | 19 | 15 | St Olave Jewry | 1 | 1 |
| St Bennet Sherehog | 1 | | St Mary Aldermary | 13 | 12 | St Olave Silverstreet | 9 | 7 |
| St Botolph Billingsgate | 3 | 2 | St Mary le Bow | 3 | 1 | St Pancras Soperlane | 4 | 3 |
| Christs Church | 49 | 43 | St Mary Bothaw | 1 | | St Peter Cheap | 6 | 5 |
| St Christophers | 6 | 6 | St Mary Colechurch | 3 | 2 | St Peter Cornhil | 10 | 10 |
| St Clement Eastcheap | 1 | 1 | St Mary Hill | 5 | 4 | St Peter Paulswharf | 15 | 11 |
| St Dionis Backchurch | 5 | 2 | St Mary Mounthaw | 3 | 3 | St Peter Poor | 8 | 6 |
| St Dunstan East | 21 | 17 | St Mary Sommerset | 30 | 26 | St Steven Colemanstreet | 56 | 51 |
| St Edmund Lumbardstr. | 5 | 3 | St Mary Stayning | 8 | 6 | St Steven Walbrook | 3 | 2 |
| St Ethelborough | 11 | 7 | St Mary Woolchurch | 6 | 6 | St Swithin | 7 | 6 |
| St Faith | 13 | 10 | St Mary Woolnoth | 11 | 6 | St Thomas Apostle | 7 | 5 |
| St Foster | 10 | 9 | St Martin Iremongerlane | 2 | 2 | Trinity Parish | 10 | 9 |
| St Gabriel Fenchurch | 7 | 6 | | | | | | |

*Christned in the 97 Parishes within the Walls* — 38 *Buried* — 1268 *Plague* — 1025

| | | | | | | | | |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| St Andrew Holborn | 202 | 184 | St Botolph Aldgate | 469 | 433 | Saviours Southwark | 356 | 341 |
| St Bartholomew Great | 20 | 16 | St Botolph Bishopsgate | 186 | 145 | S. Sepulchres Parish | 193 | 138 |
| St Bartholomew Lesse | 11 | 11 | St Dunstan West | 72 | 58 | St Thomas Southwark | 39 | 36 |
| St Bridget | 117 | 91 | St George Southwark | 153 | 137 | Trinity Minories | 21 | 18 |
| Bridewel Precinct | 26 | 24 | St Giles Cripplegate | 277 | 225 | At the Pesthouse | 7 | 7 |
| St Botolph Aldersgate | 67 | 64 | St Olave Southwark | 472 | 324 | | | |

*Christned in the 16 Parishes without the Walls* — 41 *Buried, and at the Pesthouse* — 2688 *Plague* — 2252

| | | | | | | | | |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| St Giles in the fields | 119 | 107 | Lambeth Parish | 46 | 40 | St Mary Islington | 44 | 41 |
| Hackney Parish | 8 | 6 | St Leonard Shoreditch | 146 | 138 | St Mary Whitechappel | 346 | 320 |
| St James Clerkenwel | 76 | 64 | St Magdalen Bermondsey | 201 | 174 | Rothorith Parish | 20 | 18 |
| St Kath. near the Tower | 78 | 62 | St Mary Newington | 94 | 94 | Stepney Parish | 616 | 579 |

*Christned in the 12 out Parishes in* Middlesex *and* Surry — 44 *Buried* — 1794 *Plague* — 1643

| | | | | | | | | |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| St Clement Danes | 152 | 128 | St Martin in the fields | 219 | 171 | St Margaret Westminster | 300 | 283 |
| St Paul Covent Garden | 19 | 18 | St Mary Savoy | 20 | 13 | *Whereof at the* Pesthouse | | 11 |

*Christned in the 5 Parishes in the City and Liberties of* Westminster — 23 *Buried* — 710 *Plague* — 613

# *The Diseases and Casualties this Week.*

| | |
|---|---|
| Abortive | 6 |
| Aged | 50 |
| Ague | 1 |
| Apoplexie | 2 |
| Childbed | 42 |
| Chrisomes | 11 |
| Cold | 1 |
| Consumption | 99 |
| Convulsion | 63 |
| Cough | 1 |
| Dropsie | 22 |
| Drowned at St. Martin in the Fields | 1 |
| Feaver | 268 |
| Fistula | 2 |
| Flox and Small-pox | 4 |
| Flux | 1 |
| Found dead in the Fields at St. Mary Islington | 1 |
| Frighted | 1 |
| Gowt | 1 |
| Grief | 3 |
| Griping in the Guts | 35 |
| Jaundies | 2 |
| Imposthume | 8 |
| Infants | 9 |
| Kingsevil | 2 |
| Meagrome | 2 |
| Plague | 5533 |
| Purples | 2 |
| Rickets | 10 |
| Rising of the Lights | 13 |
| Rupture | 1 |
| Scurvy | 5 |
| Spotted Feaver | 65 |
| Stilborn | 10 |
| Stone | 3 |
| Stopping of the stomach | 6 |
| Suddenly | 1 |
| Surfeit | 36 |
| Teeth | 112 |
| Thrush | 3 |
| Tissick | 5 |
| Vomiting | 4 |
| Winde | 1 |
| Wormes | 12 |

| | | | | | |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| Christned | Males | 68 | Buried | Males | 3212 |
| | Females | 78 | | Females | 3248 |
| | In all | 146 | | In all | 6460 |

Plague 5533

Decreased in the Burials this Week 1837

Parishes clear of the Plague 7 Parishes Infected 123

*The Assize of Bread set forth by Order of the Lord Maior and Court of Aldermen.*

A penny Wheaten Loaf to contain Nine Ounces and a half, and three half-penny White Loaves the like weight.

| | Bur. | Plag. | | Bur. | Plag | | Bur. | Plag |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| St ALban Woodstreet | 16 | 12 | St George Botolphlane | 1 | 1 | St Martin Ludgate | 12 | 10 |
| Alhallows Barking | 46 | 34 | St Gregory by St Pauls | 26 | 25 | St Martin Orgars | 8 | 5 |
| Alhallows Breadstreet | 1 | 1 | St Hellen | 6 | 5 | St Martin Outwitch | 6 | 5 |
| Alhallows Great | 42 | 41 | St James Dukes place | 27 | 23 | St Martin Vintrey | 44 | 44 |
| Alhallows Honylane | | | St James Garlickhithe | 16 | 12 | St Matthew Fridaystreet | | |
| Alhallows Lesse | 17 | 17 | St John Baptist | 11 | 10 | St Maudlin Milkstreet | 4 | 4 |
| Alhallows Lumbardstreet | 5 | 5 | St John Evangelist | | | St Maudlin Oldfishstreet | 8 | 6 |
| Alhallows Stayning | 21 | 18 | St John Zachary | 12 | 9 | St Michael Bassishaw | 10 | 7 |
| Alhallows the Wall | 33 | 28 | St Katherine Coleman | 20 | 16 | St Michael Cornhil | 4 | 3 |
| St Alphage | 13 | 5 | St Katharine Crechurch | 34 | 29 | St Michael Crookedlane | 15 | 12 |
| St Andrew Hubbard | 4 | | St Lawrence Jewry | 6 | 5 | St Michael Queenhithe | 25 | 23 |
| St Andrew Undershaft | 16 | 14 | St Lawrence Pountney | 14 | 10 | St Michael Quern | 4 | 3 |
| St Andrew Wardrobe | 30 | 24 | St Leonard Eastcheap | 3 | 3 | St Michael Royal | 20 | 17 |
| St Ann Aldersgate | 28 | 27 | St Leonard Fosterlane | 16 | 13 | St Michael Woodstreet | 6 | 3 |
| St Ann Blackfryers | 57 | 50 | St Magnus Parish | 5 | 4 | St Mildred Breadstreet | 4 | 4 |
| St Antholins Parish | 7 | 4 | St Margaret Lothbury | 7 | 6 | St Mildred Poultrey | 4 | 2 |
| St Austins Parish | 4 | 3 | St Margaret Moses | | | St Nicholas Acons | 4 | 3 |
| St Bartholomew Exchange | 7 | 7 | St Margaret Newfishstre. | 18 | 13 | St Nicholas Coleabby | 8 | 8 |
| St Bennet Fynck | 4 | 2 | St Margaret Pattons | 4 | 3 | St Nicholas Olaves | 8 | 8 |
| St Bennet Gracechurch | 4 | 2 | St Mary Abchurch | 7 | 5 | St Olave Hartstreet | 13 | 11 |
| St Bennet Paulswharf | 15 | 7 | St Mary Aldermanbury | 14 | 14 | St Olave Jewry | 5 | 4 |
| St Bennet Sherehog | 2 | | St Mary Aldermary | 4 | 4 | St Olave Silverstreet | 4 | 4 |
| St Botolph Billingsgate | 8 | 8 | St Mary le Bow | 1 | 1 | St Pancras Soperlane | 1 | 1 |
| Christ Church | 44 | 39 | St Mary Bothaw | 6 | 4 | St Peter Cheap | 3 | 3 |
| St Christophers | 4 | 4 | St Mary Colechurch | 3 | 1 | St Peter Cornhil | 8 | 6 |
| St Clement Eastcheap | 1 | 1 | St Mary Hill | 11 | 8 | St Peter Paulswharf | 10 | 10 |
| St Dionis Backchurch | 9 | 2 | St Mary Mounthaw | 4 | 3 | St Peter Poor | 8 | 7 |
| St Dunstan East | 28 | 24 | St Mary Sommerset | 44 | 38 | St Steven Colemanstreet | 43 | 38 |
| St Edmund Lumbardstr. | 3 | 1 | St Mary Stayning | 3 | 2 | St Steven Walbrook | 2 | 2 |
| St Ethelborough | 7 | 4 | St Mary Woolchurch | 7 | 4 | St Swithin | 6 | 5 |
| St Faith | 8 | 6 | St Mary Woolnoth | 7 | 5 | St Thomas Apostles | 8 | 4 |
| St Foster | 8 | 6 | St Martin Iremongerlane | 2 | 2 | Trinity Parish | 10 | 9 |
| St Gabriel Fenchurch | 3 | 3 | | | | | | |

*Christned in the 97 Parishes within the Walls* — 39 *Buried* — 1149 *Plague* — 948

| | | | | | | | | |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| St Andrew Holborn | 173 | 151 | St Botolph Aldgate | 372 | 338 | Saviours Southwark | 364 | 352 |
| St Bartholomew Great | 17 | 15 | St Botolph Bishopsgate | 153 | 121 | S. Sepulchres Parish | 137 | 95 |
| St Bartholomew Lesse | 7 | 7 | St Dunstan West | 63 | 59 | St Thomas Southwark | 40 | 36 |
| St Bridget | 92 | 67 | St George Southwark | 140 | 133 | Trinity Minories | 24 | 21 |
| Bridewel Precinct | 23 | 23 | St Giles Cripplegate | 196 | 151 | At the Pesthouse | 8 | 8 |
| St Botolph Aldersgate | 71 | 64 | St Olave Southwark | 378 | 281 | | | |

*Christned in the 16 Parishes without the Walls* — 45 *Buried, and at the Pesthouse* — 2258 *Plague* — 1922

| | | | | | | | | |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| St Giles in the fields | 95 | 78 | Lambeth Parish | 49 | 39 | St Mary Islington | 35 | 31 |
| Hackney Parish | 14 | 12 | St Leonard Shoreditch | 95 | 91 | St Mary Whitechappel | 328 | 301 |
| St James Clerkenwel | 48 | 42 | St Magdalen Bermondsey | 128 | 106 | Rothorith Parish | 21 | 18 |
| St Kath. near the Tower | 55 | 39 | St Mary Newington | 81 | 81 | Stepney Parish | 674 | 631 |

*Christned in the 12 out Parishes in* Middlesex *and* Surrey — 40 *Buried* — 1623 *Plague* — 1469

| | | | | | | | | |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| St Clement Danes | 128 | 110 | St Martin in the fields | 209 | 143 | St Margaret Westminster | 309 | 297 |
| St Paul Covent Garden | 25 | 24 | St Mary Savoy | 19 | 16 | *Whereof at the* Pesthouse | 4 | |

*Christned in the 5 Parishes in the City and Liberties of* Westminster — 18 *Buried* — 690 *Plague* — 590

# *The Diseases and Casualties this Week.*

| | |
|---|---|
| Abortive | 4 |
| Aged | 42 |
| Ague | 3 |
| Bloody flux | 1 |
| Cancer | 1 |
| Childbed | 14 |
| Chrisomes | 7 |
| Consumption | 103 |
| Convulsion | 60 |
| Dropsie | 33 |
| Drowned at St. Magdalen Bermondsey | 1 |
| Feaver | 201 |
| Flox and Small-pox | 3 |
| Flux | 1 |
| Frighted | 1 |
| Gangrene | 1 |
| Grief | 3 |
| Griping in the Guts | 28 |
| Jaundies | 4 |
| Imposthume | 4 |
| Infants | 18 |
| Killed by a fall at Stepney | 1 |
| Kingsevil | 1 |
| Overlaid | 1 |
| Palsie | 1 |
| Plague | 4929 |
| Plannet | 1 |
| Plurisie | 1 |
| Purples | 1 |
| Rickets | 12 |
| Rising of the Lights | 8 |
| Rupture | 1 |
| Scowring | 2 |
| Scurvy | 5 |
| Spotted Feaver | 63 |
| Starved at Nurse (at St. Maudlin in Old Fishstreet) | 1 |
| Stilborn | 9 |
| Stopping of the stomach | 6 |
| Suddenly | 3 |
| Surfeit | 24 |
| Teeth | 92 |
| Thrush | 2 |
| Timpany | 1 |
| Tissick | 3 |
| Ulcer | 1 |
| Vomiting | 1 |
| Winde | 4 |
| Wormes | 13 |

| | | | | | |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| Christned | Males | 75 | Buried | Males | 2801 |
| | Females | 67 | | Females | 2919 |
| | In all | 142 | | In all | 5720 |

Plague—4929

Decreased in the Burials this Week — 740

Parishes clear of the Plague — 6 Parishes Infected — 124

*The Assize of Bread set forth by Order of the Lord Maior and Court of Aldermen;*
A penny Wheaten Loaf to contain Nine Ounces and a half, and three half-penny White Loaves the like weight.

| | Bur. | Plag. | | Bur. | Plag. | | Bur. | Plag. |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| St ALban Woodstreet | 17 | 15 | St George Botolphlane | 5 | 4 | St Martin Ludgate | 17 | 16 |
| Alhallows Barking | 39 | 26 | St Gregory by St Pauls | 22 | 21 | St Martin Orgars | 5 | 5 |
| Alhallows Breadstreet | 2 | 2 | St Hellen | 2 | 2 | St Martin Outwitch | 7 | 5 |
| Alhallows Great | 38 | 34 | St James Dukes place | 30 | 25 | St Martin Vintrey | 38 | 34 |
| Alhallows Honylane | 1 | 1 | St James Garlickhithe | 12 | 11 | St Matthew Fridaystreet | 3 | 2 |
| Alhallows Lesse | 21 | 21 | St John Baptist | 11 | 7 | St Maudlin Milkstreet | 2 | 1 |
| Alhallows Lumbardstreet | 5 | 5 | St John Evangelist | | | St Maudlin Oldfishstreet | 12 | 8 |
| Alhallows Stayning | 12 | 8 | St John Zachary | 5 | 5 | St Michael Bassishaw | 11 | 7 |
| Alhallows the Wall | 31 | 28 | St Katharine Coleman | 34 | 30 | St Michael Cornhil | 8 | 4 |
| St Alphage | 8 | 4 | St Katharine Crechurch | 24 | 23 | St Michael Crookedlane | 17 | 17 |
| St Andrew Hubbard | 4 | 2 | St Lawrence Jewry | 4 | 4 | St Michael Queenhithe | 4 | 3 |
| St Andrew Undershaft | 10 | 6 | St Lawrence Pountney | 17 | 15 | St Michael Quern | 3 | 2 |
| St Andrew Wardrobe | 23 | 15 | St Leonard Eastcheap | 5 | 5 | St Michael Royal | 15 | 14 |
| St Ann Aldersgate | 15 | 15 | St Leonard Fosterlane | 36 | 33 | St Michael Woodstreet | 14 | 13 |
| St Ann Blackfryers | 61 | 52 | St Magnus Parish | 5 | 4 | St Mildred Breadstreet | 3 | 1 |
| St Antholins Parish | 1 | 1 | St Margaret Lothbury | 6 | 5 | St Mildred Poultrey | 9 | 8 |
| St Austins Parish | 5 | 3 | St Margaret Moses | | | St Nicholas Acons | 2 | 1 |
| St Bartholomew Exchange | 4 | 4 | St Margaret Newfishstre. | 8 | 6 | St Nicholas Coleabby | 11 | 10 |
| St Bennet Fynck | 2 | 1 | St Margaret Pattons | 8 | 4 | St Nicholas Olaves | 7 | 7 |
| St Bennet Gracechurch | 11 | 10 | St Mary Abchurch | 5 | 2 | St Olave Hartstreet | 23 | 21 |
| St Bennet Paulswharf | 22 | 9 | St Mary Aldermanbury | 7 | 6 | St Olave Jewry | 3 | 2 |
| St Bennet Sherehog | | | St Mary Aldermary | 8 | 6 | St Olave Silverstreet | 6 | 5 |
| St Botolph Billingsgate | 4 | 4 | St Mary le Bow | 2 | 2 | St Pancras Soperlane | 4 | 4 |
| Christ Church | 34 | 30 | St Mary Bothaw | 2 | 2 | St Peter Cheap | 6 | 4 |
| St Christophers | 6 | 4 | St Mary Colechurch | 2 | | St Peter Cornhil | 9 | 5 |
| St Clement Eastcheap | 2 | 1 | St Mary Hill | 6 | 6 | St Peter Paulswharf | 12 | 11 |
| St Dionis Backchurch | 7 | 5 | St Mary Mounthaw | 4 | 2 | St Peter Poor | 4 | 2 |
| St Dunstan East | 28 | 20 | St Mary Sommerset | 30 | 26 | St Steven Colemanstreet | 44 | 41 |
| St Edmund Lumbardstr. | 12 | 10 | St Mary Stayning | 3 | 2 | St Steven Walbrook | 1 | 1 |
| St Ethelborough | 10 | 7 | St Mary Woolchurch | 6 | 5 | St Swithin | 6 | 4 |
| St Faith | 13 | 12 | St Mary Woolnoth | 8 | 5 | St Thomas Apostles | 11 | 10 |
| St Foster | 7 | 6 | St Martin Iremongerlane | 3 | 3 | Trinity Parish | 12 | 12 |
| St Gabriel Fenchurch | 5 | 4 | | | | | | |

*Christned in the 97 Parishes within the Walls* — 31 *Buried* — 1109 *Plague* — 916

| | | | | | | | | |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| St Andrew Holborn | 147 | 127 | St Botolph Aldgate | 305 | 284 | Saviours Southwark | 321 | 315 |
| St Bartholomew Great | 6 | 3 | St Botolph Bishopsgate | 145 | 119 | S Sepulchres Parish | 122 | 84 |
| St Bartholomew Lesse | 7 | 7 | St Dunstan West | 62 | 56 | St Thomas Southwark | 38 | 32 |
| St Bridget | 110 | 88 | St George Southwark | 65 | 61 | Trinity Minories | 15 | 15 |
| Bridewel Precinct | 20 | 14 | St Giles Cripplegate | 162 | 138 | At the Pesthouse | 8 | 8 |
| St Botolph Aldersgate | 42 | 42 | St Olave Southwark | 274 | 177 | | | |

*Christned in the 16 Parishes without the Walls* — 48 *Buried, and at the Pesthouse* — 1850 *Plague* — 1570

| | | | | | | | | |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| St Giles in the fields | 87 | 74 | Lambeth Parish | 66 | 62 | St Mary Islington | 26 | 21 |
| Hackney Parish | 8 | 6 | St Leonard Shoreditch | 76 | 72 | St Mary Whitechappel | 227 | 203 |
| St James Clerkenwel | 43 | 31 | St Magdalen Bermondsey | 169 | 146 | Rothorith Parish | 30 | 27 |
| St Kath. near the Tower | 63 | 45 | St Mary Newington | 69 | 60 | Stepney Parish | 648 | 593 |

*Christned in the 12 out Parishes in* Middlesex *and* Surrey — 38 *Buried* — 1512 *Plague* — 1340

| | | | | | | | | |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| St Clement Danes | 118 | 104 | St Martin in the fields | 167 | 108 | St Margaret Westminster | 282 | 261 |
| St Paul Covent Garden | 15 | 14 | St Mary Savoy | 15 | 14 | *Whereof at the* Pesthouse | | 4 |

*Christned in the 5 Parishes in the City and Liberties of* Westminster — 24 *Buried* — 597 *Plague* — 501

# *The Diseases and Casualties this Week.*

| | |
|---|---|
| Abortive | 4 |
| Aged | 36 |
| Apoplexie | 1 |
| Bloody flux | 1 |
| Childbed | 11 |
| Chrisomes | 9 |
| Consumption | 98 |
| Convulsion | 53 |
| Dropsie | 27 |
| Distracted | 1 |
| Feaver | 199 |
| Fistula | 1 |
| Flox and Small-pox | 5 |
| Flux | 1 |
| French-pox | 1 |
| Frighted | 2 |
| Gowt | 1 |
| Grief | 3 |
| Griping in the Guts | 22 |
| Jaundies | 3 |
| Impostbume | 7 |
| Infants | 14 |
| Kingsevil | 1 |
| Lethargy | 2 |
| Overlaid | 1 |
| Palsie | 3 |
| Plague | 4327 |
| Plurisie | 1 |
| Quinsie | 1 |
| Rickets | 13 |
| Rising of the Lights | 7 |
| Rupture | 1 |
| Scowring | 3 |
| Scurvy | 2 |
| Spotted Feaver | 60 |
| Stilborn | 11 |
| Stone | 1 |
| Stopping of the stomach | 7 |
| Suddenly | 2 |
| Surfeit | 30 |
| Teeth | 73 |
| Thrush | 1 |
| Timpany | 1 |
| Tissick | 4 |
| Ulcer | 1 |
| Winde | 5 |
| Wormes | 11 |

Christned { Males — 71, Females — 70, In all — 141 }

Buried { Males — 2581, Females — 2487, In all — 5068 } Plague — 4327

Decreased in the Burials this Week — 652

Parishes clear of the Plague — 4 Parishes Infected — 126

*The Assize of Bread set forth by Order of the Lord Maior and Court of Aldermen;*

A penny Wheaten Loaf to contain Nine Ounces and a half, and three half-penny White Loaves the like weight.

| | Bur. | Plag. | | Bur. | Plag. | | Bur. | Plag. |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| St Alban Woodstreet | 5 | 2 | St George Botolphlane | 7 | 7 | St Martin Ludgate | 13 | 12 |
| Alhallows Barking | 31 | 26 | St Gregory by St Pauls | 13 | 12 | St Martin Orgars | 2 | 1 |
| Alhallows Breadstreet | 1 | 1 | St Hellen | 4 | 4 | St Martin Outwitch | | |
| Alhallows Great | 32 | 30 | St James Dukes place | 21 | 18 | St Martin Vintrey | 24 | 19 |
| Alhallows Honylane | | | St James Garlickhithe | 19 | 15 | St Matthew Fridaystreet | 1 | |
| Alhallows Lesse | 18 | 16 | St John Baptist | 7 | 6 | St Maudlin Milkstreet | 1 | |
| Alhallows Lumbardstreet | 2 | 2 | St John Evangelist | | | St Maudlin Oldfishstreet | 14 | 12 |
| Alhallows Staining | 10 | 9 | St John Zachary | 7 | 6 | St Michael Bassishaw | 6 | 5 |
| Alhallows the Wall | 15 | 13 | St Katharine Coleman | 28 | 24 | St Michael Cornhil | 4 | 4 |
| St Alphage | 5 | 1 | St Katharine Crechurch | 14 | 11 | St Michael Crookedlane | 11 | 10 |
| St Andrew Hubbard | 2 | 2 | St Lawrence Jewry | 4 | 3 | St Michael Queenhithe | 19 | 16 |
| St Andrew Undershaft | 11 | 7 | St Lawrence Pountney | 18 | 14 | St Michael Quern | 2 | |
| St Andrew Wardrobe | 13 | 11 | St Leonard Eastcheap | 4 | 3 | St Michael Royal | 10 | 9 |
| St Ann Aldersgate | 10 | 10 | St Leonard Fosterlane | 6 | 6 | St Michael Woodstreet | 5 | 3 |
| St Ann Blackfryers | 30 | 28 | St Magnus Parish | 6 | 5 | St Mildred Breadstreet | 3 | 3 |
| St Antholins Parish | 2 | 2 | St Margaret Lothbury | 3 | 3 | St Mildred Poultrey | 4 | 4 |
| St Austins Parish | 1 | | St Margaret Moses | 3 | 3 | St Nicholas Acons | 1 | 1 |
| St Bartholomew Exchange | 4 | 3 | St Margaret Newfishstreet | 8 | 5 | St Nicholas Coleabby | 9 | 7 |
| St Bennet Fynck | 5 | 5 | St Margaret Pattons | 4 | 3 | St Nicholas Olaves | 4 | 4 |
| St Bennet Gracechurch | 4 | 4 | St Mary Abchurch | 13 | 6 | St Olave Hartstreet | 16 | 14 |
| St Bennet Paulswharf | 10 | 8 | St Mary Aldermanbury | 7 | 6 | St Olave Jewry | | |
| St Bennet Sherehog | | | St Mary Aldermary | 4 | 3 | St Olave Silverstreet | 6 | 5 |
| St Botolph Billingsgate | 7 | 7 | St Mary le Bow | 2 | 2 | St Pancras Soperlane | | |
| Christs Church | 27 | 24 | St Mary Bothaw | 3 | 3 | St Peter Cheap | 7 | 7 |
| St Christophers | 3 | 3 | St Mary Colechurch | | | St Peter Cornhil | 11 | 9 |
| St Clement Eastcheap | | | St Mary Hill | 7 | 6 | St Peter Paulswharf | 5 | 4 |
| St Dionis Backchurch | 3 | 1 | St Mary Mounthaw | | | St Peter Poor | 6 | 6 |
| St Dunstan East | 21 | 17 | St Mary Sommerset | 22 | 18 | St Steven Colemanstreet | 35 | 28 |
| St Edmund Lumbardstr. | 4 | 4 | St Mary Stayning | 1 | | St Steven Walbrook | 1 | |
| St Ethelborough | 2 | 1 | St Mary Woolchurch | 6 | 5 | St Swithin | 5 | 4 |
| St Faith | 6 | 6 | St Mary Woolnoth | 4 | 3 | St Thomas Apostle | 4 | 4 |
| St Foster | 6 | 5 | St Martin Iremongerlane | 1 | | Trinity Parish | 3 | 2 |
| St Gabriel Fenchurch | 6 | 5 | | | | | | |

*Christned in the 97 Parishes within the Walls* — 33 *Buried* — 774 *Plague* — 646

| | | | | | | | | |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| St Andrew Holborn | 68 | 55 | St Botolph Aldgate | 169 | 155 | Saviours Southwark | 233 | 227 |
| St Bartholomew Great | 9 | 5 | St Botolph Bishopsgate | 71 | 53 | S. Sepulchres Parish | 67 | 40 |
| St Bartholomew Lesse | 5 | 3 | St Dunstan West | 44 | 35 | St Thomas Southwark | 27 | 23 |
| St Bridget | 63 | 43 | St George Southwark | 37 | 34 | Trinity Minories | 14 | 12 |
| Bridewel Precinct | 6 | 4 | St Giles Cripplegate | 88 | 67 | At the Pesthouse | 4 | 4 |
| St Botolph Aldersgate | 33 | 28 | St Olave Southwark | 212 | 141 | | | |

*Christned in the 16 Parishes without the Walls* — 45 *Buried, and at the Pesthouse* — 1150 *Plague* — 929

| | | | | | | | | |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| St Giles in the fields | 57 | 43 | Lambeth Parish | 47 | 42 | St Mary Islington | 22 | 18 |
| Hackney Parish | 14 | 10 | St Leonard Shoreditch | 50 | 42 | St Mary Whitechappel | 124 | 103 |
| St James Clerkenwel | 25 | 16 | St Magdalen Bermondsey | 101 | 77 | Rothorith Parish | 18 | 13 |
| St Kath. near the Tower | 38 | 25 | St Mary Newington | 43 | 36 | Stepney Parish | 396 | 366 |

*Christned in the 12 out Parishes in* Middlesex *and* Surry — 42 *Buried* — 935 *Plague* — 791

| | | | | | | | | |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| St Clement Danes | 75 | 55 | St Martin in the fields | 81 | 60 | St Margaret Westminster | 185 | 172 |
| St Paul Covent Garden | 16 | 9 | St Mary Savoy | 3 | 3 | *Whereof at the* Pesthouse | 3 | |

*Christned in the 5 Parishes in the City and Liberties of* Westminster — 27 *Buried* — 360 *Plague* — 299

# *The Diseases and Casualties this Week.*

| | |
|---|---|
| Abortive | 2 |
| Aged | 28 |
| Apoplexie | 2 |
| Bleeding | 1 |
| Bloody flux | 1 |
| Childbed | 21 |
| Chrisomes | 27 |
| Collick | 1 |
| Consumption | 77 |
| Convulsion | 51 |
| Cough | 1 |
| Dropsie | 25 |
| Feaver | 95 |
| Flox and Small-pox | 5 |
| Flux | 1 |
| Griping in the Guts | 14 |
| Jaundies | 3 |
| Impostbume | 10 |
| Infants | 14 |
| Kingsevil | 2 |
| Livergrown | 1 |
| Palsie | 1 |
| Plague | 2665 |
| Purples | 1 |
| Rickets | 11 |
| Rising of the Lights | 3 |
| Rupture | 3 |
| Scowring | 5 |
| Scurvy | 3 |
| Spotted Feaver | 35 |
| Stilborn | 9 |
| Stone | 3 |
| Stopping of the stomach | 7 |
| Suddenly | 1 |
| Surfeit | 29 |
| Teeth | 37 |
| Thrush | 2 |
| Timpany | 1 |
| Tissick | 7 |
| Vomiting | 2 |
| Winde | 2 |
| Wormes | 10 |

Christned { Males — 70, Females — 77, In all — 147 }

Buried { Males — 1612, Females — 1607, In all — 3219 } Plague — 2665

Decreased in the Burials this Week — 1849.

Parishes clear of the Plague — 16 Parishes Infected — 114

*The Assize of Bread set forth by Order of the Lord Maior and Court of Aldermen,*
A penny Wheaten Loaf to contain Nine Ounces and a half, and three half-penny White Loaves the like weight.

| | Bur. | Plag. | | Bur. | Plag. | | Bur. | Plag. |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| St ALban Woodstreet | 5 | 3 | St George Botolphlane | | | St Martin Ludgate | 4 | 3 |
| Alhallows Barking | 17 | 16 | St Gregory by St Pauls | 5 | 4 | St Martin Orgars | 2 | 1 |
| Alhallows Breadstreet | | | St Hellen | | | St Martin Outwitch | | |
| Alhallows Great | 15 | 14 | St James Dukes place | 10 | 8 | St Martin Vintrey | 8 | 6 |
| Alhallows Honylane | | | St James Garlickhithe | 9 | 8 | St Matthew Fridaystreet | | |
| Alhallows Lesse | 4 | 4 | St John Baptist | 4 | 2 | St Maudlin Milkstreet | 1 | |
| Alhallows Lumbardstreet | 1 | 1 | St John Evangelist | | | St Maudlin Oldfishstreet | 2 | 1 |
| Alhallows Staining | 4 | 2 | St John Zachary | 6 | 5 | St Michael Bassishaw | 2 | 1 |
| Alhallows the Wall | 7 | 5 | St Katharine Coleman | 10 | 8 | St Michael Cornhil | 4 | 4 |
| St Alphage | 5 | | St Katharine Crechurch | 13 | 10 | St Michael Crookedlane | 8 | 8 |
| St Andrew Hubbard | 2 | | St Lawrence Jewry | 1 | | St Michael Queenhithe | 9 | 7 |
| St Andrew Undershaft | 5 | 4 | St Lawrence Pountney | 9 | 6 | St Michael Quern | 4 | 2 |
| St Andrew Wardrobe | 8 | 7 | St Leonard Eastcheap | 4 | 3 | St Michael Royal | 5 | 3 |
| St Ann Aldersgate | 6 | 6 | St Leonard Fosterlane | 7 | 5 | St Michael Woodstreet | 6 | 4 |
| St Ann Blackfryers | 17 | 13 | St Magnus Parish | 5 | 4 | St Mildred Breadstreet | 1 | 1 |
| St Antholins Parish | | | St Margaret Lothbury | 4 | 3 | St Mildred Poultrey | 1 | 1 |
| St Austins Parish | | | St Margaret Moses | | | St Nicholas Acons | 1 | 1 |
| St Bartholomew Exchange | 5 | 4 | St Margaret Newfishstreet | 3 | 2 | St Nicholas Coleabby | 2 | 2 |
| St Bennet Fynck | 2 | 1 | St Margaret Pattons | 1 | 1 | St Nicholas Olaves | 4 | 2 |
| St Bennet Gracechurch | 2 | 2 | St Mary Abchurch | 5 | 5 | St Olave Hartstreet | 5 | 4 |
| St Bennet Paulswharf | 6 | 5 | St Mary Aldermanbury | 3 | 3 | St Olave Jewry | 2 | 2 |
| St Bennet Sherehog | 1 | | St Mary Aldermary | 1 | | St Olave Silverstreet | 6 | 4 |
| St Botolph Billingsgate | 3 | 3 | St Mary le Bow | 1 | | St Pancras Soperlane | 1 | 1 |
| Christs Church | 17 | 12 | St Mary Bothaw | | | St Peter Cheap | 3 | 3 |
| St Christophers | 4 | 4 | St Mary Colechurch | | | St Peter Cornhil | 1 | |
| St Clement Eastcheap | 2 | 1 | St Mary Hill | 2 | 2 | St Peter Paulswharf | 4 | 3 |
| St Dionis Backchurch | 2 | 1 | St Mary Mounthaw | 2 | 1 | St Peter Poor | | |
| St Dunstan East | 10 | 7 | St Mary Sommerset | 11 | 10 | St Steven Colemanstreet | 12 | 10 |
| St Edmund Lumbardstr. | 1 | 1 | St Mary Stayning | | | St Steven Walbrook | 2 | 2 |
| St Ethelborough | 5 | 2 | St Mary Woolchurch | 6 | 4 | St Swithin | | |
| St Faith | 3 | 1 | St Mary Woolnoth | 1 | | St Thomas Apostle | 3 | 2 |
| St Foster | 2 | 2 | St Martin Iremongerlane | | | Trinity Parish | 3 | 1 |
| St Gabriel Fenchurch | 2 | 1 | | | | | | |

*Christned in the 97 Parishes within the Walls* — 21 *Buried* — 392 *Plague* — 295

| | | | | | | | | |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| St Andrew Holborn | 46 | 32 | St Botolph Aldgate | 99 | 82 | Saviours Southwark | 106 | 101 |
| St Bartholomew Great | | | St Botolph Bishopsgate | 41 | 30 | S. Sepulchres Parish | 40 | 19 |
| St Bartholomew Lesse | 6 | 5 | St Dunstan West | 28 | 21 | St Thomas Southwark | 11 | 10 |
| St Bridget | 24 | 17 | St George Southwark | 22 | 18 | Trinity Minories | 2 | 2 |
| Bridewel Precinct | 3 | 2 | St Giles Cripplegate | 56 | 28 | At the Pesthouse | 1 | 1 |
| St Botolph Aldersgate | 16 | 15 | St Olave Southwark | 102 | 73 | | | |

*Christned in the 16 Parishes without the Walls* — 34 *Buried, and at the Pesthouse* — 603 *Plague* — 456

| | | | | | | | | |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| St Giles in the fields | 44 | 38 | Lambeth Parish | 29 | 28 | St Mary Islington | 8 | 8 |
| Hackney Parish | 6 | 5 | St Leonard Shoreditch | 28 | 20 | St Mary Whitechappel | 60 | 46 |
| St James Clerkenwel | 15 | 6 | St Magdalen Bermondsey | 66 | 51 | Rothorith Parish | 13 | 7 |
| St Kath. near the Tower | 26 | 19 | St Mary Newington | 24 | 24 | Stepney Parish | 282 | 246 |

*Christned in the 12 out Parishes in* Middlesex *and* Surry — 35 *Buried* — 601 *Plague* — 498

| | | | | | | | | |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| St Clement Danes | 36 | 30 | St Martin in the fields | 60 | 38 | St Margaret Westminster | 98 | 93 |
| St Paul Covent Garden | 13 | 8 | St Mary Savoy | 3 | 3 | *whereof at the* Pesthouse | | 2 |

*Christned in the 5 Parishes in the City and Liberties of* Westminster — 14 *Buried* — 210 *Plague* — 172

# *The Diſeaſes and Caſualties this Week.*

| | |
|---|---|
| Abortive | 2 |
| Aged | 24 |
| Bedridden | 1 |
| Bruiſed | 1 |
| Cancer | 1 |
| Canker | 1 |
| Childbed | 12 |
| Chriſomes | 6 |
| Collick | 2 |
| Conſumption | 59 |
| Convulſion | 25 |
| Dropſie | 17 |
| Drowned in a Tub of VVaſh in a Brewhouſe at St. Giles in the Fields | 1 |
| Feaver | 82 |
| French-pox | 1 |
| Frighted | 1 |
| Grief | 2 |
| Griping in the Guts | 13 |
| Jaundies | 1 |
| Impoſthume | 6 |
| Infants | 3 |
| Killed by a fall from a Scaffold at St. Martin in the Fields | 1 |
| Lethargy | 1 |
| Livergrown | 1 |
| Overlaid | 1 |
| Palſie | 1 |
| Plague | 1421 |
| Quinſie | 1 |
| Rickets | 8 |
| Riſing of the Lights | 3 |
| Rupture | 1 |
| Scowring | 1 |
| Spotted Feaver | 28 |
| Stilborn | 3 |
| Stopping of the ſtomach | 3 |
| Suddenly | 1 |
| Surfeit | 17 |
| Teeth | 41 |
| Tiſſick | 3 |
| Winde | 1 |
| Wormes | 8 |

| | | | | | |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| Chriſtned | Males | 60 | Buried | Males | 951 |
| | Females | 44 | | Females | 855 |
| | In all | 104 | | In all | 1806 |

Plague 1421

Decreaſed in the Burials this Week 1413

Pariſhes clear of the Plague 26 Pariſhes Infected 104

*The Aſſize of Bread ſet forth by Order of the Lord Maior and Court of Aldermen,*

A penny Wheaten Loaf to contain Nine Ounces and a half, and three half-penny White Loaves the like weight.

| | Bur. | Plag. | | Bur. | Plag | | Bur. | Plag. |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| St ALban Woodstreet | 3 | 1 | St George Botolphlane | 3 | 3 | St Martin Ludgate | 5 | 1 |
| Alhallows Barking | 19 | 18 | St Gregory by St Pauls | 6 | 5 | St Martin Orgars | 5 | 4 |
| Alhallows Breadstreet | | | St Hellen | 3 | 1 | St Martin Outwitch | 1 | |
| Alhallows Great | 11 | 9 | St James Dukes place | 9 | 6 | St Martin Vintrey | 11 | 10 |
| Alhallows Honylane | | | St James Garlickhithe | 7 | 6 | St Matthew Fridaystreet | 1 | |
| Alhallows Lesse | 7 | 3 | St John Baptist | 3 | 2 | St Maudlin Milkstreet | | |
| Alhallows Lumbardstreet | | | St John Evangelist | 2 | | St Maudlin Oldfishstreet | 9 | 7 |
| Alhallows Stayning | 9 | 7 | St John Zachary | 2 | 2 | St Michael Bassishaw | 1 | |
| Alhallows the Wall | 7 | 6 | St Katharine Coleman | 6 | 5 | St Michael Cornhil | 1 | |
| St Alphage | 4 | 1 | St Katharine Crechurch | 7 | 5 | St Michael Crookedlane | 7 | 6 |
| St Andrew Hubbard | 2 | 2 | St Lawrence Jewry | 1 | 1 | St Michael Queenhithe | 5 | 5 |
| St Andrew Undershaft | 4 | 3 | St Lawrence Pountney | 5 | 2 | St Michael Quern | | |
| St Andrew Wardrobe | 6 | 2 | St Leonard Eastcheap | 1 | 1 | St Michael Royal | 6 | 3 |
| St Ann Aldersgate | 2 | 2 | St Leonard Fosterlane | 4 | 2 | St Michael Woodstreet | 2 | 1 |
| St Ann Blackfryers | 9 | 6 | St Magnus Parish | 3 | 2 | St Mildred Breadstreet | 2 | |
| St Antholins Parish | | | St Margaret Lothbury | 3 | 2 | St Mildred Poultrey | 1 | |
| St Austins Parish | | | St Margaret Moses | 4 | 1 | St Nicholas Acons | 1 | 1 |
| St Bartholomew Exchange | 2 | 1 | St Margaret Newfishstre. | 2 | 1 | St Nicholas Coleabby | 5 | 4 |
| St Bennet Fynck | | | St Margaret Pattons | 1 | 1 | St Nicholas Olaves | 3 | 3 |
| St Bennet Gracechurch | | | St Mary Abchurch | | | St Olave Hartstreet | 7 | 7 |
| St Bennet Paulswharf | 2 | | St Mary Aldermanbury | 4 | 4 | St Olave Jewry | 2 | 2 |
| St Bennet Sherehog | | | St Mary Aldermary | | | St Olave Silverstreet | 2 | 1 |
| St Botolph Billingsgate | 6 | 3 | St Mary le Bow | | | St Pancras Soperlane | 1 | |
| Christ Church | 8 | 8 | St Mary Bothaw | | | St Peter Cheap | 1 | |
| St Christophers | | | St Mary Colechurch | 1 | 1 | St Peter Cornhil | 7 | 5 |
| St Clement Eastcheap | 1 | | St Mary Hill | 3 | 3 | St Peter Paulswharf | 1 | 1 |
| St Dionis Backchurch | 5 | 4 | St Mary Mounthaw | | | St Peter Poor | 1 | 1 |
| St Dunstan East | 4 | 4 | St Mary Sommerset | 7 | 5 | St Steven Colemanstreet | 13 | 12 |
| St Edmund Lumbardstr. | | | St Mary Stayning | | | St Steven Walbrook | 1 | 1 |
| St Ethelborough | | | St Mary Woolchurch | 3 | 1 | St Swithin | 1 | |
| St Faith | 3 | 3 | St Mary Woolnoth | 5 | 4 | St Thomas Apostles | 4 | 3 |
| St Foster | 1 | 1 | St Martin Iremongerlane | | | Trinity Parish | 5 | 5 |
| St Gabriel Fenchurch | 4 | | | | | | | |

*Christned in the 97 Parishes within the Walls* — 25 *Buried* — 325 *Plague* — 233

| | | | | | | | | |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| St Andrew Holborn | 40 | 31 | St Botolph Aldgate | 65 | 53 | Saviours Southwark | 89 | 82 |
| St Bartholomew Great | 3 | 1 | St Botolph Bishopsgate | 28 | 24 | S. Sepulchres Parish | 22 | 11 |
| St Bartholomew Lesse | 6 | 5 | St Dunstan West | 21 | 15 | St Thomas Southwark | 5 | 5 |
| St Bridget | 29 | 15 | St George Southwark | 16 | 14 | Trinity Minories | 2 | 2 |
| Bridewel Precinct | 5 | 3 | St Giles Cripplegate | 39 | 22 | At the Pesthouse | 4 | 4 |
| St Botolph Aldersgate | 13 | 11 | St Olave Southwark | 83 | 58 | | | |

*Christned in the 16 Parishes without the Walls* — 36 *Buried, and at the Pesthouse* — 470 *Plague* — 356

| | | | | | | | | |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| St Giles in the fields | 30 | 20 | Lambeth Parish | 33 | 23 | St Mary Islington | 9 | 8 |
| Hackney Parish | 3 | 3 | St Leonard Shoreditch | 14 | 10 | St Mary Whitechappel | 37 | 21 |
| St James Clerkenwel | 13 | 5 | St Magdalen Bermondsey | 57 | 40 | Rothorith Parish | 12 | 8 |
| St Kath. near the Tower | 21 | 13 | St Mary Newington | 11 | 7 | Stepney Parish | 195 | 165 |

*Christned in the 12 out Parishes in* Middlesex *and* Surrey — 27 *Buried* — 435 *Plague* — 323

| | | | | | | | | |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| St Clement Danes | 23 | 16 | St Martin in the fields | 48 | 25 | St Margaret Westminster | 78 | 72 |
| St Paul Covent Garden | 6 | 4 | St Mary Savoy | 3 | 2 | *Whereof at the* Pesthouse | | 1 |

*Christned in the 5 Parishes in the City and Liberties of* Westminster — 16 *Buried* — 158 *Plague* — 119

# *The Diseases and Casualties this Week.*

| | |
|---|---|
| Abortive | 1 |
| Aged | 22 |
| Childbed | 11 |
| Chrisomes | 8 |
| Consumption | 67 |
| Convulsion | 27 |
| Dropsie | 24 |
| Drowned at St. Saviours Southwark | 1 |
| Feaver | 75 |
| French-pox | 1 |
| Gangrene | 1 |
| Griping in the Guts | 12 |
| Imposthume | 1 |
| Infants | 8 |
| Meagrome | 1 |
| Measles | 1 |
| Palsie | 1 |
| Plague | 1031 |
| Rickets | 6 |
| Rising of the Lights | 4 |
| Scowring | 1 |
| Scurvy | 2 |
| Small-Pox | 1 |
| Sore legge | 1 |
| Spotted Feaver | 13 |
| Stilborn | 4 |
| Stone | 2 |
| Stopping of the stomach | 3 |
| Strangury | 1 |
| Surfeit | 14 |
| Teeth | 36 |
| Thrush | 2 |
| Tissick | 3 |
| Wormes | 2 |

Christned { Males — 50, Females — 54, In all — 104 }

Buried { Males — 723, Females — 665, In all — 1388 } Plague — 1031

Decreased in the Burial this Week — 418

Parishes clear of the Plague — 33 Parishes Infected — 97

*The Assize of Bread set forth by Order of the Lord Maior and Court of Aldermen,*
A penny Wheaten Loaf to contain Nine Ounces and a half, and three half-penny White Loaves the like weight.

| | Bur. | Plag. | | Bur. | Plag | | Bur. | Plag. |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| St ALban Woodstreet | 3 | 3 | St George Botolphlane | 4 | 1 | St Martin Ludgate | 6 | 5 |
| Alhallows Barking | 22 | 19 | St Gregory by St Pauls | 9 | 8 | St Martin Orgars | 1 | 1 |
| Alhallows Breadstreet | 1 | 1 | St Hellen | 1 | 1 | St Martin Outwitch | | |
| Alhallows Great | 12 | 11 | St James Dukes place | 4 | 3 | St Martin Vintrey | 7 | 7 |
| Alhallows Honylane | | | St James Garlickhithe | 10 | 8 | St Matthew Fridaystreet | 3 | 2 |
| Alhallows Lesse | 8 | 7 | St John Baptist | 8 | 3 | St Maudlin Milkstreet | 1 | |
| Alhallows Lumbardstreet | 1 | | St John Evangelist | | | St Maudlin Oldfishstreet | 6 | 5 |
| Alhallows Stayning | 6 | 5 | St John Zachary | 1 | 1 | St Michael Bassishaw | 2 | 1 |
| Alhallows the Wall | 17 | 14 | St Katharine Coleman | 6 | 6 | St Michael Cornhil | 3 | 1 |
| St Alphage | 1 | | St Katharine Crechurch | 12 | 10 | St Michael Crookedlane | 5 | 5 |
| St Andrew Hubbard | 6 | 3 | St Lawrence Jewry | 2 | 1 | St Michael Queenhithe | 3 | 1 |
| St Andrew Undershaft | 9 | 7 | St Lawrence Pountney | 11 | 8 | St Michael Quern | | |
| St Andrew Wardrobe | 8 | 4 | St Leonard Eastcheap | 2 | 2 | St Michael Royal | 4 | 3 |
| St Ann Aldersgate | 5 | 4 | St Leonard Fosterlane | 5 | 3 | St Michael Woodstreet | 4 | 3 |
| St Ann Blackfryers | 18 | 13 | St Magnus Parish | 2 | 1 | St Mildred Breadstreet | 1 | |
| St Antholins Parish | | | St Margaret Lothbury | 4 | 4 | St Mildred Poultrey | 4 | 3 |
| St Austins Parish | | | St Margaret Moses | 1 | | St Nicholas Acons | 1 | 1 |
| St Bartholomew Exchange | 2 | 2 | St Margaret Newfishstre. | 9 | 6 | St Nicholas Coleabby | 5 | 4 |
| St Bennet Fynck | 2 | 1 | St Margaret Pattons | 2 | 1 | St Nicholas Olaves | 4 | 3 |
| St Bennet Gracechurch | 1 | 1 | St Mary Abchurch | 4 | 4 | St Olave Hartstreet | 11 | 7 |
| St Bennet Paulswharf | 7 | 5 | St Mary Aldermanbury | 7 | 3 | St Olave Jewry | 1 | 1 |
| St Bennet Sherehog | | | St Mary Aldermary | 9 | 7 | St Olave Silverstreet | 1 | 1 |
| St Botolph Billingsgate | 5 | 5 | St Mary le Bow | | | St Pancras Soperlane | 1 | |
| Christ Church | 13 | 12 | St Mary Bothaw | 2 | 2 | St Peter Cheap | 1 | 1 |
| St Christophers | 2 | 2 | St Mary Colechurch | | | St Peter Cornhil | 5 | 3 |
| St Clement Eastcheap | 3 | 1 | St Mary Hill | 4 | 4 | St Peter Paulswharf | 4 | 2 |
| St Dionis Backchurch | 3 | 1 | St Mary Mounthaw | 1 | 1 | St Peter Poor | 3 | 2 |
| St Dunstan East | 7 | 5 | St Mary Sommerset | 15 | 12 | St Steven Colemanstreet | 10 | 9 |
| St Edmund Lumbardstr. | | | St Mary Stayning | 1 | | St Steven Walbrook | 1 | 1 |
| St Ethelborough | 1 | | St Mary Woolchurch | 1 | 1 | St Swithin | 3 | 1 |
| St Faith | 2 | 1 | St Mary Woolnoth | | | St Thomas Apostles | 5 | 4 |
| St Foster | | | St Martin Iremongerlane | 2 | 2 | Trinity Parish | 4 | 3 |
| St Gabriel Fenchurch | 4 | 4 | | | | | | |

*Christned in the 97 Parishes within the Walls* — 23 *Buried* — 418 *Plague* — 314

| | | | | | | | | |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| St Andrew Holborn | 43 | 36 | St Botolph Aldgate | 85 | 68 | Saviours Southwark | 113 | 108 |
| St Bartholomew Great | 4 | 4 | St Botolph Bishopsgate | 34 | 24 | S Sepulchres Parish | 27 | 16 |
| St Bartholomew Lesse | 3 | 3 | St Dunstan West | 20 | 13 | St Thomas Southwark | 10 | 8 |
| St Bridget | 24 | 16 | St George Southwark | 26 | 22 | Trinity Minories | 5 | 4 |
| Bridewel Precinct | 3 | 3 | St Giles Cripplegate | 48 | 39 | At the Pesthouse | | |
| St Botolph Aldersgate | 15 | 14 | St Olave Southwark | 86 | 67 | | | |

*Christned in the 16 Parishes without the Walls* — 32 *Buried, and at the Pesthouse* — 546 *Plague* — 445

| | | | | | | | | |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| St Giles in the fields | 32 | 24 | Lambeth Parish | 51 | 39 | St Mary Islington | 6 | 4 |
| Hackney Parish | 11 | 9 | St Leonard Shoreditch | 28 | 21 | St Mary Whitechappel | 57 | 40 |
| St James Clerkenwel | 12 | 5 | St Magdalen Bermondsey | 80 | 57 | Rothorith Parish | 15 | 12 |
| St Kath. near the Tower | 13 | 8 | St Mary Newington | 22 | 16 | Stepney Parish | 282 | 253 |

*Christned in the 12 out Parishes in* Middlesex *and* Surrey — 28 *Buried* — 609 *Plague* — 488

| | | | | | | | | |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| St Clement Danes | 38 | 28 | St Martin in the fields | 61 | 37 | St Margaret Westminster | 102 | 92 |
| St Paul Covent Garden | 5 | 3 | St Mary Savoy | 8 | 7 | *Whereof at the* Pesthouse | | |

*Christned in the 5 Parishes in the City and Liberties of* Westminster — 12 *Buried* — 214 *Plague* — 167

# *The Diseases and Casualties this Week.*

| | |
|---|---|
| Abortive | 2 |
| Aged | 20 |
| Apoplexie | 1 |
| Bedridden | 1 |
| Childbed | 13 |
| Chrisomes | 6 |
| Collick | 1 |
| Consumption | 61 |
| Convulsion | 36 |
| Dropsie | 11 |
| Drowned at St. Olaves Southwark | 1 |
| Feaver | 81 |
| Flox and Small-pox | 2 |
| Flux | 1 |
| Found dead in the Fields at St. Mary Islington | 1 |
| French-pox | 3 |
| Grief | 1 |
| Griping in the Guts | 13 |
| Jaundies | 2 |
| Imposthume | 2 |
| Infants | 12 |
| Killed by a fall at St. Margaret VVestminster | 1 |
| Murdered by the Mother, (an Infant) at St. Georges Southwark | 1 |
| Palsie | 1 |
| Plague | 1414 |
| Rickets | 7 |
| Rising of the Lights | 8 |
| Scowring | 1 |
| Scurvy | 1 |
| Spleen | 2 |
| Spotted Feaver | 3 |
| Stilborn | 2 |
| Stone | 1 |
| Stopping of the stomach | 3 |
| Surfeit | 13 |
| Teeth | 47 |
| Thrush | 2 |
| Timpany | 1 |
| Tiffick | 1 |
| Winde | 2 |
| Wormes | 5 |

| | | | | | |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| Christned | Males | 51 | Buried | Males | 908 |
| | Females | 44 | | Females | 879 |
| | In all | 95 | | In all | 1787 |

Plague—1414

Decreased in the Burials this Week — 399

Parishes clear of the Plague — 20 Parishes Infected — 110

*The Assize of Bread set forth by Order of the Lord Maior and Court of Aldermen,*

A penny Wheaten Loaf to contain Ten Ounces and a half, and three half-penny White Loaves the like weight.

| | Bur. | Plag. | | Bur. | Plag. | | Bur. | Plag. |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| St ALban Woodstreet | 2 | 2 | St George Botolphlane | 5 | 4 | St Martin Ludgate | 3 | 3 |
| Alhallows Barking | 12 | 10 | St Gregory by St Pauls | 8 | 5 | St Martin Orgars | 1 | |
| Alhallows Breadstreet | 1 | 1 | St Hellen | | | St Martin Outwitch | 1 | |
| Alhallows Great | 7 | 7 | St James Dukes place | 3 | 3 | St Martin Vintrey | 12 | 7 |
| Alhallows Honylane | | | St James Garlickhithe | 12 | 8 | St Matthew Fridaystreet | 2 | |
| Alhallows Lesse | 3 | 3 | St John Baptist | 9 | 5 | St Maudlin Milkstreet | | |
| Alhallows Lumbardstreet | 1 | | St John Evangelist | | | St Maudlin Oldfishstreet | 8 | 7 |
| Alhallows Staining | 7 | 6 | St John Zachary | 3 | | St Michael Bassishaw | 1 | |
| Alhallows the Wall | 10 | 10 | St Katharine Coleman | 7 | 7 | St Michael Cornhil | 2 | 2 |
| St Alphage | 2 | 1 | St Katharine Crechurch | 15 | 9 | St Michael Crookedlane | 8 | 6 |
| St Andrew Hubbard | 2 | 1 | St Lawrence Jewry | 2 | 1 | St Michael Queenhithe | 3 | 3 |
| St Andrew Undershaft | 4 | 3 | St Lawrence Pountney | 5 | 5 | St Michael Quern | 1 | |
| St Andrew Wardrobe | 5 | 3 | St Leonard Eastcheap | 2 | 2 | St Michael Royal | 3 | 2 |
| St Ann Aldersgate | 4 | 3 | St Leonard Fosterlane | 6 | 6 | St Michael Woodstreet | 3 | 2 |
| St Ann Blackfryers | 13 | 12 | St Magnus Parish | 3 | 3 | St Mildred Breadstreet | 1 | 1 |
| St Antholins Parish | | | St Margaret Lothbury | 3 | 3 | St Mildred Poultrey | | |
| St Austins Parish | | | St Margaret Moses | 1 | 1 | St Nicholas Acons | 3 | 3 |
| St Bartholomew Exchange | 4 | 4 | St Margaret Newfishstreet | 3 | 2 | St Nicholas Coleabby | 2 | 2 |
| St Bennet Fynck | 1 | 1 | St Margaret Pattons | 1 | | St Nicholas Olaves | 2 | 2 |
| St Bennet Gracechurch | 2 | 1 | St Mary Abchurch | 5 | 3 | St Olave Hartstreet | 9 | 7 |
| St Bennet Paulswharf | 3 | 3 | St Mary Aldermanbury | 3 | | St Olave Jewry | | |
| St Bennet Sherehog | | | St Mary Aldermary | | | St Olave Silverstreet | 1 | |
| St Botolph Billingsgate | 6 | 4 | St Mary le Bow | 1 | 1 | St Pancras Soperlane | | |
| Christs Church | 10 | 8 | St Mary Bothaw | 1 | | St Peter Cheap | 1 | 1 |
| St Christophers | 1 | 1 | St Mary Colechurch | | | St Peter Cornhil | 4 | 3 |
| St Clement Eastcheap | 3 | | St Mary Hill | 6 | 6 | St Peter Paulswharf | 4 | 4 |
| St Dionis Backchurch | 1 | | St Mary Mounthaw | | | St Peter Poor | | |
| St Dunstan East | 5 | 4 | St Mary Sommerset | 9 | 9 | St Steven Colemanstreet | 13 | 13 |
| St Edmund Lumbardstr. | 5 | 3 | St Mary Stayning | | | St Steven Walbrook | 1 | 1 |
| St Ethelborough | 3 | 1 | St Mary Woolchurch | 3 | 2 | St Swithin | 4 | 2 |
| St Faith | 2 | 1 | St Mary Woolnoth | 1 | | St Thomas Apostle | 5 | 3 |
| St Foster | 3 | 3 | St Martin Iremongerlane | | | Trinity Parish | 3 | 1 |
| St Gabriel Fenchurch | 6 | 6 | | | | | | |

*Christned in the 97 Parishes within the Walls* — 29 *Buried* — 346 *Plague* — 262

| | | | | | | | | |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| St Andrew Holborn | 38 | 28 | St Botolph Aldgate | 55 | 44 | Saviours Southwark | 79 | 77 |
| St Bartholomew Great | 1 | | St Botolph Bishopsgate | 23 | 17 | S. Sepulchres Parish | 26 | 13 |
| St Bartholomew Lesse | 4 | 4 | St Dunstan West | 20 | 17 | St Thomas Southwark | 10 | 9 |
| St Bridget | 18 | 10 | St George Southwark | 13 | 13 | Trinity Minories | 3 | 3 |
| Bridewel Precinct | 1 | 1 | St Giles Cripplegate | 34 | 23 | At the Pesthouse | 1 | 1 |
| St Botolph Aldersgate | 6 | 5 | St Olave Southwark | 65 | 44 | | | |

*Christned in the 16 Parishes without the Walls* — 30 *Buried, and at the Pesthouse* — 397 *Plague* — 309

| | | | | | | | | |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| St Giles in the fields | 26 | 21 | Lambeth Parish | 54 | 46 | St Mary Islington | 10 | 9 |
| Hackney Parish | 2 | 2 | St Leonard Shoreditch | 19 | 14 | St Mary Whitechappel | 46 | 29 |
| St James Clerkenwel | 12 | 4 | St Magdalen Bermondsey | 42 | 36 | Rothorith Parish | 13 | 10 |
| St Kath. near the Tower | 14 | 9 | St Mary Newington | 7 | 5 | Stepney Parish | 215 | 191 |

*Christned in the 12 out Parishes in* Middlesex *and* Surry — 34 *Buried* — 460 *Plague* — 376

| | | | | | | | | |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| St Clement Danes | 32 | 19 | St Martin in the fields | 50 | 23 | St Margaret Westminster | 66 | 57 |
| St Paul Covent Garden | 5 | 2 | St Mary Savoy | 3 | 2 | whereof at the Pesthouse | | |

*Christned in the 5 Parishes in the City and Liberties of* Westminster — 20 *Buried* — 156 *Plague* — 103

# *The Diſeaſes and Caſualties this Week.*

| | |
|---|---|
| Abortive | 4 |
| Aged | 18 |
| Childbed | 14 |
| Chriſomes | 5 |
| Conſumption | 49 |
| Convulſion | 30 |
| Dropſie | 14 |
| Feaver | 61 |
| French-pox | 2 |
| Grief | 1 |
| Griping in the Guts | 7 |
| Impoſthume | 1 |
| Infants | 4 |
| Kingſevil | 3 |
| Palſie | 1 |
| Plague | 1050 |
| Rickets | 4 |
| Riſing of the Lights | 3 |
| Spleen | 1 |
| Spotted Feaver | 15 |
| Stilborn | 9 |
| Stone | 4 |
| Stopping of the ſtomach | 7 |
| Suddenly | 1 |
| Surfeit | 9 |
| Teeth | 28 |
| Thruſh | 1 |
| Tiſſick | 2 |
| Ulcer | 1 |
| Vomiting | 2 |
| Winde | 1 |
| Wormes | 7 |

| | | | | | |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| Chriſtned | Males | 62 | Buried | Males | 584 |
| | Females | 71 | | Females | 775 |
| | In all | 113 | | In all | 1359 |

Plague—1050

Decreaſed in the Burials this Week — 428

Pariſhes clear of the Plague — 31 Pariſhes Infected — 99

*The Aſſize of Bread ſet forth by Order of the Lord Maior and Court of Aldermen,*
A penny Wheaten Loaf to contain Nine Ounces and a half, and three half-penny White Loaves the like weight.

| | Bur. | Plag. | | Bur. | Plag. | | Bur. | Plag. |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| St Alban Woodstreet | 2 | 1 | St George Botolphlane | 3 | 2 | St Martin Ludgate | 2 | |
| Alhallows Barking | 7 | 6 | St Gregory by St Pauls | 4 | 4 | St Martin Orgars | 1 | 1 |
| Alhallows Breadstreet | | | St Hellen | 1 | | St Martin Outwitch | | |
| Alhallows Great | 6 | 5 | St James Dukes place | 1 | 1 | St Martin Vintrey | 5 | 3 |
| Alhallows Honylane | | | St James Garlickhithe | 5 | 3 | St Matthew Fridaystreet | 1 | |
| Alhallows Lesse | 5 | 2 | St John Baptist | 5 | 3 | St Maudlin Milkstreet | | |
| Alhallows Lumbardstreet | | | St John Evangelist | | | St Maudlin Oldfishstreet | 4 | 4 |
| Alhallows Staining | 3 | 1 | St John Zachary | | | St Michael Bassishaw | 2 | 1 |
| Alhallows the Wall | 6 | 5 | St Katharine Coleman | 8 | 7 | St Michael Cornhil | | |
| St Alphage | 4 | 2 | St Katharine Crechurch | 8 | 6 | St Michael Crookedlane | 1 | 1 |
| St Andrew Hubbard | 2 | | St Lawrence Jewry | | | St Michael Queenhithe | 4 | 2 |
| St Andrew Undershaft | 2 | 1 | St Lawrence Pountney | 3 | 2 | St Michael Quern | | |
| St Andrew Wardrobe | 4 | 3 | St Leonard Eastcheap | | | St Michael Royal | 2 | 1 |
| St Ann Aldersgate | 4 | 3 | St Leonard Fosterlane | 3 | 2 | St Michael Woodstreet | 1 | |
| St Ann Blackfryers | 5 | 2 | St Magnus Parish | 1 | 1 | St Mildred Breadstreet | | |
| St Antholins Parish | 1 | | St Margaret Lothbury | 1 | 1 | St Mildred Poultrey | 1 | 1 |
| St Austins Parish | 1 | | St Margaret Moses | | | St Nicholas Acons | 3 | 1 |
| St Bartholomew Exchange | 3 | 1 | St Margaret Newfishstreet | 1 | 1 | St Nicholas Coleabby | 4 | 3 |
| St Bennet Fynck | | | St Margaret Pattons | | | St Nicholas Olaves | 1 | 1 |
| St Bennet Gracechurch | | | St Mary Abchurch | | | St Olave Hartstreet | 1 | |
| St Bennet Paulswharf | 1 | 1 | St Mary Aldermanbury | | | St Olave Jewry | 1 | 1 |
| St Bennet Sherehog | | | St Mary Aldermary | 3 | 3 | St Olave Silverstreet | 1 | |
| St Botolph Billingsgate | 4 | 3 | St Mary le Bow | 1 | | St Pancras Soperlane | | |
| Christs Church | 3 | 3 | St Mary Bothaw | 1 | | St Peter Cheap | | |
| St Christophers | | | St Mary Colechurch | | | St Peter Cornhil | | |
| St Clement Eastcheap | 1 | 1 | St Mary Hill | 4 | 2 | St Peter Paulswharf | | |
| St Dionis Backchurch | 2 | | St Mary Mounthaw | 1 | | St Peter Poor | | |
| St Dunstan East | 4 | 3 | St Mary Sommerset | 5 | 5 | St Steven Colemanstreet | 9 | 8 |
| St Edmund Lumbardstr. | 5 | 3 | St Mary Stayning | | | St Steven Walbrook | | |
| St Ethelborough | 2 | | St Mary Woolchurch | | | St Swithin | 3 | 2 |
| St Faith | | | St Mary Woolnoth | 3 | 2 | St Thomas Apostle | 1 | 1 |
| St Foster | 2 | 2 | St Martin Iremongerlane | | | Trinity Parish | 4 | 2 |
| St Gabriel Fenchurch | 2 | 1 | | | | | | |

*Christned in the 97 Parishes within the Walls* — 27 *Buried* — 195 *Plague* — 127

| | | | | | | | | |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| St Andrew Holborn | 25 | 18 | St Botolph Aldgate | 33 | 24 | Saviours Southwark | 68 | 65 |
| St Bartholomew Great | 3 | 2 | St Botolph Bishopsgate | 14 | 11 | S. Sepulchres Parish | 14 | 9 |
| St Bartholomew Lesse | 2 | 1 | St Dunstan West | 16 | 9 | St Thomas Southwark | 9 | 8 |
| St Bridget | 14 | 6 | St George Southwark | 11 | 8 | Trinity Minories | 3 | |
| Bridewel Precinct | 2 | 2 | St Giles Cripplegate | 28 | 17 | At the Pesthouse | 2 | 2 |
| St Botolph Aldersgate | 7 | 6 | St Olave Southwark | 47 | 29 | | | |

*Christned in the 16 Parishes without the Walls* — 31 *Buried, and at the Pesthouse* — 298 *Plague* — 217

| | | | | | | | | |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| St Giles in the fields | 22 | 16 | Lambeth Parish | 36 | 35 | St Mary Islington | 6 | 3 |
| Hackney Parish | 4 | 3 | St Leonard Shoreditch | 10 | 6 | St Mary Whitechappel | 35 | 30 |
| St James Clerkenwel | 8 | 2 | St Magdalen Bermondsey | 27 | 19 | Rothorith Parish | 13 | 10 |
| St Kath. near the Tower | 9 | 7 | St Mary Newington | 3 | 1 | Stepney Parish | 129 | 103 |

*Christned in the 12 out Parishes in* Middlesex *and* Surry — 29 *Buried* — 302 *Plague* — 235

| | | | | | | | | |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| St Clement Danes | 15 | 7 | St Martin in the fields | 33 | 15 | St Margaret Westminster | 46 | 45 |
| St Paul Covent Garden | 5 | 2 | St Mary Savoy | 6 | 4 | *Whereof at the* Pesthouse | | |

*Christned in the 5 Parishes in the City and Liberties of* Westminster — 21 *Buried* — 110 *Plague* — 73

# *The Diseases and Casualties this Week.*

| | |
|---|---|
| Abortive | 4 |
| Aged | 11 |
| Ague | 1 |
| Burnt (by accident) at St. Leonard Shoreditch | 1 |
| Childbed | 5 |
| Chrisomes | 3 |
| Cold | 1 |
| Consumption | 43 |
| Convulsion | 13 |
| Dropsie | 13 |
| Feaver | 59 |
| Flux | 2 |
| Grief | 3 |
| Griping in the Guts | 10 |
| Imposthume | 3 |
| Infants | 9 |
| Kingsevil | 2 |
| Leprosie | 1 |
| Plague | 652 |
| Rickets | 3 |
| Rising of the Lights | 4 |
| Sciatica | 1 |
| Scurvy | 1 |
| Small-Pox | 1 |
| Spotted Feaver | 4 |
| Starved in the VWhite Lyon Prison at St. George in Southwark | 1 |
| Stilborn | 5 |
| Stone | 2 |
| Stopping of the stomach | 4 |
| Suddenly | 1 |
| Surfeit | 2 |
| Small-Pox | 1 |
| Teeth | 33 |
| Tissick | 4 |
| Winde | 1 |
| Wormes | 1 |

| | | | | | |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| Christned | Males | 52 | Buried | Males | 429 |
| | Females | 56 | | Females | 476 |
| | In all | 108 | | In all | 905 |

Plague 652

Decreased in the Burials this Week 454

Parishes clear of the Plague 46 Parishes Infected 82

*The Assize of Bread set forth by Order of the Lord Maior and Court of Aldermen;*
A penny Wheaten Loaf to contain Ten Ounces and a half, and three half-penny White Loaves the like weight.

| | Bur. | Plag. | | Bur. | Plag. | | Bur. | Plag. |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| St Alban Woodstreet | 2 | 1 | St George Botolphlane | | | St Martin Ludgate | 2 | |
| Alhallows Barking | 8 | 4 | St Gregory by St Pauls | 3 | 1 | St Martin Orgars | | |
| Alhallows Breadstreet | | | St Hellen | 1 | 1 | St Martin Outwitch | | |
| Alhallows Great | 7 | 5 | St James Dukes place | 2 | 2 | St Martin Vintrey | 4 | 4 |
| Alhallows Honylane | | | St James Garlickhithe | 3 | 2 | St Matthew Fridaystreet | | |
| Alhallows Lesse | 2 | 2 | St John Baptist | 4 | 3 | St Maudlin Milkstreet | | |
| Alhallows Lumbardstreet | | | St John Evangelist | | | St Maudlin Oldfishstreet | 1 | 1 |
| Alhallows Stayning | 1 | | St John Zachary | | | St Michael Bassishaw | 1 | |
| Alhallows the Wall | 3 | 2 | St Katharine Coleman | 1 | 1 | St Michael Cornhil | 1 | |
| St Alphage | | | St Katharine Crechurch | 5 | 4 | St Michael Crookedlane | 4 | 2 |
| St Andrew Hubbard | | | St Lawrence Jewry | | | St Michael Queenhithe | | |
| St Andrew Undershaft | 1 | 1 | St Lawrence Pountney | 1 | 1 | St Michael Quern | | |
| St Andrew Wardrobe | 2 | 1 | St Leonard Eastcheap | | | St Michael Royal | 1 | 1 |
| St Ann Aldersgate | 1 | | St Leonard Fosterlane | 2 | 1 | St Michael Woodstreet | 1 | 1 |
| St Ann Blackfryers | 6 | 4 | St Magnus Parish | 1 | 1 | St Mildred Breadstreet | 1 | |
| St Antholins Parish | 1 | 1 | St Margaret Lothbury | | | St Mildred Poultrey | | |
| St Austins Parish | | | St Margaret Moses | 1 | 1 | St Nicholas Acons | | |
| St Bartholomew Exchange | 2 | 2 | St Margaret Newfishstre. | | | St Nicholas Coleabby | | |
| St Bennet Fynck | | | St Margaret Pattons | | | St Nicholas Olaves | | |
| St Bennet Gracechurch | 2 | 2 | St Mary Abchurch | | | St Olave Hartstreet | 3 | |
| St Bennet Paulswharf | 1 | | St Mary Aldermanbury | | | St Olave Jewry | | |
| St Bennet Sherehog | | | St Mary Aldermary | 4 | 3 | St Olave Silverstreet | 3 | 1 |
| St Botolph Billingsgate | 1 | | St Mary le Bow | | | St Pancras Soperlane | 1 | 1 |
| Christ Church | 12 | 5 | St Mary Bothaw | 1 | | St Peter Cheap | | |
| St Christophers | | | St Mary Colechurch | | | St Peter Cornhil | 3 | 2 |
| St Clement Eastcheap | 1 | 1 | St Mary Hill | 1 | | St Peter Paulswharf | | |
| St Dionis Backchurch | 3 | | St Mary Mounthaw | | | St Peter Poor | 2 | 1 |
| St Dunstan East | 8 | 6 | St Mary Sommerset | 5 | 3 | St Steven Colemanstreet | 4 | 4 |
| St Edmund Lumbardstr. | | | St Mary Stayning | | | St Steven Walbrook | | |
| St Ethelborough | 1 | 1 | St Mary Woolchurch | | | St Swithin | 1 | |
| St Faith | 1 | 1 | St Mary Woolnoth | 1 | | St Thomas Apostles | | |
| St Foster | 1 | 1 | St Martin Iremongerlane | | | Trinity Parish | | |
| St Gabriel Fenchurch | | | | | | | | |

*Christned in the 97 Parishes within the Walls* — 31 *Buried* — 136 *Plague* — 82

| | | | | | | | | |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| St Andrew Holborn | 15 | 10 | St Botolph Aldgate | 22 | 8 | Saviours Southwark | 28 | 22 |
| St Bartholomew Great | 2 | 2 | St Botolph Bishopsgate | 8 | 5 | S Sepulchres Parish | 16 | 3 |
| St Bartholomew Lesse | 1 | 1 | St Dunstan West | 8 | 5 | St Thomas Southwark | | |
| St Bridget | 11 | 2 | St George Southwark | 3 | 2 | Trinity Minories | 2 | |
| Bridewel Precinct | 2 | 1 | St Giles Cripplegate | 10 | 2 | At the Pesthouse | 2 | 1 |
| St Botolph Aldersgate | | | St Olave Southwark | 26 | 18 | | | |

*Christned in the 16 Parishes without the Walls* — 35 *Buried, and at the Pesthouse* — 156 *Plague* — 82

| | | | | | | | | |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| St Giles in the fields | 13 | 4 | Lambeth Parish | 10 | 6 | St Mary Islington | 7 | 4 |
| Hackney Parish | 4 | 3 | St Leonard Shoreditch | 6 | 2 | St Mary Whitechappel | 11 | 4 |
| St James Clerkenwel | 9 | 3 | St Magdalen Bermondsey | 14 | 8 | Rothorith Parish | 9 | 8 |
| St Kath. near the Tower | 7 | 5 | St Mary Newington | 5 | 3 | Stepney Parish | 83 | 75 |

*Christned in the 12 out Parishes in* Middlesex *and* Surrey — 27 *Buried* — 178 *Plague* — 125

| | | | | | | | | |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| St Clement Danes | 11 | 4 | St Martin in the fields | 25 | 13 | St Margaret Westminster | 31 | 22 |
| St Paul Covent Garden | 4 | 2 | St Mary Savoy | 3 | 3 | *Whereof at the* Pesthouse | | 1 |

*Christned in the 5 Parishes in the City and Liberties of* Westminster — 19 *Buried* — 74 *Plague* — 41

# *The Diseases and Casualties this Week.*

| | |
|---|---|
| Abortive | 2 |
| Aged | 10 |
| Ague | 1 |
| Cancer | 1 |
| Childbed | 6 |
| Chrisomes | 9 |
| Cold | 1 |
| Consumption | 29 |
| Convulsion | 11 |
| Distracted | 1 |
| Dropsie | 15 |
| Feaver | 34 |
| Flox and Small-pox | 3 |
| Flux | 1 |
| French-pox | 1 |
| Grief | 2 |
| Griping in the Guts | 8 |
| Jaundies | 2 |
| Impostbume | 5 |
| Infants | 10 |
| Kingsevil | 1 |
| Overlaid | 1 |
| Plague | 333 |
| Rickets | 4 |
| Rising of the Lights | 3 |
| Scowring | 1 |
| Scurvy | 2 |
| Spotted Feaver | 5 |
| Stilborn | 5 |
| Stone | 1 |
| Stopping of the stomach | 3 |
| Strangury | 1 |
| Suddenly | 1 |
| Surfeit | 3 |
| Teeth | 16 |
| Tissick | 3 |
| Ulcer | 2 |
| Vomiting | 1 |
| VVen | 1 |
| Winde | 2 |
| Wormes | 3 |

Christned { Males — 58, Females — 54, In all — 112 }

Buried { Males — 239, Females — 305, In all — 544 } Plague — 333

Decreased in the Burials this Week — 361

Parishes clear of the Plague — 60 Parishes Infected — 70

*The Assize of Bread set forth by Order of the Lord Maior and Court of Aldermen,*

A penny Wheaten Loaf to contain Ten Ounces and a half, and three half-penny White Loaves the like weight.

| | Bur. | Plag. | | Bur. | Plag. | | Bur. | Plag. |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| St Alban Woodstreet | | | St George Botolphlane | | | St Martin Ludgate | 3 | 1 |
| Alhallows Barking | | | St Gregory by St Pauls | 1 | | St Martin Orgars | | |
| Alhallows Breadstreet | | | St Hellen | 1 | | St Martin Outwitch | | |
| Alhallows Great | 1 | | St James Dukes place | 1 | 1 | St Martin Vintrey | 2 | |
| Alhallows Honylane | | | St James Garlickhithe | 1 | | St Matthew Fridaystreet | | |
| Alhallows Lesse | 4 | | St John Baptist | 1 | 1 | St Maudlin Milkstreet | | |
| Alhallows Lumbardstreet | | | St John Evangelist | | | St Maudlin Oldfishstreet | | |
| Alhallows Stayning | 3 | | St John Zachary | 1 | | St Michael Bassishaw | 1 | |
| Alhallows the Wall | 1 | | St Katharine Coleman | | | St Michael Cornhil | 2 | 1 |
| St Alphage | 1 | | St Katharine Crechurch | 2 | 1 | St Michael Crookedlane | 1 | 1 |
| St Andrew Hubbard | 1 | | St Lawrence Jewry | 4 | 3 | St Michael Queenhithe | 1 | |
| St Andrew Undershaft | 1 | | St Lawrence Pountney | 1 | 1 | St Michael Quern | | |
| St Andrew Wardrobe | | | St Leonard Eastcheap | | | St Michael Royal | 1 | 1 |
| St Ann Aldersgate | | | St Leonard Fosterlane | 3 | 1 | St Michael Woodstreet | | |
| St Ann Blackfryers | 3 | 1 | St Magnus Parish | | | St Mildred Breadstreet | 1 | |
| St Antholins Parish | | | St Margaret Lothbury | | | St Mildred Poultrey | | |
| St Austins Parish | 1 | | St Margaret Moses | | | St Nicholas Acons | | |
| St Bartholomew Exchange | 1 | 1 | St Margaret Newfishstre. | | | St Nicholas Coleabby | | |
| St Bennet Fynck | | | St Margaret Pattons | | | St Nicholas Olaves | 1 | |
| St Bennet Gracechurch | 1 | 1 | St Mary Abchurch | 1 | | St Olave Hartstreet | 3 | 1 |
| St Bennet Paulswharf | 2 | | St Mary Aldermanbury | 1 | | St Olave Jewry | | |
| St Bennet Sherehog | | | St Mary Aldermary | 1 | 1 | St Olave Silverstreet | | |
| St Botolph Billingsgate | | | St Mary le Bow | | | St Pancras Soperlane | 1 | |
| Christ Church | | | St Mary Bothaw | | | St Peter Cheap | | |
| St Christophers | 1 | | St Mary Colechurch | | | St Peter Cornhil | 1 | |
| St Clement Eastcheap | | | St Mary Hill | 1 | 1 | St Peter Paulswharf | | |
| St Dionis Backchurch | | | St Mary Mounthaw | | | St Peter Poor | | |
| St Dunstan East | 2 | 2 | St Mary Sommerset | 3 | 2 | St Steven Colemanstreet | 1 | 1 |
| St Edmund Lumbardstr. | | | St Mary Stayning | | | St Steven Walbrook | 1 | |
| St Ethelborough | | | St Mary Woolchurch | | | St Swithin | | |
| St Faith | 2 | 1 | St Mary Woolnoth | | | St Thomas Apostles | 1 | |
| St Foster | | | St Martin Iremongerlane | | | Trinity Parish | 1 | |
| St Gabriel Fenchurch | 1 | | | | | | | |

*Christned in the 97 Parishes within the Walls* — 37 *Buried* — 71 *Plague* — 24

| | | | | | | | | |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| St Andrew Holborn | 14 | 2 | St Botolph Aldgate | 17 | 7 | Saviours Southwark | 22 | 20 |
| St Bartholomew Great | 1 | 1 | St Botolph Bishopsgate | 10 | 5 | S Sepulchres Parish | 12 | 2 |
| St Bartholomew Lesse | 1 | | St Dunstan West | 3 | 2 | St Thomas Southwark | 2 | |
| St Bridget | 6 | 1 | St George Southwark | 7 | 3 | Trinity Minories | 3 | 2 |
| Bridewel Precinct | 3 | 2 | St Giles Cripplegate | 15 | 3 | At the Pesthouse | 1 | 1 |
| St Botolph Aldersgate | 2 | | St Olave Southwark | 20 | 13 | | | |

*Christned in the 16 Parishes without the Walls* — 32 *Buried, and at the Pesthouse* — 139 *Plague* — 64

| | | | | | | | | |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| St Giles in the fields | 8 | 4 | Lambeth Parish | 12 | 8 | St Mary Islington | 2 | 1 |
| Hackney Parish | 1 | | St Leonard Shoreditch | 6 | 2 | St Mary Whitechappel | 17 | 11 |
| St James Clerkenwel | 5 | 2 | St Magdalen Bermondsey | 24 | 12 | Rothorith Parish | 4 | 2 |
| St Kath. near the Tower | 9 | 3 | St Mary Newington | 5 | 2 | Stepney Parish | 67 | 43 |

*Christned in the 12 out Parishes in* Middlesex *and* Surrey — 33 *Buried* — 160 *Plague* — 90

| | | | | | | | | |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| St Clement Danes | 4 | 1 | St Martin in the fields | 24 | 13 | St Margaret Westminster | 26 | 14 |
| St Paul Covent Garden | 4 | 4 | St Mary Savoy | | | *Whereof at the* Pesthouse | | 1 |

*Christned in the 5 Parishes in the City and Liberties of* Westminster — 21 *Buried* — 58 *Plague* — 32

# *The Diseases and Casualties this Week.*

| | |
|---|---|
| Abortive | 2 |
| Aged | 11 |
| Apoplexie | 1 |
| Cancer | 3 |
| Childbed | 8 |
| Chrisomes | 6 |
| Cold | 1 |
| Collick | 4 |
| Consumption | 61 |
| Convulsion | 12 |
| Dropsie | 18 |
| Feaver | 18 |
| Frighted | 1 |
| Gowt | 2 |
| Griping in the Guts | 4 |
| Infants | 6 |
| Palsie | 1 |
| Plague | 210 |
| Rickets | 7 |
| Rising of the Lights | 5 |
| Scowring | 2 |
| Scurvy | 2 |
| Sore throat | 1 |
| Spleen | 1 |
| Spotted Feaver | 3 |
| Stilborn | 4 |
| Stone | 3 |
| Stopping of the stomach | 2 |
| Surfeit | 1 |
| Teeth | 20 |
| Thrush | 3 |
| Tissick | 1 |
| Ulcer | 1 |
| Wormes | 3 |

| | | | | | |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| Christned | Males | 59 | Buried | Males 211 | Plague 210 |
| | Females | 64 | | Females 217 | |
| | In all | 123 | | In all 428 | |

Decreased in the Burials this Week — 116

Parishes clear of the Plague — 82 Parishes Infected — 48

*The Assize of Bread set forth by Order of the Lord Maior and Court of Aldermen;*
A penny Wheaten Loaf to contain Ten Ounces and a half, and three half-penny White Loaves the like weight.

| | Bur. | Plag. | | Bur. | Plag. | | Bur. | Plag. |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| St Alban Woodstreet | 1 | | St George Botolphlane | | | St Martin Ludgate | 2 | 2 |
| Alhallows Barking | 1 | | St Gregory by St Pauls | 1 | 1 | St Martin Orgars | | |
| Alhallows Breadstreet | | | St Hellen | | | St Martin Outwitch | | |
| Alhallows Great | | | St James Dukes place | 2 | 1 | St Martin Vintrey | 1 | |
| Alhallows Honylane | | | St James Garlickhithe | 6 | 2 | St Matthew Fridaystreet | | |
| Alhallows Lesse | | | St John Baptist | 3 | 3 | St Maudlin Milkstreet | | |
| Alhallows Lumbardstreet | 2 | 2 | St John Evangelist | | | St Maudlin Oldfishstreet | 1 | 1 |
| Alhallows Staining | | | St John Zachary | | | St Michael Bassishaw | | |
| Alhallows the Wall | 4 | 1 | St Katharine Coleman | 1 | | St Michael Cornhil | | |
| St Alphage | 1 | 1 | St Katharine Crechurch | 4 | 3 | St Michael Crookedlane | 3 | 2 |
| St Andrew Hubbard | 3 | 2 | St Lawrence Jewry | | | St Michael Queenhithe | 1 | |
| St Andrew Undershaft | | | St Lawrence Pountney | 1 | | St Michael Quern | 1 | |
| St Andrew Wardrobe | 1 | | St Leonard Eastcheap | | | St Michael Royal | | |
| St Ann Aldersgate | 2 | 1 | St Leonard Fosterlane | 1 | 1 | St Michael Woodstreet | | |
| St Ann Blackfryers | 2 | 2 | St Magnus Parish | | | St Mildred Breadstreet | | |
| St Antholins Parish | | | St Margaret Lothbury | 2 | 2 | St Mildred Poultrey | | |
| St Austins Parish | | | St Margaret Moses | | | St Nicholas Acons | | |
| St Bartholomew Exchange | | | St Margaret Newfishstreet | | | St Nicholas Coleabby | | |
| St Bennet Fynck | | | St Margaret Pattons | | | St Nicholas Olaves | | |
| St Bennet Gracechurch | 2 | 2 | St Mary Abchurch | 5 | 5 | St Olave Hartstreet | 8 | 6 |
| St Bennet Paulswharf | 2 | 1 | St Mary Aldermanbury | | | St Olave Jewry | | |
| St Bennet Sherehog | | | St Mary Aldermary | | | St Olave Silverstreet | | |
| St Botolph Billingsgate | 1 | 1 | St Mary le Bow | 1 | 1 | St Pancras Soperlane | | |
| Christs Church | 3 | 1 | St Mary Bothaw | 1 | | St Peter Cheap | | |
| St Christophers | 1 | 1 | St Mary Colechurch | | | St Peter Cornhil | 3 | |
| St Clement Eastcheap | | | St Mary Hill | 3 | 3 | St Peter Paulswharf | 2 | |
| St Dionis Backchurch | | | St Mary Mounthaw | 1 | 1 | St Peter Poor | | |
| St Dunstan East | 3 | 1 | St Mary Sommerset | 2 | 2 | St Steven Colemanstreet | 2 | 2 |
| St Edmund Lumbardstr. | | | St Mary Stayning | | | St Steven Walbrook | | |
| St Ethelborough | | | St Mary Woolchurch | 3 | 1 | St Swithin | 1 | 1 |
| St Faith | 1 | 1 | St Mary Woolnoth | | | St Thomas Apostle | 1 | |
| St Foster | | | St Martin Iremongerlane | | | Trinity Parish | 1 | |
| St Gabriel Fenchurch | | | | | | | | |

*Christned in the 97 Parishes within the Walls* — 31 *Buried* — 94 *Plague* — 57

| | | | | | | | | |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| St Andrew Holborn | 13 | 7 | St Botolph Aldgate | 18 | 16 | Saviours Southwark | 23 | 13 |
| St Bartholomew Great | | | St Botolph Bishopsgate | 13 | 3 | S. Sepulchres Parish | 8 | |
| St Bartholomew Lesse | | | St Dunstan West | 3 | 2 | St Thomas Southwark | 3 | 2 |
| St Bridget | 7 | 4 | St George Southwark | 2 | | Trinity Minories | | |
| Bridewel Precinct | | | St Giles Cripplegate | 11 | 3 | At the Pesthouse | | |
| St Botolph Aldersgate | 7 | 4 | St Olave Southwark | 24 | 16 | | | |

*Christned in the 16 Parishes without the Walls* — 51 *Buried, and at the Pesthouse* — 132 *Plague* — 70

| | | | | | | | | |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| St Giles in the fields | 11 | 5 | Lambeth Parish | 11 | 6 | St Mary Islington | 4 | 1 |
| Hackney Parish | 3 | | St Leonard Shoreditch | 8 | 2 | St Mary Whitechappel | 18 | 7 |
| St James Clerkenwel | 3 | | St Magdalen Bermondsey | 15 | 7 | Rotherith Parish | 5 | 4 |
| St Kath. near the Tower | 5 | 2 | St Mary Newington | 3 | 2 | Stepney Parish | 61 | 38 |

*Christned in the 12 out Parishes in Middlesex and Surry* — 38 *Buried* — 147 *Plague* — 74

| | | | | | | | | |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| St Clement Danes | 14 | 10 | St Martin in the fields | 24 | 15 | St Margaret Westminster | 27 | 15 |
| St Paul Covent Garden | 3 | 1 | St Mary Savoy | 1 | 1 | *Whereof at the* Pesthouse | | |

*Christned in the 5 Parishes in the City and Liberties of* Westminster — 13 *Buried* — 69 *Plague* — 42

# *The Diseases and Casualties this Week.*

| | |
|---|---|
| Aged | 9 |
| Bloody flux | 1 |
| Bruised | 1 |
| Calenture | 1 |
| Childbed | 10 |
| Chrisomes | 4 |
| Collick | 1 |
| Consumption | 35 |
| Convulsion | 17 |
| Dropsie | 14 |
| Drowned 2, one at St. Magdalen Bermonsey, and one at St. Margaret VVestminster | 2 |
| Feaver | 27 |
| Flox and Small-pox | 2 |
| Flux | 2 |
| Found dead in a Stable at St. Mary Islington | 1 |
| French-pox | 2 |
| Frighted | 2 |
| Griping in the Guts | 8 |
| Hanged himself (being distracted) at St. Peters in Cornhil | 1 |
| Jaundies | 1 |
| Imposthume | 1 |
| Infants | 7 |
| Meagrome | 1 |
| Mother | 1 |
| Plague | 243 |
| Plannet | 1 |
| Plurisie | 1 |
| Rickets | 1 |
| Rupture | 1 |
| Scurvy | 3 |
| Spotted Feaver | 5 |
| Stilborn | 4 |
| Stone | 1 |
| Stopping of the stomach | 3 |
| Surfeit | 3 |
| Teeth | 14 |
| Thrush | 1 |
| Tissick | 3 |
| Ulcer | 2 |
| Winde | 1 |
| Wormes | 4 |

| | | | | | |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| Christned | Males | 68 | Buried | Males | 220 |
| | Females | 65 | | Females | 222 |
| | In all | 133 | | In all | 442 |

Plague — 243

Increased in the Burials this Week — 14

Parishes clear of the Plague — 73 Parishes Infected — 57

*The Assize of Bread set forth by Order of the Lord Maior and Court of Aldermen,*
A penny Wheaten Loaf to contain Ten Ounces and a half, and three half-penny White Loaves the like weight.

| | Bur. | Plag. | | Bur. | Plag. | | Bur. | Plag. |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| St ALban Woodstreet | 1 | 1 | St George Botolphlane | 2 | 2 | St Martin Ludgate | 4 | 2 |
| Alhallows Barking | 2 | | St Gregory by St Pauls | 2 | | St Martin Orgars | 1 | 1 |
| Alhallows Breadstreet | | | St Hellen | 1 | | St Martin Outwitch | | |
| Alhallows Great | 2 | 2 | St James Dukes place | | | St Martin Vintrey | 2 | |
| Alhallows Honylane | | | St James Garlickhithe | 1 | 1 | St Matthew Fridaystreet | | |
| Alhallows Lesse | 2 | 2 | St John Baptist | | | St Maudlin Milkstreet | | |
| Alhallows Lumbardstreet | | | St John Evangelist | | | St Maudlin Oldfishstreet | 3 | 3 |
| Alhallows Staining | | | St John Zachary | | | St Michael Bassishaw | 1 | |
| Alhallows the Wall | 4 | 1 | St Katharine Coleman | 4 | | St Michael Cornhil | 2 | |
| St Alphage | 1 | | St Katharine Crechurch | 9 | 5 | St Michael Crookedlane | 2 | 2 |
| St Andrew Hubbard | | | St Lawrence Jewry | 1 | 1 | St Michael Queenhithe | 6 | 5 |
| St Andrew Undershaft | 4 | 2 | St Lawrence Pountney | 2 | 1 | St Michael Quern | | |
| St Andrew Wardrobe | 4 | 2 | St Leonard Eastcheap | | | St Michael Royal | 1 | 1 |
| St Ann Aldersgate | 3 | 2 | St Leonard Fosterlane | 1 | | St Michael Woodstreet | | |
| St Ann Blackfryers | 1 | 1 | St Magnus Parish | | | St Mildred Breadstreet | | |
| St Antholins Parish | | | St Margaret Lothbury | | | St Mildred Poultrey | | |
| St Austins Parish | | | St Margaret Moses | 2 | 2 | St Nicholas Acons | | |
| St Bartholomew Exchange | | | St Margaret Newfishstreet | 1 | | St Nicholas Coleabby | | |
| St Bennet Fynck | | | St Margaret Pattons | 1 | | St Nicholas Olaves | 1 | 1 |
| St Bennet Gracechurch | 2 | | St Mary Abchurch | 2 | 1 | St Olave Hartstreet | 1 | |
| St Bennet Paulswharf | 2 | | St Mary Aldermanbury | 2 | | St Olave Jewry | 1 | 1 |
| St Bennet Sherehog | 1 | 1 | St Mary Aldermary | | | St Olave Silverstreet | | |
| St Botolph Billingsgate | 2 | 1 | St Mary le Bow | 3 | 2 | St Pancras Soperlane | 1 | |
| Christs Church | 6 | 2 | St Mary Bothaw | 1 | 1 | St Peter Cheap | | |
| St Christophers | | | St Mary Colechurch | | | St Peter Cornhil | 2 | 1 |
| St Clement Eastcheap | 2 | 2 | St Mary Hill | 1 | | St Peter Paulswharf | 1 | 1 |
| St Dionis Backchurch | 1 | | St Mary Mounthaw | | | St Peter Poor | | |
| St Dunstan East | 6 | 4 | St Mary Sommerset | 3 | 1 | St Steven Colemanstreet | | |
| St Edmund Lumbardstr. | 3 | 2 | St Mary Stayning | | | St Steven Walbrook | | |
| St Ethelborough | | | St Mary Woolchurch | | | St Swithin | 1 | 1 |
| St Faith | 2 | 2 | St Mary Woolnoth | | | St Thomas Apostle | 2 | |
| St Foster | 3 | 2 | St Martin Iremongerlane | | | Trinity Parish | | |
| St Gabriel Fenchurch | 1 | 1 | | | | | | |

*Christned in the 97 Parishes within the Walls* — 39 *Buried* — 126 *Plague* — 66

| | | | | | | | | |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| St Andrew Holborn | 13 | 4 | St Botolph Aldgate | 23 | 11 | Saviours Southwark | 24 | 19 |
| St Bartholomew Great | 3 | | St Botolph Bishopsgate | 14 | 4 | S. Sepulchres Parish | 11 | 2 |
| St Bartholomew Lesse | 1 | 1 | St Dunstan West | 4 | 3 | St Thomas Southwark | 1 | |
| St Bridget | 7 | 2 | St George Southwark | 4 | 2 | Trinity Minories | | |
| Bridewel Precinct | 2 | 2 | St Giles Cripplegate | 19 | 7 | At the Pesthouse | 1 | 1 |
| St Botolph Aldersgate | 9 | 5 | St Olave Southwark | 20 | 12 | | | |

*Christned in the 16 Parishes without the Walls* — 48 *Buried, and at the Pesthouse* — 156 *Plague* — 75

| | | | | | | | | |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| St Giles in the fields | 7 | 2 | Lambeth Parish | 23 | 21 | St Mary Islington | 4 | 1 |
| Hackney Parish | 4 | 1 | St Leonard Shoreditch | 6 | 4 | St Mary Whitechappel | 16 | 7 |
| St James Clerkenwel | 6 | 1 | St Magdalen Bermondsey | 25 | 13 | Rotherith Parish | 8 | 5 |
| St Kath. near the Tower | 7 | 4 | St Mary Newington | 10 | 3 | Stepney Parish | 71 | 44 |

*Christned in the 12 out Parishes in Middlesex and Surry* — 39 *Buried* — 187 *Plague* — 106

| | | | | | | | | |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| St Clement Danes | 10 | 4 | St Martin in the fields | 12 | 6 | St Margaret Westminster | 24 | 19 |
| St Paul Covent Garden | 4 | 2 | St Mary Savoy | 6 | 3 | *Whereof at the* Pesthouse | | |

*Christned in the 5 Parishes in the City and Liberties of* Westminster — 21 *Buried* — 56 *Plague* — 34

# *The Diseases and Casualties this Week.*

| | |
|---|---|
| Abortive | 1 |
| Aged | 11 |
| Ague | 1 |
| Bruised | 1 |
| Cancer | 1 |
| Calenture | 1 |
| Childbed | 2 |
| Chrisomes | 5 |
| Collick | 2 |
| Consumption | 62 |
| Convulsion | 20 |
| Dropsie | 21 |
| Feaver | 45 |
| Flox and Small-pox | 4 |
| French-pox | 2 |
| Frighted | 1 |
| Grief | 1 |
| Griping in the Guts | 5 |
| Imposthume | 1 |
| Infants | 3 |
| Kingsevil | 1 |
| Palsie | 1 |
| Plague | 281 |
| Rickets | 1 |
| Rising of the Lights | 2 |
| Scurvy | 1 |
| Spotted Feaver | 6 |
| Stilborn | 4 |
| Stone | 1 |
| Stopping of the stomach | 2 |
| Strangury | 1 |
| Surfeit | 7 |
| Teeth | 20 |
| Timpany | 1 |
| Tissick | 4 |
| Winde | 1 |
| Wormes | 1 |

| | | | | | |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| Christned | Males | 81 | Buried | Males | 252 |
| | Females | 66 | | Females | 273 |
| | In all | 147 | | In all | 525 |

Plague 281

Increased in the Burials this Week 83

Parishes clear of the Plague 62 Parishes Infected 68

***The Assize of Bread set forth by Order of the Lord Maior and Court of Aldermen,***
A penny Wheaten Loaf to contain Ten Ounces and a half, and three half-penny White Loaves the like weight.

C R

A

| | B |
|---|---|
| Sᵗ A'bans Woodſtreet | 2 |
| Sᵗ Alhallowes Barking | 5 |
| Sᵗ Alhallowes Breadſt | 35 |
| Sᵗ Alhallowes Great— | 4 |
| Sᵗ Alhallowes Honila | 1 |

dean
lerke
because
Yrt
lording

# A generall Bill for this present year,

## ending the 19 of *December* 1665. according to the Report made to the KINGS most Excellent Majesty.

By the Company of Parish Clerks of *London*, &c.

| | Buried | Pla. | | Buried | Pla. | | Buried | Pla. | | Buried | Pla. |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| S^t A'bans Woodstreet | 200 | 121 | S^t Clements Eastcheap | 38 | 20 | S^t Margaret Moses | 38 | 25 | S^t Michael Cornhill | 104 | 52 |
| S^t Alhallowes Barking | 514 | 330 | S^t Dionis Back-church | 78 | 27 | S^t Margaret Newfishst | 114 | 66 | S^t Michael Crooked la | 179 | 133 |
| S^t Alhallowes Breadst | 35 | 16 | S^t Dunstans East | 265 | 150 | S^t Margaret Pattons | 49 | 24 | S^t Michael Queenhit | 203 | 122 |
| S^t Alhallowes Great | 455 | 420 | S^t Edmunds Lombard. | 70 | 36 | S^t Mary Abchurch | 99 | 54 | S^t Michael Que ne | 44 | 18 |
| S^t Alhallowes Honila | 10 | 5 | S^t Ethelborough | 195 | 106 | S^t Mary Aldermanbury | 181 | 109 | S^t Michael Royall | 152 | 116 |
| S^t Alhallowes Lesse | 239 | 175 | S^t Faiths | 104 | 70 | S^t Mary Aldermary | 105 | 75 | S^t Michael Woodstreet | 122 | 62 |
| S^t Alhall. Lumbardstr. | 90 | 52 | S^t Fosters | 144 | 105 | S^t Mary le Bow | 64 | 36 | S^t Mildred Breadstreet | 59 | 26 |
| S^t Alhallowes Staining | 185 | 112 | S^t Gabriel Fen-church | 69 | 39 | S^t Mary Bothaw | 55 | 30 | S^t Mildred Poultrey | 68 | 46 |
| S^t Alhallowes the Wall | 500 | 356 | S^t George Botolphlane | 41 | 27 | S^t Mary Colechurch | 17 | 6 | S^t Nicholas Acons | 46 | 28 |
| S^t Alphage | 271 | 115 | S^t Gregories by Pauls | 376 | 232 | S^t Mary Hill | 94 | 64 | S^t Nicholas Coleabby | 125 | 91 |
| S^t Andrew Hubbard | 71 | 25 | S^t Hellens | 108 | 75 | S^t Mary Mounthaw | 56 | 37 | S^t Nicholas Olaues | 90 | 62 |
| S^t Andrew Vndershaft | 274 | 189 | S^t James Dukes place | 262 | 190 | S^t Mary Summerset | 342 | 262 | S^t Olaves Hartstreet | 237 | 160 |
| S^t Andrew Wardrobe | 476 | 308 | S^t James Garlickhithe | 189 | 118 | S^t Mary Staynings | 47 | 27 | S^t Olaves Iewry | 54 | 32 |
| S^t Anne Aldersgate | 282 | 197 | S^t John Baptist | 138 | 83 | S^t Mary Woolchurch | 65 | 33 | S^t Olaves Siluerstreet | 250 | 132 |
| S^t Anne Blacke-Friers | 652 | 467 | S^t John Euangelist | 9 | | S^t Mary Woolnoth | 75 | 38 | S^t Pancras Soperlane | 20 | 15 |
| S^t Antholins Parish | 58 | 33 | S^t John Zacharie | 85 | 54 | S^t Martins Iremonger. | 21 | 11 | S^t Peters Cheape | 61 | 35 |
| S^t Austins Parish | 43 | 20 | S^t Katherine Coleman | 299 | 213 | S^t Martins Ludgate | 196 | 128 | S^t Peters Cornehill | 136 | 76 |
| S^t Barthol. Exchange | 73 | 51 | S^t Katherine Creechu. | 335 | 231 | S^t Martins Orgars | 110 | 71 | S^t Peters Pauls Wharfe | 114 | 86 |
| S^t Bennet Fynch | 47 | 22 | S^t Lawrence Iewry | 94 | 48 | S^t Martins Outwitch | 60 | 34 | S^t Peters Poore | 79 | 47 |
| S^t Benn. Grace-church | 57 | 41 | S^t Lawrence Pountney | 214 | 140 | S^t Martins Vintrey | 417 | 349 | S^t Stevens Colmanstr | 560 | 391 |
| S^t Bennet Pauls Wharf | 355 | 172 | S^t Leonard Eastcheap | 42 | 27 | S^t Matthew Fridaystr. | 24 | 6 | S^t Stevens Walbrooke | 34 | 17 |
| S^t Bennet Sherehog | 11 | 1 | S^t Leonard Fosterlane | 335 | 255 | S^t Maudlins Milkstreet | 44 | 22 | S^t Swithins | 93 | 56 |
| S^t Botolph Billingsgate | 83 | 50 | S^t Magnus Parish | 103 | 60 | S^t Maudlins Oldfishst. | 176 | 121 | S^t Thomas Apostle | 163 | 110 |
| Christs Church | 653 | 467 | S^t Margaret Lothbury | 100 | 66 | S^t Michael Bassishaw | 253 | 164 | Trinitie Parish | 115 | 79 |
| S^t Clariſtophers | 60 | 47 | | | | | | | | | |

*Buried in the 97 Parishes within the walls,* —— 15207 *Whereof, of the Plague* —— 9887

| | | | | | | | | | | | |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| S^t Andrew Holborne | 3958 | 3103 | Bridewell Precinct | 230 | 179 | S^t Dunstans West | 958 | 665 | S^t Saviours Southwark | 3335 | 2446 |
| S^t Bartholmew Great | 493 | 344 | S^t Botolph Aldersga. | 997 | 755 | S^t George Southwark | 1613 | 1260 | S^t Sepulchres Parish | 4509 | 2746 |
| S^t Bartholmew Lesse | 193 | 139 | S^t Botolph Algate | 4926 | 4051 | S^t Giles Cripplegate | 8069 | 4838 | S^t Thomas Southwark | 475 | 371 |
| S^t Bridget | 2111 | 1427 | S^t Botolph Bishopsg | 3454 | 2500 | S^t Olaves Southwark | 4793 | 2785 | Trinity Minories | 168 | 123 |
| | | | | | | | | | At the Pesthouse | 159 | 156 |

*Buried in the 16 Parishes without the walls* —— 41351 *Whereof, of the Plague* —— 28888

| | | | | | | | | | | | |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| S^t Giles in the Fields | 4457 | 3216 | S^t Katherines Tower | 956 | 601 | S^t Magdalen Bermon | 1943 | 1363 | S^t Mary Whitechappel | 4766 | 3855 |
| Hackney Parish | 232 | 132 | Lambeth Parish | 798 | 537 | S^t Mary Newington | 1272 | 1004 | Redriffe Parish | 304 | 210 |
| S^t James Clarkenwell | 1863 | 1377 | S^t Leonard Shordich | 2669 | 1949 | S^t Mary Islington | 696 | 593 | Stepney Parish | 8598 | 5583 |

*Buried in the 12 out-Parishes, in Middlesex and Surrey* — 28554 *Whereof, of the Plague* — 21420

| | | | | | |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| S^t Clement Danes | 1969 | 1319 | S^t Mary Savoy | 303 | 198 |
| S^t Paul Covent Garden | 408 | 261 | S^t Margaret Westminst. | 4710 | 3742 |
| S^t Martins in the Fields | 4804 | 2883 | *hereof at the Pesthouse* | | 156 |

*Buried in the 5 Parishes in the City and Liberties of* Westminster — 12194
*Whereof, of the Plague* — 8403

*The Total of all the Christnings* —— 9967
*The Total of all the Burials this year* — 97306
*Whereof, of the Plague* —— 68596

### *The Diseases and Casualties this year.*

| | | | | | |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| Abortive and Stilborne | 617 | Executed | 21 | Palsie | 30 |
| Aged | 1545 | Flox and Small Pox | 655 | Plague | 68596 |
| Ague and Feaver | 5257 | Found dead in streets, fields, &c. | 20 | Plannet | 6 |
| Appoplex and Suddenly | 116 | French Pox | 86 | Plurisie | 15 |
| Bedrid | 10 | Frighted | 23 | Poysoned | 1 |
| Blasted | 5 | Gout and Sciatica | 27 | Quinsie | 35 |
| Bleeding | 16 | Grief | 46 | Rickets | 557 |
| Bloody Flux, Scowring & Flux | 185 | Griping in the Guts | 1288 | Rising of the Lights | 397 |
| Burnt and Scalded | 8 | Hangd & made away themselves | 7 | Rupture | 34 |
| Calenture | 3 | Headmouldshot & Mouldfallen | 14 | Scurvy | 105 |
| Cancer, Gangrene and Fistula | 56 | Jaundies | 110 | Shingles and Swine pox | 2 |
| Canker, and Thrush | 111 | Impostume | 227 | Sores, Ulcers, broken and bruised Limbs | 82 |
| Childbed | 625 | Kild by severall accidents | 46 | Spleen | 14 |
| Chrisomes and Infants | 1258 | Kings Evill | 86 | Spotted Feaver and Purples | 1929 |
| Cold and Cough | 68 | Leprosie | 2 | Stopping of the stomack | 332 |
| Collick and Winde | 134 | Lethargy | 14 | Stone and Strangury | 98 |
| Consumption and Tissick | 4808 | Livergrown | 20 | Surfet | 1251 |
| Convulsion and Mother | 2036 | Meagrom and Headach | 12 | Teeth and Worms | 2614 |
| Distracted | 5 | Measles | 7 | Vomiting | 51 |
| Dropsie and Timpany | 1478 | Murthered and Shot | 9 | VVenn | 1 |
| Drowned | 50 | Overlaid & Starved | 45 | | |

| | | | | | |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| Christned: Males | 5114 | Buried: Males | 48569 | Of the Plague | 68596 |
| Christned: Females | 4853 | Buried: Females | 48737 | | |
| Christned: In all | 9967 | Buried: In all | 97306 | | |

Increased in the Burials in the 130 Parishes and at the Pest-house this year —— 79009
Increased of the Plague in the 130 Parishes and at the Pest-house this year —— 68590

A Bortive --
Aged ——
Ague ——
Bruised ——
Cancer ——
Calenture. ——
Childbed ——
Chrisomes ——
Collick ——
Consumption -
Convulsion ——
Dropsie - ——
Feaver ——
Flox and Small-
French-pox ——

Christned { Ma
Fe
In

Increa
Parishes cl

*The Assize of Br*
A penny W


A Ge

B

Accor

By the

dean
er he
e cause
nt)
lordship

# A General Bill of all the *Christnings* and *Burials*, from the 19 of *December*, 1665. to the 18 of *December*, 1666.

According to the Report made to the *KINGS* Most Excellent MAJESTY:

*By the Company of Parish-Clerks of* London, *&c.*

| | Buri. | Plag. | | Buri. | Plag. | | Buri. | Plag. | | Buri. | Plag. |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| St ALban Woodstreet | 17 | 2 | St Clement Eastcheap | 12 | 5 | St Margaret Moses | 7 | | St Michael Cornhill | 24 | 3 |
| Alhallowes Barki | 95 | 9 | St Dionis Backchurch | 15 | 4 | St Margaret Newfishst. | 16 | 2 | St Michael Crookedla. | 23 | 7 |
| Alhallows Breadstreet | 7 | | St Dunstans East | 65 | 17 | St Margaret Pattens | 19 | 3 | St Michael Queenhithe | 30 | 6 |
| Alhallows Great | 40 | 8 | St Edmund Lombardst. | 13 | 7 | St Mary Abchurch | 18 | 2 | St Michael Quern | 12 | |
| Alhallows Honilane | 4 | | St Ethelborough | 16 | 2 | St Mary Aldermanbury | 23 | 1 | St Michael Royall | 11 | |
| Alhallows Less | 23 | 9 | St Faiths | 20 | 1 | St Mary Aldermary | 11 | 3 | St Michael Woodstreet | 18 | |
| Alhallows Lombardstr. | 8 | 1 | St Fosters | 7 | 1 | St Mary le Bow | 17 | 1 | St Mildred Breadstreet | 10 | 1 |
| Alhallows Staining | 34 | 8 | St Gabriel Fenchurch | 6 | 1 | St Mary Bothaw | 9 | 2 | St Mildred Poultrey | 15 | 2 |
| Alhallows the Wall | 72 | 10 | St George Botolphlane | 3 | | St Mary Colechurch | 2 | | St Nicholas Acons | 4 | 1 |
| St Alphage | 27 | 3 | St Gregories by St Paul | 30 | 1 | St Mary Hill | 17 | 5 | St Nicholas Coleabby | 10 | |
| St Andrew Hubbard | 21 | 4 | St Hellen | 28 | | St Mary Mounthaw | 8 | 4 | St Nicholas Olaves | 5 | 1 |
| St Andrew Undershaft | 30 | 2 | St James Dukes place | 40 | 9 | St Mary Summerset | 19 | 2 | St Olave Hart-street | 36 | 4 |
| St Andrew Wardrobe | 35 | 4 | St James Garlicknithe | 23 | 5 | St Mary Stainings | 3 | | St Olave Jewry | 6 | 1 |
| St Anne Aldersgate | 34 | 5 | St John Baptist | 13 | 2 | St Mary Woolchurch | 13 | | St Olave Silverstreet | 16 | 1 |
| St Ann Blackfryers | 56 | 17 | St John Evangelist | 4 | | St Mary Woolnoth | 14 | 1 | St Pancras Soperlane | 6 | |
| St Antholins Parish | 11 | 3 | St John Zachary | 11 | | St Martins Iremongerl. | 6 | 1 | St Peter Cheap | 10 | |
| St Austins Parish | 11 | 3 | St Katherine Coleman | 46 | 7 | St Martins Ludgate | 23 | | St Peter Corn-hill | 24 | 4 |
| St Bartbol. Exchange | 14 | 1 | St Katherine Creechur | 69 | 10 | St Martins Orgars | 19 | 4 | St Peter Paulswharf | 11 | 1 |
| St Bennet Fynk | 11 | 3 | St Lawrence Jewry | 14 | | St Martins Outwitch | 9 | | St Peter Poor | 28 | 6 |
| St Bennet Gracechurch | 8 | | St Lawrence Pountney | 14 | 8 | St Martins Vintrey | 27 | 3 | St Steven Colemanstr. | 59 | 16 |
| St Bennet Paulswharfe | 25 | 2 | St Leonard Eastcheap | 8 | | St Matthew Frydaystr. | 9 | | St Steven VValbrook | 11 | |
| St Bennet Sherehog | 4 | | St Leonard Fosterlane | 25 | 1 | St Maudlins Milkstreet | 5 | | St Swithin | 16 | 1 |
| St Botolph Billingsgate | 16 | 5 | St Magnus Parish | 18 | | St Maudlins Oldfishstr. | 20 | 2 | St Thomas Apostle | 11 | 3 |
| Christs Church | 74 | 7 | St Margaret Lothbury | 16 | 3 | St Michael Bassishaw | 26 | 1 | Trinity Parish | 16 | 1 |

*Christned in the 97 Parishes within the Wals of* London (*from the 19 of* December 1665. *to the 28 of* August 1666.) 1165. *Buried* 1796. *Plague* 284.
*Since which time the late dreadful Fire, hath consumed and laid waste 81 Parishes, so there hath been Christned in the 16 Parishes now standing (from the 28 of* August, 1666. *to the 18 of* December *following)* 151. *Buried* 181. *Plague* 4. *Christned in all* 1316. *Buried* 1977. *Plague* 288

| | | | | | | | | | | | |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| St Andrew Holborn | 490 | 48 | St Botolph Aldersgate | 136 | 11 | St George Southwark | 169 | 16 | St Sepulchres Parish | 430 | 24 |
| St Bartholomew Great | 81 | 16 | St Botolph Aldgate | 592 | 105 | St Giles Cripplegate | 776 | 47 | St Thomas Southwark | 41 | 4 |
| St Bartholomew Less | 19 | | St Botolph Bishopsgate | 270 | 16 | St Olave Southwark | 538 | 53 | Trinity Minories | 23 | 4 |
| St Bridget | 194 | 12 | St Dunstan West | 156 | 15 | St Saviour Southwark | 577 | 165 | At the Pesthouse | 41 | 37 |
| Bridewell Precinct | 10 | 1 | | | | | | | | | |

*Christned in the 16 Parishes without the Walls (from the 19 of* December, 1665. *to the 28 of* August, 1666.) 1871. *Buried* 3001. *Plague* 464.
*Since which time also hath been consumed two Parishes, so there hath been Christned in the 14 Parishes now standing (from the 28 of* August, 1666. *to the 18 of* December *following)* 1558. *Buried* 1501. *Plague* 73. *Christned in all* 3429. *Buried, and at the* Pesthouse 4543. *Plague* 574.

| | | | | | | | | | | | |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| St Giles in the Fields | 484 | 39 | St Kath. near the Tower | 202 | 21 | St Magdalen Bermond. | 450 | 165 | St Mary Whitechappel | 521 | 72 |
| Hackney Parish | 103 | 15 | Lambeth Parish | 372 | 205 | St Mary Newington | 135 | 12 | Redriffe Parish | 153 | 67 |
| St James Clerkenwell | 209 | 12 | St Leonard Shoreditch | 283 | 15 | St Mary Islington | 100 | 2 | Stepney Parish | 1453 | 315 |

*Christned in the 11 Out-Parishes, in* Middlesex *and* Surrey 2786. *Buried* 4465. *Plague* 939.

| | | | | | | | | |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| St Clement Danes | 320 | 46 | St Martin in the Fields | 731 | 61 | St Margaret Westminster | 541 | 78 |
| St Paul Covent Garden | 89 | 6 | St Mary Savoy | 72 | 6 | *Whereof at the* Pesthouse | | 9 |

*Christened in the 5 Parishes in the City and Liberties of* Westminster 1466. *Buried* 1753. *Plague* 197.

## *The Diseases and Casualties this Year.*

| | | | | | |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| ABortive and Stilborn | 477 | Flox and Smal-pox | 38 | Palsie | 31 |
| Aged and Bedridden | 611 | Found dead in streets, fields, &c. | 10 | Plague | 1998 |
| Ague and Feaver | 741 | French-pox | 49 | Plurisie | 15 |
| Apoplexie and Suddenly | 57 | Frighted | 16 | Poysoned | 1 |
| Bleeding | 1 | Gout and Sciatica | 14 | Quinsie | 20 |
| Bloudy-flux, Scowring and Flux | 82 | Grief | 11 | Rickets | 171 |
| Burnt and Scalded | 11 | Griping in the Guts | 676 | Rising of the Lights | 173 |
| Calenture | 2 | Hang'd & made away themselves | 9 | Rupture | 34 |
| Cancer, Gangrene and Fistula | 48 | Headmouldshot | 1 | Scurvie | 25 |
| Canker and Thrush | 103 | Jaundies | 90 | Sores, Ulcers, broken and bruised Limbs | 4 |
| Childbed | 253 | Imposthume | 72 | Spleen | 5 |
| Chrisomes and Infants | 749 | Kild by several accidents | 43 | Spotted Feaver and Purples | 141 |
| Cold and Cough | 32 | Kings-Evil | 26 | Stopping of the Stomach | 107 |
| Collick and Winde | 40 | Leprosie and Itch | 2 | Strangury | 3 |
| Consumption and Tissick | 2592 | Lethargie | 7 | Surfeit | 345 |
| Convulsion | 825 | Livergrown | 5 | Swine-pox | 3 |
| Cut of the Stone and Stone | 67 | Lunatick and Frenzie | 3 | Teeth and Wormes | 715 |
| Distracted | 1 | Meagrom | 1 | Vomiting | 18 |
| Dropsie and Timpany | 983 | Measles | 3 | Wenn | 1 |
| Drowned | 68 | Murthered and Shot | 4 | Wounded at Sea | 23 |
| Executed | 10 | Overlaid and Starved | 32 | | |

| | | | | | |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| CHRISTNED | Males | 4678 | BURIED | Males | 6487 |
| | Females | 4319 | | Females | 6251 |
| | In all | 8997 | | In all | 12738 |

PLAGUE 1998

Decreased in the Burials this year — 84568

Decreased in the Plague this year — 66598

A Bortive -
Aged —
Ague —
Bruised —
Cancer —
Calenture. —
Childbed —
Chrisomes —
Collick —
Consumption -
Convulsion —
Dropsie - —
Feaver —
Flox and Small
French-pox —

Christned { Ma
Fe
In

Increa
Parishes cl

*The Assize of Br*
A penny W

Doct Crofts (formerly dean of ye Kings chapple & clerke of ye closet but put out because he denyed ye K ye sacrement) now Bishop of Heleford is ye supoſed Author.

CROFT, Herbert, bp. of Hereford

# THE Naked Truth.

## OR, THE TRUE STATE OF THE Primitive Church.

BY AN

## Humble Moderator

Zach. 8. 19. *Love the Truth and Peace.*
Gal. 4. 16. *Am I therefore become your Enemy, becaufe I tell you the truth?*

Printed in the Year, 1675.

THE

# Naked Truth.

OR, THE

# TRUE STATE

OF THE

# Primitive Church.

---

BY AN

# Humble Moderator

---

Zech. 8. 19. Love the Truth and Peace.

Gal. 4. 16. Am I therefore become your Enemy, because I tell you the truth?



---

Printed in the Year, 1675.

# *An Humble Petition to the Right Honourable*

## *The Lords and Commons Assembled in Parliament.*

MY *Lords and noble Gentlemen*, You have fully expressed your Zeal to God and his Church in making Laws for Unity in Faith, and Uniformity in Discipline: for, as our Saviour said, *A Kingdom divided against it self cannot stand*; so the same may certainly be said of a Church, the reason being the same for both: And I call the Searcher of all hearts, the God of life and death, to witness, that I would most readily, yea most joyfully sacrifice all I have in this world, my life and all, that all *Non-Conformists* were reduced to our Church. But it falls out most sadly that your Laws have not the desired effect, our Church is more and more divided; such is the perverse nature of man, *Niti in Vetitum*, obstinately to oppose Authority, especially when they can pretend the colour of Religion and Conscience; this carries so great an applause among the Vulgar (still envious at Superiors) that it is, as it were, Nuts to an Ape, sweeter to them than any other thing this world affords: for the enjoyment of this they will endure any thing, imprisonment, loss of goods, yea sometime of life also. And this is it which mainly nourishes our Divisions, gives great advantage to the growth of Popery, and threatens the total ruine of our Church. Many who were formerly very zealous for our Church, seeing these our sad divisions, and not seeing those of the Roman-Church, nor their gross Superstitions (which their Priests conceal till they have got men fast) are easily seduced by their pretended Unity, and daily fall from us. This makes my heart to bleed, and my soul with anguish ready to expire, rather than live to see that dismal day of relapse into their manifold Idolatries. Wherefore I humbled my Soul before God in fasting and prayer, begging dayly the assistance of his holy Spirit, to direct me to some healing Salve for these our bleeding Wounds: and therefore I have some reason to believe, that what is contained in these following Papers, comes from the great goodness of God, who never fails those who seek him in humility and sincerity both, which I am confident I have done; and this I am sure of, that no Worldly designs have moved me to this, but have often

tempted me to give it over; I am alſo ſure, that there is nothing contained therein, which is contrary to the known Laws of the Land: in this only I confeſs I have tranſgreſſed, in putting it forth without licence; and for this I beg of God and you, as *Naaman* did of *Eliſha*, *In this thing the Lord and you pardon your Servant*; and I hope you will ſay unto me as *Eliſha* did unto *Naaman*, *Go in peace*; and I farther hope this ſhall not caſt ſuch a prejudice upon it, as to make you caſt it by, or read it with diſguſt. I do not expect you ſhould approve any thing upon the account of my ſeeking God in this, but upon my Reaſons alledged; nor do I expect that upon my Reaſons you ſhould approve all: yet I beſeech you ſeriouſly conſider all, and God of his infinite goodneſs direct you to that which may make for the Unity of our Church, by yielding to weak ones (if not wilful Ones alſo) as far as your Reaſon and Conſcience will permit: ſure you cannot ſo loath all condeſcention, as not to loath more, and deteſt Papal confuſion, which certainly comes on apace by our diviſion; and of two evils, both Reaſon and Religion require us to chuſe the leſs; now doubtleſs you cannot think condeſcention (if evil at all, ſure not) ſo evil as Papal Idolatry, and that Papiſtry is Idolatry, is ſo clearly proved by our Learned Dr. *Stillingfleet*, as it were loſt labour to ſay more of it. Condeſcention may ſeem in ſome reſpects imprudent, but whether in this conjuncture of affairs imprudent, I beſeech you again conſider well. The Wiſeſt men have changed their Counſels and Reſolves upon ſecond thoughts, much more upon experience, and approaching evils not at firſt diſcovered. It is a common thing with Princes when they find their main enemies power encreaſe much, to make peace with leſſer enemies, on conditions never before to be endured; Self-preſervation being the prime principle in all Creatures rational and irrational, ſpringing from Nature it ſelf, it ſhould in nature and reaſon over-ballance any other conſideration; and whatever is done to this end, if not ſinfully done, muſt needs be wiſely done. I moſt humbly beſeech the All-wiſe God, and ſole giver of wiſdom, to pour down his Holy and Wiſe Spirit upon you. *Amen.*

To

# To the READER.

CHristian Reader, *so I term you, hoping you have in some measure the Spirit of Christ, and desire it more, the spirit of meekness, humility, charity, not to censure my errors, and enveigh against them, but to pity and endeavour to rectifie them, if you find any; and I assure you in the word of a Christian, I shall be far more ready to recant, than to vent an error: If you be not thus Christianly disposed, I earnestly beseech you read no further, for I am sure you will be displeas'd with it: and can you think it wisdom to run your self into displeasure? enjoy your present quiet, and let me rest. But if you be so Christianly disposed as I mentioned, then I as earnestly beg of you to proceed, to discover my errors and amend them. But perchance you will ask who I am, why did I not tell you, by putting my name to this Pamphlet? I will ingenuously confess the cause. I am a weak man of great Passions, not able to bear Commendations or Reproach; my small ability puts me out of danger of the first, but in great fear of the later. Why then was I so forward to publish my weakness? to have it cured; yet truly I have not been very forward, for it is now above two years since I had these thoughts, in which time I have read and conferred all I could to discover if I were in an error, but for all I yet could meet with, do not find it so, but hope all I say is truth and that it may be useful to the Publique, in this present conjuncture of affairs. Therefore I proceed, and in the next place most humbly beseech all that read this, to lay a side all bias of interest or education, both are very great, I am sure I found it so very long before I could master them, and that of education most difficult; were it not so, there could not be that difference of opinion in Christian Religion, all allowing the Bible for the Rule of Faith, the Papists themselves do not reject it, but add to it the authority of the Church. I verily believe there are thousands of* Papists, Lutherans, Calvinists, *both Learned and Religious, who would lay down their lives for the truth they profess, and yet are divided in opinion meerly by education, having in their youth so imprinted their own opinions in their mind, as you may sooner separate their body than their opinion from their Soul. Nay, I have heard that among the* Turks *there are many wise and moderate persons that are as zealous to maintain their ridiculous* Alcaron *as we our* Bible; *which cannot proceed from any thing but the strong bias of education, which so wheels about and intoxicates their brain. And to say somewhat more particular of our own Nation here, Those that have been educated in that way as to sit at the Communion, and baptize their Children without the Cross, had rather omit these Sacraments than use kneeling or the Cross; and those that have been educated in kneeling and crossing, though they acknowledg they are meer Ceremonies indifferent, yet had rather omit the Sacraments, than omit the Ceremonies, just as if a man had rather starve than eat bread baked in a Pan, because he hath used bread baked in an Oven. So that Religion in many is really but their humor, fancy passeth for reason, and custome*

*cuſtome is more prevalent than any argument. This is the thing which makes me fear I ſhall meet with very few that will calmly and indifferently conſider what I write, but will preſently ſtartle at it as new and croſs to their Genius, or to their intereſt, or their reputation, which they value above all, I mean the eſteem and kindneſs of their beſt friends and acquaintance, whoſe taunts and reproach they cannot bear; but I humbly beſeech them to pauſe a while, and lay it by till the paſſion be over, 'till they have maſtered all theſe difficulties. I beſeech them to ſet before their eyes the beauty, the honour, the ſtedfaſtneſs of Truth, the comfort, the delight, the everlaſting felicity of a clear and rectified Conſcience; then reſume it and conſider again. But they cry Piſh, 'tis not worth it, 'tis a ridiculous toy, and ſavours ſomething of the Sectarian: I grant there are ſome things among the Sectarians I approve of, I will not reject and condemn any truth uttered, or any good action performed though ſaid and done by the Devil. I conſider the things, and if good, embrace them, whoever utters them, though I deteſt his errors in other things; You will ſay the ſame; then I beſeech you do the ſame; conſider what I ſay ſimply in it ſelf, whether the Papiſts or Anabaptiſts ſay the ſame, it matters not; I hope you will not reject Chriſt becauſe they both profeſs him. But if after all your ſerious patient, unbiaſt conſideration, you find it an erroneous contemptible Pamphlet, yet contemn not the perſon that wrote it in the ſincerity of his heart, leſt you receive the ſame meaſure again from Chriſt, who hath aſſured us, that ſhall be his rule, to meet unto us the like. Chriſt died for the ſalvation of my poor ſoul as well as yours, contemn it not therefore, but endeavour to rectifie it; if God hath given you more knowledg and wiſdome than me,* be not high-minded but fear, and let him that ſtands take heed leſt he fall. *Thus I pray for you, do you the like for me, and however we differ in Opinion, let us accord in Charity, and in Chriſt Jeſus the Redeemer of us all.* Amen.

*Concerning*

# *Concerning Articles of Faith.*

THat which we commonly call the Apoſtles Creed, if it were not Compoſed by them, yet certainly by Primitive and Apoſtolick Men, and propoſed as the Summe of Chriſtian Faith, the Summe total neceſſary to Salvation; It can't be ſuppoſed they left out any thing which they thought neceſſary to Salvation, they might as well have omtted half or all: as one Commandment broken is the ſame in effect with all, ſo one neceſſary Principle of Faith denyed, Cancels all, and ſhuts out from Heaven. When I ſpeak of believing the Apoſtles Creed, I do not mean, that we believe all there contained with a Divine Faith becauſe it is there contained, for we have no aſſurance that the Apoſtles Compoſed that Creed; but we are ſure all that is in that Creed is evident in Scripture to any common underſtanding; therefore we believe all with a Divine Faith. But I mention this Creed onely, to ſhew that the Primitive Church received this as the ſum total of Faith neceſſary to Salvation; why not now? Is the ſtate of Salvation altered? If it be compleat, what needs any other Article? You would have men improve in Faith, ſo would I, but rather *intenſivè* than *extenſivè*, to confirm it rather than enlarge it: One ſound grain of Muſtard-ſeed is better than a buſhel of unſound chaffie ſtuff. 'Tis good to know all Goſpel-Truths, and to believe them, no doubt of that; but the Queſtion is not what is good, but what is neceſſary. I pray remember the Treaſurer to *Candace*, Queen of *Ethiopia*, whom *Philip* Inſtructed in the Faith; his time of Catechiſing was very ſhort, and ſoon proceeded to Baptiſm. But *Philip* firſt required a Confeſſion of his Faith, and the Eunuch made it, and I beſeech you Obſerve it; *I believe that Jeſus Chriſt is the Son of God*: and ſtraitway he was Baptized. How? no more than this? No more; this little grain of Faith being ſound, believed with all his heart, purchaſed the Kingdom of Heaven: Had he believed the whole Goſpel with half his heart, it had been of leſs value in the ſight of God; 'tis not the Quantity, but the Quality of our Faith God requireth. But ſure the Eunuch was more fully Inſtructed; it may be you are ſure of it, but I could never yet meet with any aſſurance of it, nor any great probability of it; I am ſure he ſaw *Philip* no more, and I am ſure *Philip* required no more, but

baptized him on this, and had the Eunuch departed this Life in the ſame inſtant that *Philip* parted from him, I believe I have better aſſurance that this faith would have ſaved the Eunuch, than any Man hath that he ever was taught more: See 1 *John* 4.2. *Every ſpirit that confeſſeth that Jeſus Chriſt is come in the Fleſh, is of God*: but the more the better ſtill I grant, though no more neceſſary. Haſt thou more Faith, have it to thy ſelf before God, *happy is he who condemneth not himſelf in the thing which he alloweth*; happy is he who is thankful to God for having received much, and deſpiſeth not him that hath received little: God diſpenſeth his gifts and graces according to his free Will and Pleaſure, nor doth he require more of any Man than according to the proportion he hath given, no more ſhould we.

Nothing hath cauſed more miſchief in the Church than the eſtabliſhing new and many Articles of Faith, and requiring all to aſſent unto them. I am willing to believe that zealous men endeavoured this with pious intentions to promote that which they conceived Truth; but by impoſing it on the diſſenters, cauſed furious Warrs, and lamentable Blood-ſhed among Chriſtians, Brother Fighting againſt Brother, and Murthering each other. Can there be any thing more irrational than to endeavour to promote the truth of the Goſpel contrary to the Laws of the Goſpel? to break an evident Commandment to eſtabliſh a doubtful Truth? I ſay, doubtful to him on whom it is impoſed, though ſeeming clear to him that impoſes it. If it were fully expreſs'd in Scripture-words, there would need no new Expreſſion, no new Article; if it be not fully expreſt in Scripture, but deduc'd from Scripture-Expreſſions, then what one Man thinks clearly deduc'd, another may think not ſo; I mean, not another ignorant and weak, but as learned, and as able. What more common than in Divinity and Philoſophy Shools? One cryes, this is a clear Demonſtration; another cryes, no ſuch matter, but flatly denies it. Mens underſtandings are as various as their Speech or their Countenance, otherwiſe it were impoſſible there ſhould be ſo many underſtanding and moderate, yea, and conſcientious Men alſo, *Papiſts*, *Lutherans*, *Calviniſts*, all in ſuch Oppoſition one againſt another, all believing Scripture, yet ſo differing in the deductions from Scripture. Truly I think him very defective in Charity, however he abound in Faith, who thinks all *Papiſts*, or *Lutherans*, or *Calviniſts* malitiouſly or wilfully blind.

As for my part, I think nothing can be more clearly deduc'd from Scripture, nothing more fully expreſs'd in Scripture, nothing more ſuitable to Natural Reaſon, than that no Man ſhould be forc'd to believe, for no Man can be forc'd to believe; you may force a Man to ſay this or that, but not to believe it. Firſt, as to Reaſon: If you bring a Man an evident Demonſtration, and he hath a Brain to underſtand your Demonſtration, he can't but aſſent to it. If you hold a clear Printed Book with a clear Candle to a Man of clear Eyes and able to Read, he will certainly Read; but if the Print be not clear, or the Candle or his Sight not clear, or he not Learned to Read, can your force make him read?

read? And just so it is with our understanding, which is the eye of our Soul, and a demonstration being as a Candle to give Light; if then your demonstration or deduction, or his understanding be not clear, or he not learned, you may with a club dash out his brains, but never clear them. He then that believes the Scripture, can't but believe what you cleerly demonstrate from Scripture, if he hath clear brains; if he hath not, your force may puzle and pudle his brains more by the passion of anger and hatred, make him abhor you and your arguments, but never lovingly embrace you or them: and thus you may hazard his Soul by hatred, and your own Soul also by provoking him to it, but never save his Soul by a true belief. But perchance you will conclude, he doth not believe the Scripture, because he doth not believe your arguments from Scripture; (a strange conclusion) but what then? would you, can you force him to believe the Scripture? can you drive faith like a nail into his head or heart with a hammer? nay, 'tis not in a mans own power to make himself believe any thing farther then his reason shews him, much less divine things; this is the peculiar work of Grace; and if Faith be the gift of God, your Argument cannot give it, nor your Hammer force it; Arguments may be good Inducements, and if right, will prevail with those to believe whom God hath ordained to Eternal Life, but no other; Preaching the Word is the means God himself hath appointed, but as for force, I can't find in the Gospel either commandment or countenance given for it. If the Scripture command to speak the truth in love, to instruct our Brother in the spirit of meekness, if we are to pray and beseech him to receive the grace of God, can any thing be more contrary to Scripture Rule, than force and violence? to what purpose then is force, since it cannot make him believe the Gospel? and if he doth believe the Gospel, he will, I am sure, he cannot chuse but believe what you clearly shew him is contained there (supposing his brain to be clear); and I am also sure, if he believe what is clearly contained, he need not believe any thing else. The Scripture is our Rule of Faith compleat and full, the Scripture it self tells us so, *John* 20. 31. *These things are writen that you might believe, and believing ye might have life*; and our Saviour tells us, *That in them we have Eternal Life*, *John* 5. 39, and the 2d. *Tim.* 3. 15. *St. Paul* tells us, *The Scriptures are able to make us wise unto salvation through faith which is in Christ Jesus*; *all Scripture is given by inspiration of God, and is profitable for doctrine, for reproof, for correction, for Instruction in righteousness, that the man of God may be perfect, throughly furnished nnto all good works*. And I beseech all men further to consider what is said, *Deut.* 12. 32. *Thou shalt not add thereto nor diminish from it*; and likewise how they will avoid the Curse in the last of the *Revelations*, if they add to the words there written; and surely 'tis the same Crime to add to any other Book of Scripture. If it be answered, They do not require us to believe it to be Scripture. I reply, They require men to believe it as Scripture, with Divine Faith, which is as bad, they make their own words equal with Gods word; or if they say, they require not Divine Faith, then I am sure it is no matter of Salvation whether I believe

it or no, humane Faith cannot ſave. Thus you ſee how impertinent, how irrational, how impious it is, to require a man to believe any thing more than is clearly contained in Scripture; and if it be clearly contained there, he that believes Scripture and ſees it clearly contained there, can't but believe it; if he do not ſee it clearly contained there, you can't force either his ſight or his Faith. Your force may make him blinder, but never ſee clearer; may make him an Hypocrite, no true Convert.

Again, I deſire all men ſoberly to conſider. Are not the prime and moſt neceſſary Principles of Faith, the Trinity, three Perſons and one God, the Incarnation of Jeſus Chriſt, the ſame perſon to be God and Man, the Reſurrection of the Dead, that we ſhall riſe with the ſame Body, when one body may be eaten and converted into ſeveral bodies, and ſuch like: Are they not things far above the higheſt reaſon and ſharpeſt underſtanding that ever had Man; yet we believe them, becauſe God (who cannot lye) hath declared them: is it not then a ſtrange thing for any man to take upon him to declare one tittle more of them then God hath declared, ſeeing we underſtand not what is declared; I mean we have no comprehenſive knowledge of the matter declared, but only a believing knowledge, our Faith not our Reaſon reaches it: the Apoſtles by the Scriptures teach us this, not the Schooles by Syllogiſmes. If then our Reaſon underſtands not what is declared, How can we by Reaſon make any deduction by way of Argument from that which we underſtand not? As for Example. Some hold, That the Holy Ghoſt proceeds from the Father and the Son; ſome, that he proceeds from the Father by the Son. I pray, Doth any man underſtand how the Holy Ghoſt proceeds from the Father, from the Son, or by the Son? no certainly, how then can he affirm or believe a tittle more of the Holy Ghoſt than the Holy Ghoſt hath declared? Seeing, as I ſaid, He underſtands not at all what is declared. Diſcourſe muſt be of things intelligible, though Faith believes things not intelligible. Can any man prove, that rotation and circulation are all one, who underſtands not what rotation or circulation is? the like may be ſaid of proceſſion or miſſion of the Holy Ghoſt. The Scripture plainly tells, That the Holy Ghoſt proceeds from the Father, and that he is ſent by the Father, that he is ſent alſo by the Son but whether he proceeds from the Son or by the Son, the Scripture is ſilent, and I am therefore ignorant, having no knowledge at all of any Divine Myſteries but from the Scriptures. I grant, That by rational deductions and humane way of argumenting, 'tis probable, that the Holy Ghoſt proceeds from the Son as from the Father; but if in Divine matters we once give way to humane deductions, a cunning Sophiſter may ſoon lead a weak Diſputant into many Errours. By humane deductions you may infer, that the Son is inferiour to the Father as begotten by him, the Holy Ghoſt inferiour to both, being ſent by both; with us the leſs is ſent by the greater; by humane deduction from three diſtinct perſons you may prove three diſtinct ſubſtances; I hope you will make no ſuch inferences in the Divine Perſons. Again, What a buſineſs have the School-Men made about theſe words of our Saviour; *This is My Body:* with

their

their *prædicatum*, and *subjectum*, and *copula*, and *individuum vagum*, in the pronoun *This*. Innumerable are their intricate Impertinencies in this matter, and in their conclusions; The Papists hold Christ to be present in the Sacrament *Transubstantialiter*; the *Lutherans*, *Consubstantialiter*; the *Calvinists*, *Sacramentaliter*; and yet all confess they understand none of these wayes; as St. *Paul* saith, *Desiring to be Teachers they understand not what they say, neither whereof they affirm*, 1 Tim. 1. 7. Had the Scripture affirmed any of these wayes, we ought to have submitted our Reason in things above Reason though we understand them not, and 'tis reasonable so to do; but to go about to prove by reason what is above reason, is wonderful; and to discourse of what we understand not, is doubtless a spice of madness, and the conclusions we draw from such discourses, must needs be very dangerous, we following the *ignem fatuum*, the uncertain light of Humane reason in Divine matters, so totally beyond our reach: Wherefore we have no other safe way to speak of Divine matters but in Scripture Language, *ipsissimis verbis*, with the very same words, according to that, 2 Tim. 1. 13. *Hold fast the form of sound words which thou hast heard of me in Faith*: Mark, *Hold fast* not onely the matter of Faith, but *the form of sound words*, these are safe, humane words in divine and high Mysteries are dangerous; Man can no more set them forth in humane words, than express the Divine substance by humane painting, 'tis the sole work of the Holy Ghost who is also Divine.

There hath not been a greater plague to Christian Religion than School-Divinity, where men take upon them the liberty to propose new Questions, make nice distinctions and rash conclusions of Divine matters, tossing them up and down with their Tongues like Tennis Balls; and from hence proceed all the dangerous Heresies, and cruel bickerings about them, falling from words to blows. The first Divinity School we read of, was set up at *Alexandria* by *Pantænus*, and from thence soon after sprang forth that damnable Heresie of the *Arrians*, which over-ran all Christendom, and was the cause of destruction to many Millions of Christians both Body and Soul. The Heresies before this were so gross and sensual, that none took them up but dissolute or frantick people, and soon vanish't; but after this School subtile way of arguing was brought into Christianity, Heresie grew more refined, and so subtile, that the plain and Pious Fathers of the Church knew not how to lay hold of it and repress it, the School distinctions and evasions quite baffled them: and these Sophisters, proud of their conquest, triumphed and carried away a specious appearance of Truth as well as Learning, (or rather cunning) insomuch that many godly persons were also deluded and fell in unto them, and many of their Heresies continue unto this day. This great bane of the Church took it's rise from hence; Many of the Primitive Doctors and Fathers being converted from Heathenisme, and having by long and great Industry acquired much knowledge in natural Philosophy, Antiquity, History, and subtill Logick or Sophistry, were very unwilling to abandon quite these their long studied and

dearly

dearly beloved Sciences, (falſly ſo called) and therefore tranſlated them into Chriſtianity, applying their School terms, diſtinctions, Syllogiſmes, &c. to Divine matters; intending perchance, through indiſcreet zeal, to illuſtrate and imbelliſh Chriſtian knowledge with ſuch artificial forms and figures, but rather defaced and ſpoyled it; which the wiſdome of St. *Paul* well foreſaw, and therefore forewarned us of it; *Col.* 2. 8. *Beware leſt any man ſpoyl you through Philoſophy and vain deceit, after the tradition of men, after the Rudiments of the World, and not after Chriſt.* I humbly conceive it had been far better for them, and all Chriſtendome, had they determined with St. *Paul, To know nothing but Chriſt and him Crucified*; and not to intermingle mans Wiſdome and excellency of ſpeech with Divine Knowledge and Scripture Doctrine, which is to be taught *by the demonſtration of the Spirit and of power*, as is ſet forth 1 *Cor.* 2. not with Logical Syllogiſms and Sophiſtical Enthymems; for as the wiſdome of God was fooliſhneſs to the *Greeks* and Gentiles, ſo the wiſdome of the Greeks and Gentiles was fooliſhneſs to God, and deſtruction to his Church; who by the fooliſhneſs of preaching had overcome all their wiſdome, and captivated their underſtandings in obedience to the Faith. But when the Chriſtian Doctors left this plain and ſimple way of preaching, and fell to cunning diſputing, introducing new forms of ſpeech and nice expreſſions of their own coyning, ſome approving, ſome oppoſing them, great Diſcords, Warrs and Confuſions ſoon followed. Had that moſt Prudent and moſt Pious *Conſtantine* the firſt and beſt of Chriſtian Emperours, had he purſued his own intentions to ſuppreſs all diſputes and all new queſtions of God the Son, both *Homooufian* and *Homoiouſion*, and commanded all to acquieſce in the very Scripture expreſſions without any addition, I am confident the *Arrian* Hereſie had ſoon expired; but by continual diſputation the heat of Paſſion was raiſed, and the matter purſued with far more violence, which at length grew into rancour and malice irreconcileable: For ſome Godly Biſhops (I humbly conceive more zealous than diſcreet) would not reſt ſatisfied unleſs the *Arrians* were forced either to ſubſcribe to the new word *Homooufian*, or to quit their Livings; and this cauſed that great Perſecution againſt the Orthodox, where the *Arrians* prevailed; whereas by ſilence impoſed on all parties, the malice, rancour, perſecution, warr, all had been prevented, and *the Truth ſpoken in love*, would at length moſt probably have prevailed: For, was not the Goſpel at firſt planted this way? preaching, and praying men to receive it? by this way of weakneſs it prevailed; for *the weak things of God are ſtronger than men.* But when men will be wiſer than God, and in their fooliſh wiſdome think it fit to adde their ſtrength to Gods weakneſs, as a ſpeedier and ſurer way to eſtabliſh the Truth, God to convince them of their folly, ſuffers that ſtrong man the Enemy of the Goſpel (whom none but his Almighty Arm can bind and maſter) to come and ſowe his tares of diviſion which ſoon over-runs the good ſeed of the Church, and brings all to confuſion.

But

But what then? would I have all heretical Opinions broach'd and ſpread abroad without any controul? Are not Princes and Magiſtrates to be Nurſing Fathers unto the Church? muſt they not adde the Power of the Sword to that of the Word? *Not bold the Sword in vain, but for the puniſhment of evil Doers*, &c? All this I grant, and deſire as much as any man, that both Prince and Paſtor would hold faſt *the Faith once delivered to the Saints*, fully declared and contained in Scripture; let them ſuffer no new Doctrine to be ſet on foot, certainly ſuperfluous, (the Scripture being alſufficient) and probably dangerous, as being of Man, and not of God, who having given us a compleat Rule of Faith and Life, by his Prophets, Apoſtles, and his only Son, we have no reaſon to believe any New Doctrine proceeds from him; therefore St. *Paul* is very bold, and cryeth out, *If an Angel from Heaven Preach unto you any other Goſpel than is already preached, let him be accurſed.* The Magiſtrate then is to countenance and protect the Paſtor preaching the Goſpel of Chriſt, to ſilence, oppoſe, puniſh all that preach any thing contrary, or not clearly contained in the Goſpel. Hereſies never at firſt appear in their own natural ſhape, but diſguiſed with ſpecious pretences drawn from ſome obſcure places of Scripture, capable of various Interpretations, and thus having gotten footing, by degrees they lay aſide their Diſguiſes, and march on bare-fac'd. Therefore both Paſtor and Magiſtrate ought to be very watchfull, and oppoſe all beginnings ever ſo ſpecious, as dangerous, or at leaſt ſuperfluous, as I ſaid. Let the Paſtors at firſt endeavour by plain and ſound Doctrine to ſtop the mouths of Gainſayers; but if theſe turbulent ſpirits will not be ſtop't, neither by Admonitions nor Entreaties, then let the Paſtors proceed to the Power of the Keyes; which, were it uſed with that Gravity and Severity as it was in the Primitive times, would have great effect; that is, were it uſed in a ſolemn Aſſembly, by the Reverend Biſhop and his Clergy, (not by Lay-Chancellours and their Surrogates) and the perſon Excommunicated and ſhut out of the Church, were likewiſe excluded from all Converſation and Commerce, every one ſhunning his company as a perſon infected with the Plague, (ſo it was of Old, and ſo it ought to be now, and ſo it would be now, if men made any Conſcience of their wayes) this I am confident would reduce many a one: But if after this any perſevere in their perverſneſs, then the Magiſtrate may doubtleſs by his Power, uſed with Chriſtian moderation, endeavour to ſtop the ſpreading of the Contagion, and do what in wiſdom he thinks meet to preſerve the purity and peace of Church and State, urging againſt them that Scripture, *Haſt thou Faith, have it to thy ſelf before God, Rom.* 14. 22. Or that, *Give none offence neither to the Jew nor to the Gentile, dor to the Church of God*, 1 *Cor.* 10. 32. Or that, *Gal.* 5. 12. *I would they were even cut off that trouble you.* *St. Paul* was not here in jeaſt, but in great earneſt, as appears by his continued fervency all along this Epiſtle; and doubtleſs he means not here a cutting off from the Church by way of Excommunication, for that was in his power to do; why then ſhould he wiſh it? nay, they had cut themſelves off from the Church before; certainly then he means a cutting off by the Civil

Power,

Power, which then was Heathen, and therefore St. *Paul* would not have it made use of by Christians; for he would not allow them to appeal to unbelieving Magistrates, no not in Civil things, 1 *Cor.* 6. much less in Spiritual things. Wherefore when St. *Paul* wishes they were cut off, he wishes there were a fitting Power, that is, a Christian Magistrate to punish or banish those that trouble the Church of Christ with Doctrines apparently contrary to the clear Text, and such as are destructive to Christianity; I dare go no farther. But as for those who keep their erroneous Opinions to themselves, who neither publish nor practise any thing to the disturbance of the Church or State, but onely refuse to conform to the Churches established Doctrine or Discipline, pardon me if I say, that really I cannot find any warrant, or so much as any hint from the Gospel, to use any Force to compell them; and from Reason sure there is no Motive to use Force; because, (as I shewed before) Force can't make a man believe your Doctrine, but onely as an Hypocrite, Profess what he believes not.

I know full well there is a common Objection against this, taken from St. *Austin*, who was long of my Opinion, but seems to be altered on this occasion. Some Hereticks *Donatists*, came to him in his latter dayes, and gave thanks, that the Civil Power was made use of to restrain them; confessing, that was the Means which brought them to consider more calmly their own former extravagant Opinions, and so brought them home to the true Church. This Objection is easily answered. First, the *Donatists* are well known to have been a Sect, not onely erroneous in Judgment, but very turbulent in Behaviour, alwayes in seditious practices; and in that case I shew'd before how the Civil Magistrate may proceed to Punishment; but our case is not in repressing seditious Practices, but Enforceing a Confession of Faith, quite of another nature. Then secondly, to answer more particularly this story, I suppose there is no man such a stranger to the world, as to be ignorant that there are Hypocrites in it; and such (for ought we know) these seeming converted *Donatists* might be, who for love of this World more than for love of the Truth, forsook their heretical Profession, though not their Opinion; who, conscious to themselves of their own dissimulation, and desirous to get favour with St. *Austin*, a Person of great Veneration and Authority with all, related unto him this specious Story, which St. *Austin*'s great Charity was apt to believe, as St. *Paul* saith, *believeth all things*; and from hence concludeth, that it might be lawfull to use the Power of the Civil Sword to reduce Hereticks to the Church. But unless it can be evidenced that these *Donatists* Hearts were changed as well as their Profession, (a thing impossible to prove) all this proves nothing. Thirdly, Put the Case their Hearts were really changed as to matter of Belief, 'tis evident their Hearts were very worldly still, groveling on the Earth, not one step nearer Heaven; our Saviour saith, *An evil Tree can't bring forth good Fruit*, and sure their Heart was evil, which was far more moved for the quiet enjoyment of this Worlds good, than for the blessed enjoyment of Christ. Fourthly, Though we farther grant, that the pruning of the Magistrates Sword did

really

really correct the vitiousness of the Tree, and made it bring forth some good Fruit, yet shall *we do evil, that good may come of it? God forbid*, saith St. *Paul*. Put the case *Malchus* had been converted by St. *Peters* cutting off his Ear, this would not have excused St. *Peters* act, which our Saviour so sharply reproved and threatned with perishing by the Sword, and gave him the reason why he ought not to use the Sword in his cause; *Thinkest thou that I cannot pray unto my Father, and he will presently give me more than twelve legions of Angels?* Canst thou do any thing more prejudicial to the honour of my God-head, than to think I want the help of Man to defend me? And according to this may our Saviour say; Thinkest thou that I cannot pray unto my Father, and he shall give me more than twelve millions of Souls to worship my Name? or canst thou do any thing to eclipse more the power and glory of the Gospel, which I have ordained to be set up by weakness and foolishness of Preaching, and thereby to subdue both the wisdom of the *Greeks*, and the power of the *Gentiles*: As I my self have conquered all Enemies by preaching and suffering, so must my Disciples tread in my steps. And just so we find that the Gospel was most miraculously advanced over all the World by preaching and suffering for it, not by compelling others to it. 'Tis evident that upon preaching of the Gospel, as many as were ordained to God by Eternal Life, believed: and surely those who are not ordained by God to Eternal Life, can never be brought thither by the ordinance or power of Man: wherefore when the Ministers have preached and prayed, they have performed all they can do, the rest must be left to the Justice or Mercy of God, *who hath mercy on whom he will have mercy, and whom he will he hardeneth*; so, that the sharpest Sword in this world shall enter their hard heart more than an *Adamant*.

All this I say in reference to compelling Men to believe or conform, still reserving to the Magistrate power, according to Scripture, *To punish evil doers*, not evil believers, not who think, but) do publish or do practice something to subvert the Fundamentals of Religion, or disturb the Peace of the State, or injure their Neighbour. God, the only searcher of hearts, reserves unto himself the punishment of evil thoughts, of evil belief, which Man can never have a right cognizance of, for the greatest Professor may be the greatest *Atheist*. But the Magistrate shall conceive he hath sufficient warrant to punish also evil believers, and shall proceed to execution, or on that pretence shall punish true believers; the Scripture is most clear, that the Subject is bound to submit and bear it with all Christian patience, to the loss of Goods, Liberty, or Life, not only patiently to bear it, but rejoyce in it; and I am sure if he hath any true Religion, and right understanding in him, he will rejoyce on his own behalf, because his *reward is exceeding great*: Therefore whoever under pretence of Religion raises any Tumult, or takes up Armes against the Magistrate

to preſerve himſelf from perſecution, abſolutely declares himſelf, either a ſtark Fool, or a ſtark *Atheiſt*; either he believes there is no ſuch reward, or is mad to reject the opportunity of gaining it; and ſo at the beſt is fit for *Bedlam*, at the worſt for the *Gallowes*; now let him chooſe.

## *An Appendix to the former Subject.*

BEfore I leave this matter of impoſing new Articles of Faith, I deſire to ſpeak a word or two concerning the authority of Councels and Fathers in relation to it.

When the Superſtitions and the Abuſes of the *Popiſh* Church, eſpecially in the matter of *Indulgences* grew ſo very groſs, as not longer to be endured, *Luther*, *Melanchon*, *Oecolompadius*, *Bucer*, & divers others oppoſed them; and coming to diſpute with their Adverſaries about theſe things, the *Popiſh* Doctors having no Scripture for their Errors, quoted ſeveral Fathers and Councils, to give countenance unto them. The *Evangelical Doctors* (ſo called, becauſe they chiefly urged *Evangelium* the *Goſpel* for the defence of their Doctrine) were moſt of them bred up from their Infancy in the *Popiſh* Church, and therein taught even to adore all Councils and Fathers, and (education being of great force to command and awe both the Wills and Judgments of Men) made them very ſhie and timorous to reject that authority, which they had long reverenced; in modeſty therefore ſome of the *Evangelical Doctors* were content to admit the authority of Fathers and Councils for three or four of the firſt Centuries, ſome admitted five or ſix, whereby they were reduced ſometimes to great ſtreights in their Diſputations: for though neither all nor half the *Popiſh* Errors can be found in the Councils and Fathers of theſe Centuries, yet ſome of them were crept very early into the Church. This Superſtition of the *Croſs* and *Chryſme* were in uſe in the ſecond Century: The *Milenary* Error got footing about that time; the neceſſity of Infants receiving the Bleſſed Sacrament of the Lords Supper came in ſoon after: About the fourth Century there was ſome touches in Oratory Sermons by way of Rhetorical Ejaculations like praying to Saints, but long after came to be formally uſed as now in Churches; and ſo Superſtitions came in ſome at one time, and ſome at another. The *Papiſts* themſelves do not receive all theſe Errors, but reject ſome, as that of the *Millenaries*, and the neceſſity of Infants receiving the Lords Supper. Now I ask firſt the *Papiſts* by what rule they retain ſome of theſe things, and reject others? Secondly, I ask the *Evangelical*, by what rule they ſubmit to the authority of ſome Centuries, and refuſe others? Both will anſwer me, Becauſe they believe ſome to be erroneus ſome to be Orthodox. Whereby 'tis evident that neither ſubmit to the Fathers authority, as comanding their Judgments, but receive their Opinions as agreeing with their Judgments, this is evidently true and clearly rational, and fully agrees with the Rules

given

given by some of the Fathers, as St. *Cyprian* and St. *Austin*, two as generally and as deservedly reverenced as any in the Christian Church. St. *Cyprian* tells us, that the very *Præpositus* (which we call *Bishop*) is to be guided by his own reason and conscience, and is responsible only to God for his Doctrine. St. *Austin* tells us, that he submits to no Doctor of the Church ever so learned, ever so holy, any further than he proves his doctrine by Scripture or reason, and desires none should do otherwise by him; this is plain and rational dealing; had the Evangelical Doctors taken this course in the beginning, they had saved themselves from many intricate troubles which their in-bred over-revence to antiquity entangled them in: But sure they needed not have been so scrupulous in this matter, seeing there is scarce any one Father whose authority the Papists themselves do not in some particular or other reject, though other whiles when he speaks for them, they try it up to that height, as if it were even a matter of damnation not to submit unto it. I say not this as if I would have antiquity wholly rejected, by no means, but to consult the Fathers with great regard as Expositors of Scriptures, and attentively observe what they shew us from thence. I am not of those who admire the great knowledge in divine matters revealed in this later Age of the world, I do not think there are any now so likely to discover the truth of Gospel mysteries as those of antient dayes. As for that saying, A Pigme set on a Giants shoulder, may see more than the Giant: pardon me if I call it a shallow and silly fancy, nothing to our purpose; for our question is not of seeing more, but of the clear discerning and judging those things we all see, but are in doubt what they mean: if a Pigme and a Giant see a Beast at a miles distance, and are in dispute whether it be a Horse or an Oxe, the Pigme set on the Giant shoulder, is never the nearer discerning what it is, which depends on the sharpness of sight, not the height of his shoulders: Now that the antient and holy Fathers of the Church were more spiritual, and consequently sharper sighted in spiritual things than we carnal creatures of this later age, is evident by their Spiritual holy Lives: *The natural Man receiveth not the things of the Spirit of God, neither can he know them because they are spiritually discerned*, 1 *Cor.* 2.14. And how natural, how carnal, how purblind we are, is too too visible. Besides, a purblind man near the object, will discern it better than a much sharper sight at greater distance as we are: For if you ask those lofty conceited Pigmes, why they give more credit to the Fathers of the second and third Century, than to those of the sixth or seventh; they answer, Because those that lived nearer the dayes of *Christ* and his *Apostles*, are likelyer to know their minds better than those of remoter and corrupted Ages; the reason is good, but mightily confounds those who live at the very foot of the Hill in the valley of darkness and all Iniquity, and therefore not so likely to discern the truth of the doctrine of *Christ*, preach't on the top of Mount *Sion*, as those who lived in higher ascents. Wherefore I shall alwayes hearken with due reverence unto what those Primitive Holy Fathers deliver, and the more holy and

more ancient, doubtless more to be regarded. And yet seeing that *Irenæus*, and before him *Papias*, held to be a Disciple of St. *John* the *Apostle*, taught the error of the *Millenaries*, rejected now by all the Church, why might not others do so as well as they? and therefore there can be no certainty of their Doctrine farther than they shew us clearly from Scripture, which ought to be our only Rule of Faith, as I shewed before. But in any point of Religion, either of Faith or Discipline, if after diligent and humble search of Scripture, the matter be doubtful, then certainly I would so much reverence antiquity as to embrace what I found approved of by the greater number of antient Fathers; and what I found generally approved by them, though my own judgement did much incline to the contrary, yet I would receive it, unless it appeared to me flatly opposite to Scripture, which we believe to be the Word of God; then it were damnation in me to forsake that, and hearken to the words of Fathers on earth, or Angels coming from Heaven, till they could make me understand their word agreed with Gods Word. I must be saved by Faith in God and *Christ*, and not by faith in Men or Angels. And now I shall be bold to make this assertion; That the Man who reads Scripture humbly and attentively, fasts and prayes to God earnestly, consults his Pastors and Teachers carefully and modestly, and yet after all continues in some error by blind ignorance and mistake of Scripture (if such a thing was, or ever will be suffered by the infinite goodness of God) that Man shall sooner be saved, than he who receives a true opinion from the authority of Men, which he soberly conceives to be contrary to Scripture; for 'tis all one to him, as if it were really so; all things are unclean to him that believes them unclean, so all things are damnable to him that believes them damnable, as he must do who believes them flatly contrary to Scripture. Let no man count me a libertine in faith, because I would neither compel, nor be compelled to submit to the Doctrines of Men. I trust in God, no Man shall out-go me in zealous *contending for the Faith once delivered to the Saints*, once for all, never to receive any new Doctrine, any other Gospel than that preached by *Christ* and his *Apostles*, herein I am no Libertine; by God's gracious assistance, neither Men nor Angels shall make me recede from one tittle of this, nor to embrace with divine faith one tittle more than this, for doubtless it is far greater Idolatry to believe in Man, than to sacrifice to Man, more to give him my heart, than my hand. And yet notwithstanding all this, no Man is forwarder than my self to receive from others humane doctrines as humane; that is, I believe it is not only possible but probable also, that another may have more natural understanding, more acquired learning than my self, and so may find out that in Scripture, or from Scripture, or by reason, which I cannot do my self, but yet I can have no possible assurance that the Doctrine he delivers to me is absolutely true, because I have assurance that 'tis possible for him to erre, and then I can have no assurance but that he may erre in that very Doctrine he

he now delivers me: There is no man I ever heard or read of, to whom I could more readily submit than to St. *Austin*, a person of wonderful sharpness in understanding, and yet of great modesty; no way affecting to take new Opinions, much less to impose them on others. Now I pray consider, how can we have assurance of any Doctrine he delivers more than another, I mean assurance from his own authority or reason (what he delivers from Scripture authority is another matter;) we believe St. *Austin* erred in some things whereof he was most confident; he believed it absolutely necessary for Children to receive the Sacrament of the Lords Supper, as I say'd; he believed it a direct heresie to hold there were any *Antipodes*: *Lactantius* another great Wit and great Scholar, believed the like, with divers others. Who then can doubt but that they might be mistaken in other things also. Wherefore let God be true, and all men lyars, in this sense, to deliver lyes materially; that is, falsities for truths.

What I have said of Fathers, must certainly hold good of Councels also, though ever so general, ever so Primitive; for this and that Father may, and have erred; surely then that and that may also erre: I can have no assurance in Men, nor can I be saved by faith in Men. The general Objection made against this, is, The promise which *Christ* made unto his Church, *That the gates of Hell should not prevail against it, and that he would be with the Apostles unto the Worlds end.* As for that other saying of our Saviour, *He that will not hear the Church, let him be to thee as an Heathen and a Publican*, I can't but wonder that Men of any brains or modesty should so grosly abuse this saying; spoken of several differences between Man and Man, to be referred to the termination of the Church, that is, the Congregation of the Faithful, which they usually and by order should assemble in; and refer this to the Church in general matters of Faith, not in the least pointed at there. Wherefore I pass this over as very impertinent, and proceed to answer the former Objection of more weight, yet no way concluding as they would have it; No Man in the Christian World can more firmly believe than I do, That the gates of Hell shall not prevail against it, and that *Christ* will be with his Church unto the end of the World; but I do not believe, nor am I bound by Scripture to believe such Expositions as the *Popish* Church makes of this place. By what authority doth the *Romish* Church challenge to themselves to be Expositors of Scriptures more than other Churches? I find nothing for it in Scripture, which is my Rule of Faith. I proceed then to the business of general Councels. Whether they may erre in some points of Faith; and why not? All the Evangelical Doctors grant the later general Councels have erred; if so, why not the former? what promise had the former from *Christ* more than the later? what period is there set in Scripture for their not erring, or what promise is there at all for any not to erre? *The gates of Hell shall*

*not*

*not prevail against the Church*, I grant, what's this to a General Council? not the thousand part of the Clergy, not the thousand thousand part of the Church, which in Scripture is alwayes put for the whole Body of the Faithful, though of late it be translated into quite another notion, and taken for the Clergy only. But you will say a General Councel is the representative of the whole Church: what then? what promise is made in Scripture that the representative shall not erre? You further urge, If the representative erre, 'tis probable the whole Church will receive their errour. I answer, We are now treating of matter of Faith, which must not depend on humane probabilities, but Divine certainties; besides, 'tis not so probable the Church will receive the error of the representative. We know the whole Church hath not received a Truth determined by them, much less an errour. And I pray, have not Councels been against Councels? Put then the case, a General Councel should erre in some matters, you can't therefore say the whole Church hath erred, the gates of Hell have prevailed against the Church. I pray consider, can you truly say, the *Great Turk* hath prevailed against the Christian Army, because he hath kill'd the thousand part of it? and yet the greatest General Councel holds a less proportion to the whole Church. But I will grant yet more: Put the case the whole Church should deviate into some erroneous Superstitions, had the Devil therefore prevailed against it? Can I say I have prevailed against another Man because I gave him some slight hurt in his Leg or Thigh? as long as his Head, his Heart, his Arm are whole, he still is able to fight and wound me as bad or worse; till the Devil can so wound the whole body of the Church as to destroy the Vitals, the Fundamentals, and make it no Church, the gates of Hell can't be said to have prevailed against it. Now God be blessed there have continued all along several Churches as great or greater than the *Roman* Church, which have still maintained in defiance of Satan, *One God the Father of whom are all things, and one Lord Jesus Christ, by whom are all things*, and several other sound Doctrines of Christianity; how then hath Satan prevailed, when so many millions have waged war against him, and upheld the Kingdom of God and his *Christ?* The Scripture plainly tells us, that in the dayes of *Anti-Christ*'s great power, the Church shall be driven into the wilderness, scarce visible in the world; neither *Pope*, nor Devil hath yet so prevailed, but as then *Christ* shall have, so *Christ* hath still had a Church warring against Satan. Sure no learned *Papist* will deny, but that about the second Century, the *Milleuaries* were far the greater part of the Church, scarce any writing Doctor in those dayes but had this error. Did Satan then prevail? And in St. *Austin*'s dayes the necessity of Infants receiving the Lords Supper was so general, and held so necessary a Principle, that it was made use of to prove the necessity of Infant Baptism, this Sacrament being to precede the other: in those dayes a Lanthorn would have been necessary to find

out

out a Church without this error. Did Satan then prevail? But say you, No General Councel determined those errors; why? because none was called about them; had any been called, who can doubt but that they would have avowed that in the Councel, which they all taught in their Churches: No, the Spirit of God would have preserved them from it: Shew me that promise in Scripture; if Gods Spirit did not preserve them from teaching the whole Church so, I fear the Spirit would not have preserved them more in Council than in Congregation, where all sucking in this error from their Infancy, would hardly have quitted it by a determination in Council. I humbly crave pardon for this bold presumption, being lead into it by the bold assertion of the *Papists*, telling us without warrant how God will preserve their Councils from error, as if they had been of his Privy Council. We are not to search into Gods secret Counsels for what he will permit, or why he permits this or that. I search only into his declared Promises, and with all the search I can possiby make, I can't find any such promise to General Councils as not to erre; no, only that the gates of Hell shall not prevail against his Church to destroy it, which he hath hitherto made good, and I am sure will to the end of the World; but beyond his promise I am not sure of any thing, though it seems ever so rational. God will not endure to be fettered with Sophistical Sophisms, and humane consequences; and therefore I am afraid to wander from his wise and holy Word, and trust to the Doctrine of Men seeming ever so wise, ever so holy; I reverence their Persons, but can't believe in their Doctrine. I am taught to believe only in God, not in the Church, much less in any member or Congregation or Council; but to believe the Holy Catholick Church, that is, that God hath had, now hath, and will have to the Worlds end, a select company of Faithful ones, confessing and serving him; To whom be honour and glory for ever. *Amen.*

---

## *Concerning Ceremonies and Church Service.*

FIrst as to Ceremonies. I wonder Men of any tolerable discretion should be so eager either for or against them, our salvation no way depending on them but much hazarded by our contention about them, breaking *Peace*, the principal thing recommended to us by the Gospel of Peace; sure both are very sinful. For my part, I think all Subjects are bound in conscience to conform to the established Ceremonies of that Church, whereof they are Members, unless there be any thing flatly against the Word of God: for to disobey our Superiours is directly against the Word of God: 1. *Pet.* 2. 13. *Submit your selves to every Ordinance of Man for the Lords sake.* And therefore he

he that doth not submit, had need have as clear an evidence out of Scripture, that the thing he rejects is directly contrary to the Word of God, otherwise he breaks an evident Commandment to satisfy himself in a doubtful thing, which without doubt is damnable. St. *Paul* requires one Brother to yield unto another in things indifferent, much more Children to Parents, Subjects to Governours. But no man that knows this World can expect all Children, all Subjects, will be dutiful and obedient; and therefore as Children are to obey their Parents, so Parents ought not to provoke their Children to disobedience, by imposing unnecessary things and very offensive: Yet if they do impose such things, the Children are bound to obey, unless the things imposed be offensive to God also, then they are acquitted, not otherwise. But still Parents must remember they are to give accompt to God for their commands, as Children are for their obedience: And setting this aside, Nature alone should prompt Parents to seek the love of their Children, especially spiritual Parents, styl'd the *Ministers of God, who is love:* Should not they desire rather to lead the people into the House of God by love, than whip them in by fear, to have their Churches full rather than empty; to put on such a habit as would invite them in, and not such as will fright them out. What wise and loving Father would put on a windling sheet on his head, to fright his weak and simple Child: I say this to the chief Rulers of the Church, not to inferior Ministers, who must observe the Constitutions of the Chief, and the Chief ought to consider the disposition of inferiours, what will be most edifying for them. As the Apostles in the beginning of *Christianity* continued the observing not eating of blood, and things strangled, to comply with the *Jews*: so the Surplice with other things was wisely and piously retained by the reformers from *Popery*, when probably many long nourished up in those *Ceremonies*, would not have come in to the Church, had all these been cast out; but now to be zealous, for them when the People are so passionate against them, savours more of passion likewise in Governours than Religion; as if they had rather shew their Authority than their Charity. If they answer, That many of their Flock are as zealous for these things, as others against them, and they had rather gratifie the Obedient Conformers, than the disobedient Gain-sayers: I reply; First, This is no Obedience to conform to such Ordinances of their Superiours as they have a passion for; the Superiours in this conform rather to them, than they to their Superiours: Try their Obedience if they will submit to the taking of these things away, and then you may have more reason to gratify them; yet you know you are rather to bear with the infirmities of the weak, than please the strong. Love your friends most, value the Obedient most; but love your Enemies also, endeavour to gain the disobedient also: The first are your dutiful Sons, abide alwaies with you, all that you have is theirs; but yet when the *Prodigal* the stray returns, rejoyce and kill the fatted Calf; yea, if he will not return, leave the

ninety

ninety and nine, and go seek that one that is lost. But you have no hopes of gaining him, you believe 'tis not Conscience but Faction, and wilful perversenes keeps him off; Oh do not despair, believe better of him; *Charity hopeth all things, believeth all things.* But you know it is so with him; then pity him the more going headlong into Hell, yield the more to save his Soul from Hell, *overcome evil with good*, fetter him, bind him fast with chains of love, what is stronger then love? it will overcome Schism, Faction, Sedition, any thing; it will overcome God himself, and even force God to withhold him by his merciful and powerful hand; and thus converting this perverse *sinner from the error of his way, you will save his soul alive and cover the multitude of your sins*; a blessed and joyful work whereat the Angels of Heaven will rejoyce and sing *Alleluja, Amen.* Oh my Fathers! my Fathers! that should Preach and Practice the Gospel of Peace and Love to your Children, vouchsafe at my humble request to read *Rom.* 14. See what great liberty that great Grand-father of the Church allows his Children, and observe in the general how he became all things to all men to gain some; and will not you in some things comply to gain all? will you restrain the liberty of the Gospel to the rigidity of your Discipline to lose some, to lose many, and perchance in the end to loose all, you selves and all. Be pious, be charitable, be prudent, build your Church on a Rock that will endure stormes, and not on the sand of Ceremonies that will both raise stormes and probably overturn your Church e're long. But you will say, If you yield to some dissenters in this, you must as well yield to others in that, and so by degrees abolish all your Ceremonies: I beseech you, is not the body more then rayment, substance more then Ceremony, will not you quit the later to preserve the former? but you will preserve both, God grant you lose not both. But you will say, This is the way to lose both; first take away Ceremonies, thereby you displease and loose your Friends, and then lye exposed to your Enemies to spoil your Goods. If your Goods be the substance of your Religion, and you preserve your Ceremonies to preserve these, then really my fear of your loosing all is encreas'd; this is a very sandy and dirty foundation, can't hold out against stormes; but if Faith, Hope and Charity be the substance of your Religion, (as I hope it is) these stood firm and encreased in the primitive times, in the greatest stormes, when the whole world of Jews and Gentiles were enemies to the Church, and not one of your Ceremonies in the Church to preserve it: the simple naked Truth without any Surplice to cover it, without any Ecclesiastical Policy to maintain it, overcame all, and so would do now, did we trust to that and the Defender of it. Perchance I appear a great Enemy to the Surplice so often naming that, I confess I am, would you know why? not that I dislike, but in my own Judgment much approve a pure White Robe on the Ministers shoulders, to put him in mind what purity becomes a Minister of the Gospel. But such dirty nasty Surplices as most of them wear, and

especially the singers in Cathedrals (where they should be most decent) is rather an intimation of their durty lives, and have given my Stomack such a surfet of them, as I have almost an aversness to all: and I am confident had not this decent habit been so undecently abused, it had never been so generally loathed.

I will name another Ceremony which gives great offence, with greater reason, The bowing towards the Altar, which in my own judgment I allow and practice in some measure, when I come into such congregations as generally use it, avoiding still to give offence to any as far as I may with a safe conscience. I affirm 'tis a very fitting thing to shew reverence in the House of God, and to shew it by bowing as well as any other means, and to bow that way as well as any other way, and in bowing, if the congregation did it to the South or West, I should as readily conform to that. But you will say the primitive Christians, as we read, did generally bow towards the East (the primitive Christians did so I grant, but not the prime Primitive) what then? is this any obligation on us now? the Primitive did also use Chrysme or consecrated Oyl, yet we retain it not; it grew into an abuse, therefore left off, so hath this bowing towards the Altar by the Papists, supposing Christ corporally present there: and truly many of our Church-men, give great suspition to the people that they also believe some such thing, otherwise pray answer me; when a Minister at his entring into the Church hath bowed to shew his reverence in the House of God and when he ascends up to the Altar bows again, to shew some particular reverence in that place where that blessed Sacrament is consecrated (let this pass for good also, Though something may be said against it) yet I pray tell me, why the Reader passing from one side of the Church to the other, and the Minister passing from one end of the Altar to the other bows again? Surely in reverence to the King of Kings he supposes there sitting, who can imagine any other cause of his homage? and yet I verily believe this is not the cause, but meerly a causeless custome taken up one from another (the common beginning of all superstitions) having no reason for it, but much against it, giving thereby great scandal to weak ones, and ground of Slander to malicious ones, who lay hold on any occasions to accuse them of Papistry; for certainly 'tis done with little or no reason, or with a great deal of Superstition.

Now as to that grand debated Ceremony of kneeling at the Lords Supper I think there is no reason to condemn those that use it, nor much reason to press it on those that disuse it. Why? Are we not to perform this great act of devotion with all possible reverence? I grant it, but is this to be expreſt altogether in the outward posture of the body? if so, then your opposers thus retort it upon you: If outward humility be the thing you contend for, you ought to shew it to your God in the humblest way, and that is by prostrating rather then kneelng; but if inward Humility, sure that consists

chiefly

chiefly in obedience to what Christ commanded, and to do it as he practised it, who can doubt but this is the most perfect obedience? and you know when our Saviour instituted this blessed Sacrament, he gave this command in the close, Do this in remembrance of me; and sure he remembers our Saviour best who doth every thing as he did, both in Substance and Ceremony, and so we find the primitive Christians did, observing also to receive it at Supper, as our Saviour did; but when this grew into a sinful abuse, the ceremony was altered, to preserve the substance in more purity: so was kneeling abused by the Papists and turned into great Superstition, why not therefore changed in like manner. But you kneel without any superstition, you do not adore the Elements on the Table, as the Papists do, but *Christ* in Heaven. And so this man receives sitting and at supper without any irreverence, he doth it so meerly in obedience to *Christ*'s command, both in ceremony and substance, *Do this in remembrance of me.* But you do not conceive *Christ's* command extended to the Ceremonies, but only to the substance, and the Church hath expresly commanded kneeling as the more reverend Posture, therefore you ought to obey; I think so too: but this man conceives *Christ* command's both substance and ceremonies to be observed, and consequently conceives the Churches command contrary to Christs, therefore he ought not to obey till you can rectifie his judgment; if you can, then he ought to obey also; if you cannot, have patience with your weak Brother, require no more of him in this matter then Christ required of his disciples; sure Christ would not have allowed any unfitting posture; be not over-wise, nor over holy, condemn not that which Christ allowed. God is so infinitely gracious as to accept our poor devotions in any form, if but sincere in substance, nay though weak and frail in the substantial part, *he will not break the bruised reed, nor quench the smoaking flax*, his tender Fatherly bowels yern upon his dear Children coming to him afar off. Oh then let us learn to be like minded, tender and compassionate to our weak brethren, admit them into Cods worship in any posture, if they come in sincerity of heart, reject not those whom God accepts.

I might go on thus to handle other Ceremonies, as, the Cross in Baptisme, the Ring in Marriage, &c. But I conceive it needless, the same reasons being applicable to all, and he that is once brought to be indifferent and unconcerned in one, will soon be so disposed to all. Wherefore I conclude this point of Ceremonies with St. *Paul*, *He that regardeth a day, regardeth it unto the Lord, and he that regardeth not the day, to the Lord he doth not regard it; he that eateth, eateth to the Lord, for he giveth God thanks, and he that eateth not, to the Lord he eateth not, and giveth god thanks*: so he that kneeleth, kneeleth to the Lord, and he that kneeleth not to the Lord, he kneeleth not. And I desire you farther to observe this circumstance in St. *Paul's* words, how he calls the zealous observer of Ceremonial matters, the weak Brother, and commands the strong not to despise him, it being really a des-

 picable

picable weakness and a childish or effeminate kind of Devotion to be zealous in any ceremonial observance, which masculine spirits are apt to despise, but in Christian charity ought rather to pity and bear the infirmities of others. Wherefore let us be the men of understanding, men in devotion, be zealous, and hold fast the substantial parts of Religion, Piety, Justice, Temperance, Chastity, Truth, Sincerity, stand fast for these, not recede one hairs breadth from these, keep but our ground and fight it out like men to death against all Powers and Principalities on earth, or under the earth, and let us leave it to women and Children to contend about Ceremonies, let it be indifferent to us, whether this, or that, or no Ceremony, whether kneel, or not kneel, bow, or not bow, Surplice, or not Surplice, Cross or no Cross, Ring, or no Ring, let us give glory to God in all, and no offence to our Brethren in any thing.

Now if any man would be so curious as to ask why St. *Paul* did not determine this point, whether they should eat herbs only; or other meats also, whether regard a day or not, and so establish Uniformity among them; I cannot imagine any other Reason, but meerly to teach us this charitable complyance with one another, as necessary a practice as any other. Man is a very ticklish Animal to Govern, he will not always be guided by reason and authority, man hath a will as well as reason, and will have his own will in many things,, even the godly: very few are found so entirely pious as wholly to deny themselves, 'tis so high and sharp a point of Religion, as you may break the heart strings of many in winding them up so high, and thus crack all their Religion; perchance you would find it so your selves, had the Nonconformists the screwing you up, as you them. Wherefore consider your selves, least ye also be tempted, be charitable to the weak, proceed not so severely against them in your Courts of Judicature; but remember what St. *Paul* saith, *Colos.* 2. *Let no man judge you in meat, or drink, or in respect of an holy day, or of the new Moon, or of the Sabbath dayes, which are a shaddow of things to come, but the body is of Christ*; will you then in respect of an Holy-day, Cross in Baptisme, standing at the Creed, kneeling at the Sacrament, and the like, will you in respect of such shadows, judge, excommunicate, sentence to everlasting flames, a Soul that holds of the body of Christ, believes all his holy Gospel, accords with you in one Faith, one Baptisme, who acknowledges the only true God Creator of Heaven and Earth, and Jesus Christ whom he hath sent to be the Redeemer of Mankind, which our Saviour affirms, *To be Eternal Life*; will you condemn such a one to Eternal Death? God forbid. My Reverend Fathers and Judges of the Church, I with St. *Paul Col.* 3. beseech you, *Put on fatherly bowels of mercies kindness, humbleness of mind, meekness, long suffering* towards your poor weak Children, and so long as they hold fast the body of Christ, be not so rigorous with them for shadows; if they submit to you in substance, have patience

ence, though they do not submit in Ceremonies, and give me leave to tell you my poor Opinion; This violent pressings of Ceremonies hath, (I humbly conceive) been a great hindrance from embracing them, men fearing your intentions therein to be far worse then really they are, and therefore abhor them. Have you never observed a flock of Sheep forcibly driven over a narrow Bridge, the poor Sheep fearing they are going into some Pen or Slaughter, choose rather to leap into the River then go forwards: but drive them on gently and patiently, they will of themselves take the way you desire. Uniformity in Ceremony is a good and desirable thing, therefore endeavour it; but unity in Faith and Charity is better, and therefore if you cannot obtain that, be sure to preserve this; this is the one thing necessary, choose this better part if you cannot have both; for this force urging Uniformity in worship hath caused great division in Faith as well as Charity; for had you by abolishing some Ceremonies taken the weak Brethren into your Church, they had not wandred about after seducing Teachers, nor fallen into so many gross Opinions of their own, but being dayly catechised and instructed by your Orthodox, and sound Preaching, they would have followed you like good Sheep; whereas now they wander about into a hundred by-paths of error, many whereof lead headlong to Hell. Now I beseech you in the fear of God set before your eyes the dreadful day of Judgment, when Christ on his Tribunal of Justice shall require an account of every word and deed, and shall thus question you; Here are several Souls who taking offence at your Ceremonies have forsaken my Church, have forsaken the Faith, have run into Hell, the Souls for which I shed my precious Blood; Why have you suffered this? nay, why have you occasioned this? will you answer, it was to preserve your Ceremonies? will not Christ return unto you, Are your Ceremonies more dear unto you then the Souls for which I dyed? who hath required these things at your hands? will you for Ceremonies, which you your selves confess to be indifferent, no way necessary unto Salvation, suffer your weak Brethren to Perish, for whom I dyed? Have not I shewed you how *David and his Souldiers were guiltless in eating the Shew-bread, which was not lawful but only for the Priests to eat?* If *David* dispenced with a Ceremony commanded by God to satisfie the hunger of his People, will not you dispence with your own Ceremonies to satisfie the Souls of my people, who are called by my Name, and profess my Name, though in weakness? Or will you tell Christ they ought to suffer for their own wilfulness and perverseness, who will not submit to the Laws of the Church as they ought; will not Christ return? Shall they perish for transgressing your humane Laws, which they ignorantly conclude erroneous, and shall not you perish for transgressing my Divine Laws, which you know to be good and holy? had I mercy on you, and should not you have had mercy on your fellow servants? with the same measure you meeted it shall

be

be measured to you again: I tremble to go farther, but most humbly beseech you for Christs sake, endeavour to regain these stray sheep, for whom he shed his precious blood, and think it as great an advantage, as great an honour to you, as it was to St. *Paul*, to become all things to all men, that you may gain some, as doubtless you will many, though not all; and the few standers off will become the more convinced, and at long running wearied out and gained also. Thus having reduced all into one fold in true faith and Christian charity, the present generation will much forget, the succeeding generation will be wholly ignorant of these erronious fancies, and all animosities being quite exinguished, wholsome edifying Ceremonies may be easily introduc't again with comfort to all, which are now irksome and grievous to many. And so I pass on to the second matter; The Church Service contained in the Book of Common Prayer, whereof briefly, because what I said before may be applyed to this also.

---

# *Concerning Church Service.*

I will not here enter into the dispute, whether it be lawful for a Church to have a set form of Prayer, supposing that there are none but either highly fanatick. or higly factious, that affirm it unlawful; and with such I have no reason to expect, that reasonable Arguments should prevail; for enough hath beeen already printed to this purpose. I may also suppose, that there is nothing contained in our Book of Common Prayer, that is directly contrary to the Word of God; for had there been any such thing, we should have heard of it long since, which I never yet did from any sober man. And truly I might in the third place suppose that (a Book of Common Prayer being no way contrary to the Word of God) the use of it is far more conducing to Piety, then to suffer extemporary prayer to be used generally in Churches; experience hath fully declared it in our late confused times, when a man should have heard in many Churches such extravagant, such wild, such rash, such blasphemous expressions, as would drive any sober conscientious person out of their Churches. Can you with reason expect it otherwise? when half he Churches in this Nation have not a tolerable maintenance to support men of parts and discretion fit to perform so solemn and holy an Office. Had we the holiness, the zeal, the charity, the humility of the Primitive times, when men forsook all the World & daily sacrificed their lives for the Service of God, we might hope that God would graciously pour down upon us, as he did on them, the spcial gifts of praying and prophecying, but now when most serve God for gain, and would neither open *nor shut the Church*

*doors*

*doors for nought, as Malachi* ſaith, we muſt not expect thoſe gifts and graces. And therefore I conceive it abſolutely neceſſary to have ſome form preſcribed to be uſed by all; for were there liberty left to the more able and diſcreet, moſt would ſuppoſe themſelves to be ſuch (few diſcovering their own weakneſs;) and were it left to the Biſhop to licence as he ſaw fit, it would prove a very great cauſe of our heart-burning among his Clergie, and hatred towards himſelf, yea and rebellion againſt him and the laws. But now in Chriſt I humbly beſeech the Governours of the Church calmly to conſider, Were it not better to have ſuch a form of Service as would ſatisfie moſt. The Fathers of our Church (as I ſaid before) when they reformed this Nation from Popery, were deſirous to fetch off as many as they could, retaining for this cauſe all the Ceremonies and Forms of prayer they could with a good rectified conſcience, and therefore they preſcribed that form of ſecond ſervice to be ſaid at the Altar, as carrying ſome reſemblance to the Maſs, then the peoples delight, which being now become the peoples hate, ſhould for the ſame reſemblance, according to the ſame rule of reaſon, be now taken away. We commend our Forefathers for doing piouſly and wiſely, and yet we will not imitate them; they endeavoured to pleaſe and gain the people, we will needs diſpleaſe and loſe them: Certainly we cannot do our Forefathers a greater honour then to obſerve their rule of reaſon, to confirm to the Times; and therefore they are groſsly miſtaken who think it a diſhonour to them for us to take away what they have eſtabliſhed; when we keep cloſe to the reaſon wherefore they did eſtabliſh it: Wiſe Phyſitians by the ſame rule of reaſon preſcribe things clean contrary according to the temper of their Patients, hot or cold, Some other things I could mention in the Book of Common Prayer (though no way ill in themſelves) yet fit to be altered, and would obviouſly appear ſo to every wiſe man once reſolved to compoſe ſuch a form, as would take in moſt of this Nation, which I humbly conceive Governors ſhould in conſcience endeavour becoming all things to all men to gain ſome, though not all; yet happily gain all in proceſs of time, for the reaſon before ſpecified.

But though I deſire ſuch a form of Service, ſuch Ceremonies alſo to be eſtabliſhed, as may give moſt general ſatisfaction, yet I deſire what is eſtabliſhed may be generally obſerved, and not a liberty left (as ſome do propoſe) to add or detract Ceremonies or Prayers according to the various opinions and humours of men: for certainly this would cauſe great faction and diviſion; thoſe that are for Ceremonies would run from their own Church to others where they were uſed; others to ſome fine fancied Prayers of ſuch as they approve of; and thus ſome Churches would be thronged, others deſerted, and no account could be taken by the Paſtor of this Congregation: Atheiſts alſo and Papiſts under pretence of frequenting other Churches would abandon all. This courſe (ſay you) would bring but few into the Church, and perchance drive ſome out, who having been long bred up to

ſuch

such and such Ceremonies, would have small devotion to frequent the Church, if all or many were abolished. To this I answer, That certainly his Religion is vain, that would abandon the Substance for want of the Ceremonies, which he acknowledgeth to be no way necessary, but only more satisfaction to his mind: Surely a very ignorant mind, who hath not learnt, *That obedience is better then sacrifice and whole burnt offerings*: And surely a very uncharitable mind, who would not leave ninety, and nine unnecessary Ceremonies, to bring one sinful strayed Sheep into the Congregation, and convert him from the error of his non conforming way. I profess I am amazed to see how many men of a very good sence in most things, so zealously erroneous in this business of Religion, seeing the scripture so plainly declares, that nothing so covers the multitude of our sins as an act of charity; nothing so acceptable unto God, so joyful to his holy Angels, as conversion of a sinner. Yet these men will most passionately (and pardon me if I say most uncharitably and irreligiously) cry, away with these Idiot Sectaries and mad *Phanaticks*, let them wander and perish in their own wild imaginations, we will not leave one Ceremony, nor any one line of our Common Prayer Book to gain thousands of them. No, if you altar that, we will rather leave the Church and go to the *Papists* Mass. If these be not as simple Sectaries and mad *Phanaticks* as any whatsoever, let God and his holy Angels judge. But as for you my Reverend Fathers of the Church, I hope you will consult with Scripture in this weighty Affair, and Model all according to the rules of meekness, charity, and compassionate tenderness to weak ones, there set down: and endeavour with prudent admonitions to rectifie the errors of these too zealous Ceremonists, & with fatherly bowels of condescention to win the hearts of blind and wilful Separatists, Certainly the more understanding and powerful Leaders of them will not, cannot have the face to stand off after your charitable condescention, their populous pretences will be so confuted, their mouths so stopped, their faces so confounded, as for meer shame, if not for reason and religion, they must come into our Church: and their Pastors coming in, the Sheep will follow, though some stand a while and gaze: but at length having no men of ability to lead them on in their perverse wayes, the Shop-prating Weavers and Cobblers will soon be deserted, and made heartless, seeing their own naked folly. And then shall we all joyn and joyfully sing *Te Deum* in our Churches, and the holy Angels in the Heavens. And then I shall most gladly sing with good old *Simeon*, *Lord now let thy servant depart in peace, for mine eyes have seen thy salvation.*

*Concerning*

# *Concerning Preaching.*

IT remains that I now handle this great buſineſs of Preaching, wherein I fear I ſhall diſpleaſe many, there being but a few who uſe it according to the Original Inſtitution; and yet I had rather they ſhould Preach as they do, then quite omit it; for certainly 'tis a neceſſary work for a Miniſter of the Goſpel to Preach the Goſpel. Saint *Paul* tells us, *That ſome Preach the Goſpel out of envy*; yet he was pleaſed that Chriſt ſhould be ſo preached rather then not Preached; and ſo I ſay of Preaching Chriſt out of vanity; as 'tis evident many do, preaching themſelves and their own abilities, at leaſt as they think abilities, though often great weakneſſes and conceited impertenances. I beſeech you tell me, did not Chriſt and the Apoſtles Preach the beſt way? and are not we to follow their Example? Who dare ſay otherwiſe? yet many do otherwiſe; they take here or there a ſentence of Scripture, the ſhorter and more abſtruſe the better, to ſhew their skill and invention, this they divided and ſubdivided into generals and particulars, the *Quid*, the *Quale*, the *Quantum*, and ſuch like quackſalving forms; then they ſtuddy how to hook in this or that quaint ſentence of Philoſopher or Father, this or that nice ſpeculation, endeavouring to couch all this in moſt elegant Language; in ſhort, their main end is to ſhew their Wit, their Reading, and whatever they think is excellent in them: No doubt rarely agreeing with that of St. *Paul*, *I determined not to know any thing among you ſave Jeſus Chriſt and him crucified*; *and my ſpeech and my preaching was not with inticing words of man's wiſdome, but in demonſtration of the Spirit and of Power*: 1 *Cor.* 2. And I verily believe this is the reaſon why Preaching hath ſo little effect in theſe dayes, becauſe they labour to ſpeak the wiſdom of this world, which is fooliſhneſs with God, nor do they Preach in demonſtration of the Spirit, but in demonſtration of their Learning. I know full well this unapoſtolick way of Preaching was uſed by ſome of the Antient Fathers, eſpecially the *Greeks*, always fond of nicities and curioſities, and being now become Chriſtians (as I ſaid before) tranſplanted their beloved Rhetorical flowers of humane learning into Chriſtian Gardens, which proved rather Weeds to over-run the ſeed of ſound and plain Apoſtolick Doctrine, humane nature being a ſoyl apter to give nouriſhment and vigor to humane principles then divine. But when did ever any Learned, Witty Rhetorical harang, or cunning Syllogiſtical diſcourſe convert the tythe of St. *Peter*'s or St. *Paul*'s *fooliſh Preaching*, as he tearms it, *but the wiſdom of God to thoſe that are perfect* and ſound in the faith. Who is ignorant of that famous paſſage at the council of *Nice*? whither reſorted with divers others, one Eminent Heathen Philoſopher, offering

 him

himself (as the manner of those vain-glorious Sophisters was, to dispute with the Christian Doctors; some Bishops of great Repute for Learning, under him, and as they thought, cleerly Confuted; but no way Converted him; at last rises up a grave antient Bishop of small Learning, but of great Faith and Piety, and (with great dissatisfaction of his brethren fearing some gross baffle should befal this good man) comes up to the Philosopher, and with great Magisterial Authority recites unto him the Apostolick Creed, *I believe in God the Father Almighty*------ and in the close calls to him, *O Philosopher believest thou this?* The Philosopher answered, *I believe*, not being able to resist the demonstration of Spirit and Power wherewith he uttered those Divine Mysteries, as he confess't before them all. You will say this was a Miracle of great rarity; I grant it, but many such Miracles should we see, had we the Faith and powerful Spirit of this Holy Bishop, and would indeavor to imitate Apostolical Preaching, not Philosophical Arguing, nor Rhetorical declaiming.

We see plainly the Apostolical Preaching was either Catechistical Instructions, or Pious Admonitions; not tying themselves to any form, but past from one matter to another as the Auditors condition required, not as the Preachers fancy and reading prompt; just as the *Roman* Emperour *Caligula*, who when Delinquents came before him to be judged, condemned or acquitted them as agreed best with the current of his Oration: So these men shape their discourse more to the applause then edification of the hearers. And so much time is spent in composing these Oratory Sermons, as the Minister hath not leisure to perform a quarter of his Parochial Duty, of visiting the Sick, of admonishing the scandalous, of reconciling the janglers, of private examining and instructing the poor ignorant souls, thousands in every Country as ignorant as Heathens, who understand no more of most Sermons then if in Greek; so that the Sermon is rather a Banquet for the Wantons that are full, then instruction to those who are even starved for want of spiritual food, the plain and saving Word of Christ, not the nice conceited word of Man, which may nourish Camelions, never make solid sound Christians. There are others of a different strain, who wanting both Wit and Learning also, think to supply all by strength of Lungs, by loud and long babling, riding hackney from one good Town to another, and with fervency of spirit like a boyling pot running over where ever they come. Were it a laughing matter, who could contain to hear some seeming Zealot Pastors talk so much of their obligation to Preach the Gospel, and must (forsooth) do it in the Pulpit twice a Sunday, counting those almost accursed that do not so, and yet have many poor Sheep in their flock as ignorant as any Sheep, whom they never regard, never instruct in the first Principles of the Gospel; as if Preaching were tyed to the Pulpit and the Sabboth day. Pardon me

if

If I tell you a Story which now comes in my head: *I* chanced to be in a Lords House on a *Saturday*, when a zealous Minister came in; after some complements and ceremonious discourse, he told the Lord, That where ever he was he never failed to preach the Gospel on the Lord's day as his duty, and therefore entreated that the Pastor of the Parish might be desired to give place to him next morning. *I* suspecting both his zeal and design (which afterwards appeared) asked him if he had received any particular command from Christ to Preach at this place and that hour? The Minister startling at my Question, answered, No. *I* replyed, Sure then other Ministers had the same obligation to Preach the Gospel as he had, and moreover it was the Pastor's particular duty to Preach to his own Congregation on the Lord's day, how then could he in conscience desire the Pastor to omit his duty, and give place to a Stranger who had there no duty incumbent upon him? but the Lord pulled me by the elbow and took me off from farther pressing him, and told him, he would send to the Pastor to give him place. But to return to our business. Very few are to be found, here and there one of Piety and Discretion, that demeans himself prudently in his Office; and the reason is this. *It* is grown up into a general opinion, That none are fit to be admitted into Holy Orders but such as have studied in the University; and if he hath learnt a little to chop Logick, he is presently deemed fit to divide the Word of Truth, and is easily instituted into a Living, and if he can bring some nice Metaphysical speculations from *Aristotle*; or some Theological distinctions from *Aquinas*, then he is worthy of two or three Livings or Prebends: And thus University Youths, and even Boyes of no experience or discretion, are made Spiritual Pastors, the gravest and most weight Office in the World. *I* beseech you, what have these Sciences (falsly so called) to do with the Gospel, where we find not one tittle of them; but rather decryed as enemies to the Gospel, as tending to vain jangling, strife and contention, nothing of Edification. We had lately a brave story of the Jesuites in *China*, who finding the King and his Courtiers much delighted with the Mathematicks, but not very knowing in them, wrote to the General of their Order at *Rome* to send them some Priests, very skilful in that Science, to Preach the Gospel there. Why did they not send for some also well skilled in Puppit plays? ridiculous creatures shall *I* say, or rather impious, who think to support the dignity, the majesty, the divinity of the Gospel with such humane toyes? Just as if a King, having some potent Enemy invading his Countrey, should instead of leading on a stout and gallant Army against him, lead on a Morice-dance capering and frisking most featly, thinking thereby to appease and gain the heart of his Adversary. *Yea fools and blind; we wrestle not against flesh and blood, but against Principalities, against Powers, against the Rulers of the darkness of this world, against spiritual wickedness in high places*, Ep. 6. 12. *And therefore the weapons of our warfare must not*

 *be*

*be carnal but mighty through God to the pulling down of strong holds*, 2. Cor. 10.4. *We must then take the whole armor of God, the helmet of Salvation, the brest-plate of Righteousness, the sheild of faith, the sword of the Spirit.* Read also St. *Paul* to *Timothy* and *Titus*, setting down the required qualifications of Bishops and Deacons, see if you can find any such Mathematick, Logick, Physick? No, but Gravity, Sobriety, Meekness, Diligence, and the like. Were such men taken into holy Orders and constituted Pastors, the Church of Christ had been far better edified, and the Pastors far more reverenced then now they are: though *Plato*, *Aristotle*, *Euclid*, *Scotus*, *Aquinas*, were never known to them, so much as by name, yet they would want no pastoral knowledg which is compleatly contained in Scripture; as St. *Paul* told *Timothy*, *That it was sufficient to make him wise unto Salvation, profitable for Doctrine, for Reproof, for Correction, for Instruction that the man of God might be throughly furnished*; mark, throughly furnished without Logick, Physick, Mathematick, Metaphysick, or School Divinity. Scripture Divinity throughly furnishes the man of God for all. I speak not this in disparagement of University learning, which I highly value, if rightly made use of, 'tis as useful as honorable to a Nation, but much of University Learning as useless to a Spiritual Pastor, as the Art of Navigation to a Physitian; the Pastors only requisite and compleatly qualifying Science, being according to St. *Paul to know nothing but Christ and him crucified, and to Preach Christ, not with inticing words of man's wisdom, but in demonstration of the Spirit and of power*; to Preach Christ as well out of Pulpit as in the Pulpit; in season and out of season; to the poor and to the rich; to the simple and ignorant far rather than to the knowing; to Rebuke, to Correct, to edifie both by word and deed.

Wherefore I most humbly beseech the Church Governors to remember the Original Institution of the Ministry, what kind of Men the Apostles chose into it, grave Elderly Men, therefore styled Elders, and known as well by that name as Bishops, who having by long conversation gotten experience and knowledg to govern themselves, were made Governors of others. I grant we have *Timothy* for an example of younger years, that is, young by way of comparison to the other Seniors; as a man of forty may be called young, compared to those of sixty; yet no youth simply, nor simple youth: and 'tis plain he was a person no way short of the Elders in gravity, though somewhat in years: St. *Paul's* general Rule was, not to admit of *Novices*; but all general Rules have some exceptions. *Timothy* was one and a rare one, we find not another. Next I pray consider what kind of Preaching they used, you may easily guess at their Sermons by their Epistles, full of short Catechistical Instructions, grave Exhortations, sober Reproofs, discreet Corrections, and then tell me whether a raw *Novice* from the University with all his Sciences and Languages be fit for this, or rather a grave sober person of age and experience, having a

good

a good natural Capacity, illuminated by Scripture Instruction and Prayer, using also the help of grave and sound Interpreters. Really 'tis most evident that the Church is run into great contempt by the slightness and giddiness of many Ministers, who intend nothing but to make a handsom School-Boyes Exercise in the Pulpit on *Sunday*, but never attend the other Parochial duties, no nor their own advance in Spiritual knowledg, but give themselves wholly either to idle Studies, or idle Recreations, and are very children in Divine knowledg and behavior. I do affirm this in the presence of God as a truth, and I have known some pass for very good Preachers, that could not give a good account of the *Athanasian* Creed, nor scarce of the Childrens Catechism; Masters of Art, but School-Boys in true Divinity, and so their Parishoners continue very Babes all their life long.

It would make any true Christian's heart bleed to think, how many thousand poor souls there are in this Land, that have no more knowledg of God, then Heathens; thousands of the mendicant condition never come to Church, and are never lookt after by any; likewise thousands of mean husbandry Men that do come to Church, understand no more of the Sermon then Bruites: perchance in their infancy some of them learnt a little of their Catechism, that is, they could, like Parrots, say some broken pieces, but never understand the meaning of one line; (this is the common way of Catechising) but afterwards as they grow up to be Men, grow more babes in Religion, so ignorant as scarce to know their Heavenly Father, and are admitted to the Sacrament of the Lord's Supper before they are able to give account of the Sacrament of Baptism. This it is generally in the Country, and in the City as bad, partly for the reason before specified, and partly by reason the number in many Parishes is far greater then any one Pastor can have a due care of; he cannot know half the Names or Faces of them, much less their Faith and Bahavior, which is requisite that he may both instruct and reprove where there is need. Wherefore I humbly conceive 'tis necessary to divide these numerous Parishes into several parts; but withal to provide means out of them for several Ministers, for there is no hope to gain it from their Charity or Piety, which is plain Hypocrisy, seeming so zealous to hear the Word, but to contribute nothing towards it; the Minister may Preach his heart out, and yet not get out of their purses any tolerable Maintenance; a poor Husbandman in the Country of twenty pound a year, that gets his bread by the sweat of his brows, pays more to his Minister than a Citizen that gets hundreds a year, sitting at great ease in his Shop, and spends more in Ribbonds, Laces and Perriwigs in one year, then he pays to his Minster in ten or twenty: I beseech them to consider what account they will give to their Lord and Master at that day.

But I return to the requisite qualities of a Minister, who according to

St.

St. *Paul* is to be a Governor as well as a Preacher; to admonish and rebuke as well as instruct, and therefore of two evils choose the lesser, rather Men defective in parts to preach, which may be supplied by Homilies, then defective in Wisdom and Discretion to govern, which can't be supplied by other means. But would Men be content with the true Gospel and Apostolick preaching, doubtless there might persons be found out fit for both, to Govern and to Preach; to preach one God the Creator of all, one Christ the Redeemer of all, one Holy Ghost the Sanctifier of all, to preach the Baptism of Repentance, and the Sacrament of the Lord's Supper, to preach Godliness, Justice, Mercy, Charity, Sobriety, Chastity &c. All which will be far better performed by a grave and godly conscientious Man, well Catechized, though he never saw University, though he knew no other Language but his Mother Tongue, then by any *Aristotelist*, *Scotist*, *Aquinatist*, with all their knacks of quiddities and qualities, Syllogismes and Enthymems, distinctions and subsumptions &c. Not one *Greek*, or *Italian*, or *French* of a thousand knew any Language but his Mother Tongue when the Gospel first flourished there; not one *Indian* of a hundred thousand, where St. *Thomas* planted the Gospel, ever heard of *Plato* or *Aristotle*; and so *I* may say of many other Nations where the Gospel was planted and Priests ordained. When God instituted *Aaron* and that Priesthood, when Christ instituted the Apostles and this Priesthood, not a tittle mentioned of School Sciences or Forrein Languages. 'Tis true, the Apostles by the Holy Ghost received the gift of Tongues, because they were to preach to all Nations, but we find not any infusion of School-learning by the Holy Ghost, nor any more gift of Tongues after the Gospel once spread over the world; God thought it then needless, I pray let's be no wiser then God and his Christ, who converted the world by the foolishness of Preaching, but I never yet heard of any one Nation converted by the wisdom of Philosophical Rhetorical Preaching. Mistake me not, I say that Sciences and Languages are no way necessary for common Parochial Preachers, yet I grant that Sciences, especially Historical, and Languages especially the Oriental, are very useful to the perfect understanding of Scripture, and very fit for some Ministers to study, to whom God hath given parts and means to acquire them; who may be helpful to others; and the Universities are very good places to train up youths to this purpose; but still these faculties are no way necessary to a parochial Cure, a small proportion of Learning with a great deal of Piety and Discretion is much better. Besides there is another thing much to be considered. Were there such grave consciencions persons admitted into the Ministry as the *Apostles* ordained, such Preaching set up as they practised, and all other decryed, such double honor paid unto the Ministry as St. *Paul* commanded and primitively was rendred (such grave persons would scarce ever fail of it) then we might find thousands in the Nation that having means of their own, would preach the Gospel to the poor for conscience

sake.

ſake. The maintenance for Miniſter in moſt parts is ſo wretchedly ſmall (and ſo like to be, the Tythes being in the hand of Lay-men without hopes of recovery) that there is no convenient ſupport for men of Worth and Gravity, and therefore Youths and Striplings as wretched are put in o them of meer neceſſity, that they lye not wholly void; whereas if Men that had ſome Eſtate to help to maintain themſelves, being perſons of conſcience and convenient Knowledg, were put into the Miniſtery, and ſuch preaching the Goſpel accepted of, as the Apoſtles and Primitive Diſciples uſed, the Cures would be ſerved with far more edification of the People, and honor to the Church, then now they are.

I moſt humby beſeech all in the ſpirit of meekneſs and humily to conſider theſe things, laying aſide the veil of pomp and vanity, which blinds their eyes, and hinders them from diſcovering the naked truth and ſimplicity of the Goſpel, I call the Searcher of all hearts to witneſs, I wiſh unto all Clergy-men both double honor and double maintenance alſo, I can't think any thing too much for thoſe who conſcienciouſly labor in the Miniſtry. But ſeeing (as I ſaid) there is no hopes of regaining the Church maintenance, we in prudence ſhould ſeek out ſuch helps as may be had. And truly *I* have great reaſon to hope, that were this rule obſerved of putting only grave diſcreet and conſciencious perſons into the Miniſtry (whether Univerſity men or not, it matters not, ſo as fully inſtructed in the Doctrine of the Goſpel by ſound Commentators) many perſons of good rank and Eſtate would think it no diſhonor but rather a higher honor to enter into it, as they did in the Primitive time; *Julian* neerly related to the *Roman* Emperour, and afterwards Emperor himſelf, thought it an honor to be admitted a Reader, one of the loweſt Offices in the Church. And for the better advancing this buſineſs, and fitting all ſorts of men with convenient Knowledg for the Miniſtry, I humbly conceive it very fit there ſhould be one good and brief Engliſh Comment of Scripture ſelected and compiled out of thoſe many voluminnous Authors, laying aſide all impertinent criticiſmes, abſtruſe queſtions, nice ſpeculations, and the like, ſetting down only the plain and moſt obvious ſence in mattters of Faith and good life, neceſſary to ſalvation; ſuch a book to be ſet forth by Authority, with a command that no man in Sermons, Exhortations or Catechiſings teach any thing contrary to it, and what ever Learning beyond that is brought into the Pulpit, let it rather be exploded then applauded; for if any countenance be given to excuſions, there will be no end, the itch men have to ſhew their Learning will ſoon bring us again into the vain unedifying practice we now are in. *I* humbly conceive it fit alſo that the book of Homilies be reviewed, not to correct any thing in them, for they are moſt excellent ſound Exhortations, containing the true Primitive Spirit; but to add to them what ever is wanting to the neceſſary Doctrine of Faith and good manners, to teach every perſon how to behave himſelf in his ſeveral vocations, and theſe commanded to be read

once

once over every year; for I have obſerved ſeveral, even good and conſcientious Preachers to take quite another method, and preach on this or that Chapter, and ſo in the whole year, yea perchance in two or three years, never preach on the duty between Man and Wife, Parents and Children, Maſters and Servants, Magiſtrates and Subjects; or omit to treat of Pride, or Malice, or cheating, or the like, by reaſon of which omiſſions, ſeveral in the congregation are ignorant in neceſſary duties, though rightly inſtructed in things unneceſſary.

I expect that many will cry out of this as a means to introduce lazineſs into the Miniſtry, and a hindrance from exerciſing thoſe Talents God hath indowed them with. To this I anſwer, Firſt, That I had rather the Miniſters ſhould be lazie, then the People ignorant in their duty. But ſecondly I anſwer, That beſides Pulpit Preaching, the Miniſter may find enought to do to keep him from lazineſs, and exerciſe the beſt, that is, the moſt uſeful Talents of a Miniſter, to viſit and comfort the Sick and Afflicted, to compoſe Differences and reconcile Janglers, to examine and inſtruct the meaner and duller part of his Flock, who are not capable of Pulpit preaching, to whom they muſt inculcate both Doctrines and Admonitions ten times over, and ſcarcely ſo, make them apprehend any Spiritual matters. Experience only can raiſe a belief how extreamly dull the common people are in the myſteries of Faith, and but little quicker in the principles of a good life: Chriſt dyed to ſave theſe poor vulgar Souls as well as thoſe of the Gentry and more learn'd, yet the labor of moſt Miniſters is to entertain thoſe that know enough, and are very lazy in catechiſing thoſe poor ſouls that know nothing; let theſe be fully inſtructed, and then for me, let them ſhew their Talents by preaching as often as they pleaſe to others: All that I labor for, is, that thoſe may have it who moſt want it, either by injoyning ſuch Homilies as mentioned to be yearly read, or ſuch Sermons to be yearly preached: I am no enemy to true Apoſtolical preaching, God forbid I ſhould; but to vain Scholaſtical uſeleſs preaching, to have the Paſtor, who ſhould daily watch over his Flock, ſit in his Study all the Week long, picking from that or this Quaint Author a few beautiful Flowers, and then to come on *Sunday* with his Noſegay in his hand to entertain Ladies and Courtiers; for my part I count this far more ſinful lazineſs, then to read a Pious Homily on *Sunday*, and all the Week after, go up and down from houſe to houſe takeing pains to inſtruct and exhort ſuch as I mentioned: But theſe ſhall be called dumb Dogs, yet ſurely by none but barking curs, who are wholly ignorant in true Apoſtolick Preaching; Pardon me if I return them their due, who ſpeak evil of that they underſtand not.

They will Object, The Apoſtles and Primitive Diſciples did not read Homilies, but Preach'd themſelves; Neither do I deſire that any one Homily ſhould ever be read, ſo as we had the true Apoſtolick preaching both on *Sundays* in publick, and Week-days alſo in private, where there is need:

But

But I am ſure ſuch pious Homilies as I mentioned are no ways contrary to the Apoſtolical and primitive practice, and are far more uſeful then ſuch preaching as we have now adays. And I am alſo ſure, that in the pureſt and moſt primitive time, Homilies under another name were read in the Churches, that is, the Epiſtles of Apoſtolick godly Biſhops written to other Churches, were read in the Congregation with great Veneration; Shall the name of *Epiſtle* make the one applauded, the name of *Homily* make the other reproached, the contents and the intent being the ſame, to ſtirr up the people to godlineſs? If this will ſatisfy, let the *Homilies* be ſtyled *Epiſtles* to ſuch or ſuch a Church, and then I hope they will paſs for current. But you will ſay, The Compilers of our Homilies are not of equal authority to thoſe primitive Epiſtlers; Let that paſs, but I am ſure they are of far more authority, then moſt of our Preachers. I pray conſider, how many giddy Youths are of our Miniſtry, how many of greater age but of as little gravity or diſcretion; how many that vainly preach themſelves and their own abilities, not Chriſt and his Goſpel; how many that preach piouſly and yet not uſefully, but, as I ſaid before, many things unneceſſary, omitting many neceſſary: Summ up all theſe particulars, and you will find a ſmall remainder that preach piouſly and edifying alſo, very few to equal the Compilers of our Homilies; and then calmly conſider the great uſe, yea the great neceſſity of ſuch Homilies. But if you can furniſh all our Churches with pious diſcreet edifying preaching Paſtors, I am abundantly ſatisfied, and do you ſeal up the Book of Homilies till a new dearth of ſpiritual food, which God in his great mercy prevent. *Amen.*

---

# *Concerning Biſhops and Prieſts.*

WHoever unbiaſs'd reads the Scripture, thence proceeds to the firſt Chriſtian Writers, and ſo goes on from Age to Age, can't doubt but that the Church was always governed by *Biſhops*, that is, by one *Elder*, or *Preſbyter*, or *Preſident*, or what elſe you pleaſe to call him, ſet over the reſt of the Clergy with authority to Ordain, to Exhort, to Rebuke, to Judg and Cenſure as he found cauſe: no other form of Government is mentioned by any Authority for Fifteen hundred years from the Apoſtles downwards. Now who can in reaſon and modeſty ſuſpect thoſe Primitive Biſhops who lived in the days of the Apoſtles, choſen by them into the Church, ſucceeded them in Church Government, yea and in Martyrdom alſo for the Faith, as *Clemens*, *Ignatius*, *Polycarpus* and others, who, *I* ſay, can ſuſpect them to be prevaricators in Church Diſcipline, and take upon them another form of

read next p. 34.

ſuperior to *Presbiter*, which I deny, the Apoſtles being peculiarly called *Presbyters*. Secondly, that one contains the other, I ſuppoſe is already confuted, and fully declar'd that it cannot be; And as I mentioned before, you do in effect confeſs it your ſelves by your practice; for if the Superiour Order ſo contains the inferiour as to enable a Man thereby to act all things belonging to the inferiour, it is a very impertinent thing to ordain a Man, as you do, firſt a *Deacon*, then a Prieſt, then a Biſhop, when you deſign to confer all upon him in the ſame day and hour.

And now I pray give me leave to examine a little *Petavius* his rare conceits, which he conceives will ſatisfy all former objections, and will meet with no news ones. He confeſſes the *Presbyters* of the Apoſtles times were all of one Order, *viz. Biſhops*, becauſe the Paſtors of each congregations might perform thoſe ſeveral acts he mentions, which a bare *Presbyter* is not capable of. And why not capable of them, how doth he prove this? he brings not one tittle of proof for this out of Scripture, where there are good proofs to the contrary. St. *Peter* and St. *John*, *Presbyters*, could do all theſe and more; *Ergo*, *Presbyters* are capable of all. But ſaith he, *The Apoſtles were Biſhops alſo*; *alſo* is impertinent, as ſignifying ſomewhat elſe; whereas I ſay and prove 'tis one and the ſame Order, only another name, it lyes upon him to prove this difference of Orders; and how doth he prove it, becauſe *Presbyters* can't do the acts of a *Biſhop*; why, this is the thing in queſtion; and thus he runs round to prove this by that, and that by this, and not one tittle out of Scripture for either. I know full well by ſeveral *Canons* of Councils made ſome at one time, ſome at another, the *Biſhops* reſerved many things to themſelves, whereof moſt of them had been practiſed formerly by *Presbyters*, and the Canons were made to prevent the like for the future; for had there not been ſuch a pactice, there had been no need of ſuch Canons, whereby they reſerved theſe things unto themſelves, and for their own greatneſs would needs perſwade the World, that *Presbyters* were not capable of them. I grant, that for decency and order in that ſence, ſome things may be reſerved to ſome, other things to other to perform, but that the Order of *Prieſthood* was not capable, is even ridiculous that the *Prieſthood* being capable to do the greateſt things, ſhould not be capable to do the leaſt; he can conſecrate the Souls of Men by Baptiſm and the Lords Supper, yet (for ſooth) can't conſecrate their Oyl, and their Cups, and their Candleſtiks, which we never heard the Apoſtles did or dream'd of, but are the fond dreams of doting Men, juſt like the *Phariſees* waſhing cups and platters after the doctrines of Men. Really there needs no better confutation of their diſtinction and ſuperiority of Epiſcopal Order, then the mean ridiculous things which they aſcribe unto their Biſhops, and debar Presbyters of, which my thinks a Presbyter ſhould contemn were they offered him; and therefore ſuch Arguments as theſe are not worth the ſmall pains I have taken about them.

I pro-

I proceed to somewhat that seems a little better; *Petavius* tells us, That the number of Christians encreasing, and factions arising in the Church, the Apostles at length towards the end of their times, chose out of these *Presbyter-Bishops*, some chief Men and placed them as Governors over the rest, and reserved unto these principal Men the power of ordaining; thus far I freely consent, the Scripture declares it, and it seems most Rational. And I humbly conceive these Governors, and Ordainers were Men of great prudence and moderation, and probably had also that gift of the Holy Ghost, *The discerning of spirits*, and judging of Men (a gift mentioned in Scripture among others) that none might be admitted into the Priesthood but Men of meek and peaceable spirits. But now I would ask *Petavius* when these Governing Ordaining *Bishops* were set over the rest of the *Presbyter-Bishops*, when *Titus* was first settled with this Authority in *Creete*, and when *Timothy* was thus placed at *Ephesus*, where we find before were several *Presbyter-Bishops*, what became of them? were they un-Bishop'd and made simple *Presbyters*? they must no more ordain nor govern, but be subject to *Timothy* and *Titus*. I am sure it was thought no small punishment in future Ages, when *Bishops* were thus by decrees of Councel abased and cast down unto the *Presbyter* form, and it was for some notorious crimes. I pray what crime were all these *Presbyter-Bishops* guilty of, to be thus handled, and tumbled down into a lower form? Truly *Petavius* deals hardly with them, unless he can shew us their crime. Or will he instead of accusing them excuse himself, and say they were not un-Bishopt nor abased, but only restrained from exercising that power their order was capable of, had they been commissioned thereto. Truly I must commend *Petavius* if he will thus ingeniously confess the truth, for I shall by and by fully declare that 'tis the diversity of Commission; and not of Order, that enables Men to act diversly, and that a *Bishop* without commission can do no more than a *Presbyter* without commission; and therefore I farther begg of *Petavius*, that, till he can prove the contrary; he would confess them also to be all of one single Order, called only by divers names, *Priest*, or *Bishop*, and one chosen out of the number, not the rest abased, but he exalted with authority to Govern. This is the rational and common practice of all Societies, Corporations, Colledges, Monasteries, Conclave of Cardinals, what not; There is no new Order supposed in any of these, but only a new Election, and a new Authority given, according to the fundamental constitution of each Society. The Pope himself with his triple crown and triple dominion over all Patriarchs, Arch-Bishops, Bishops, pretends to have no new order of Popeship, but only the new Authority conferred by his Election: why then may not *Presbyters* chosen to preside over the rest without any new Order, do the like. And for this very reason I conceive *Justin Martyr* uses the name of *President* always for *Bishop*; and St. *Cyprian* also, a Bishop himself, and most glorious Martyr, he calls himself

read nex page 40.

doth not contain a real Horse in his belly, nor can a man beget Horses or men when he pleases. Nor can you truly say a man is a Horse; I believe my Schoolmen would take it in snuff should I affirm any of them to be Horses, &c. But they affirm that a *Bishop* doth not only virtually contain the Priesthood, but is really a Priest, and can make Priests or Bishops as he please, Whereby you may see this answer, That the Superiour Order virtually contains the inferiour, is a meer evasion; it sounds as if it were something, but really is nothing to our purpose at all; for we are not now upon Metaphysical abstractions, but real individual subsistencies, two actual distinct Orders, as they would have it, two distinct indelible characters imprinted on mens souls by Ordination, as *A.* and B. which can never be truly affirmed one of the other. *A.* is not B. and B. is not *A.* a man is not a horse, and a Horse is not a man; so a Bishop ordain'd only Bishop, is not a Priest, nor a Priest a Bishop, if they be distinct. Wherefore I must beleive them one and the same Order, especially seeing the Scripture applies the same name promiscuously to both; which is the second argument of their identity, to be one and the same.

*Acts.* 20. St. *Paul* sends to *Ephesus* to call the *Presbyters* of that Church unhim at *Miletum*, and speaking to them he calls them all Bishops (in our Translation 'tis *Overseers*) Verse 28. So in his Epistle to the *Philippians*, he directs to *all the Saints with the Bishops and Deacons*, both in the plural number so that by the word *Bishops*, we must needs understand *Presbyters*; for Bishops as we now take the word, were never many in one City. I pray observe also St. *Paul* Epis. to *Titus* 1. 5. *For this cause left I thee in Crete----- that thou shouldest ordain Elders in every City--- if any be blameless-- for a* Bishop *must be blameless*, Is it not here evident, that an Elder and a Bishop in St. *Paul's* Language is one and the same; otherwise there were no coherency at all in St. *Paul's* speech. If this be not convincing, beyond all possible evasion, I understand nothing of discourse. Other such places are obvious in Scripture to every one, I need mention no more; only I desire to inform the Reader of a passage to this purpose, in an Epistle of *Clemens* to the *Corinthians*, This *Clemens* is mentioned in Scripture, and is he whom St. *Peter* appointed his successor at *Rome*, and who was of so great Authority, that as St. *Hierome* tells us, this his Epistle was read in Churches: Now in this Epistle *Clemens* particularly sets forth the constitution of the Church by the Apostles, and what Ministers they ordained in the Church; to wit, *Bishops* and *Deacons*, he names no other, which seems to me as full an evidence as can be, that there were no other Orders in the Church in those daies but those two; And yet we are sure there was then *Presbiters* in the Church; for *Peter* and *John* call themselves *Presbyters*, and St. *Peter* calls them *Presbiters* to whom he wrote his Epistle; so that if there were but two Orders, to wit, *Bishops* and *Deacons*, *Presbyters* must be one and the same with *Bishops* or with *Deacons*; not with *Deacons* therefore one and the same with *Bishops*; One Order called

called by two names promiscuously in Scripture, as hath been shewed before: And *I* desire you to observe that of those two names *Presbyter* and *Bishop*, if there be any dignity and eminency exprest in one more then the other, sure it is in the name of *Presbiter*, not *Bishop*, because the Apostles themselves, and the chief of the Apostles (as some would have it who stand highest on their Pantables) are in Scripture styled *Presbyters* or *Elders*, as the word in our English Translation, but never *Bishops*, as *I* remember. And therefore *I* can't but wonder why that haughty head of the Papists should not assume to himself the title of his pretended predecessor St. *Peter*, *Presbyter* rather then *Bishop*, unless it be by God's providential disposure to shew his blindness in this as well as in other things, and make him confute himself by this name of Bishop, which was never given to St. *Peter*, no more then St. *Peter* gave unto him the Headship of the Church. As to the interpretations and answers given to these and such like Scripture expressions, sure *I* need not take any pains to confute them; for they are so weak as that *Petavius*, a late Writer, and great stickler for the superiority of *Episcopacy*, durst not trust to them, nor would venture his credit to make use of them, but found out a new and rare conceit, as he conceives, That these *Presters* mentioned in Scripture and called by both names, were all really *Bishops*, and that the Apostles Ordained them so, as most convenient for that time; for the Congregations of the Faithful being small, there needed no Priests under the Bishops to officiate, and yet there was need of a Bishop in those small Congregations, because there were several things to be done, which were not within the power and capacity of *Presbiters* to act, (as he supposes) *viz.* the laying on of hands, and confirming the Faithful after Baptisme, the veiling of devoted Women, the reconciling of penitents, the ordaining *Deacons* where there was need; and adds moreover several impertinences, as the making of Chrisme, consecrating Church-Vessels, &c. And *Petavius* mightily applauds himself in this conceit, as the only means to clear all difficulties: Our Doctor *Hammond* also finding the usual interpretations of those places of Scripture above mentioned too weak to sustain the arguments builded on them for the Unity of Order, goes along after *Petavius* a great way in the fore cited discourse (though not in the later impertinances), and affirms that the *Presbyters* then were all *Bishops*; And so far *I* go with them, that all were *Presbyters*, all *Bishops*, because all was one, and one was all, several names not several Orders, as they would have it, and this *I* humbly conceive firmly proved by my former Argument of one Ordination, wherein two distinct Orders could not be conferred, so that still *I* require them to shew me from Scripture where these *Presbyter-Bishops* were twice Ordained, else it cannot be truly affirmed they were really and actually Priests and Bishops. As for that answer, That though but one Order was conferred, *viz.* Episcopal, yet that being superior to the Priesthood contains this virtually in it; first you are to prove *Bishop* to be superiour

read next p 38.

Episcopal Government contrary to Apostolican Institution. These great Masters of Self-denyal who gave their Lives for the Truth, would they transmit unto Posterity a Church Government contrary to the Truth; let who will believe it, I can neither believe it, nor suspect it: And there is yet another thing very observable, that all the Orthodox Church dispersed all the world over, some parts having no correspondence at all with the other by reason of distance, some by Warrs divided and made cruel Enemies, yet all agreed in this form of Government; and not only the Orthodox, but also the Schismaticks and Hereticks, who separated from, hated and persecuted the Orthodox Church, they likewise retained still this form of Government, as if all were of necessity compelled to acknowledg this, having never known, heard nor dream'd of other. And therefore nothing but necessity, if that, can excuse those who first set up another form of Government to their own Masters, let them stand or fall, I will not presume to censure them: I will only say, That from *the beginning it was not so*, and I thank God 'tis not so with us, but as it was in the beginning, so it is now with us, and ever shall be I trust in God. *Amen.*

But notwithstanding all this, yet 'tis very much to be doubted whether they were of any distinct superiour order from and above the Presbyters, or one of the same order set over the rest with power to ordain Elders, to exhort, rebuke, chastise, as *Timothy* and *Titus* were constituted by St. *Paul*. For though they were of the same order with the other Elders and Pastors, yet there was great reason for some to be placed with greater Authority to rule over the rest. The Scripture tells us, That even in the days of the Apostles there were several seducing teachers, leading the people into errors and heresies, and more were to follow after the Apostles times, grievous wolves in sheeps clothing; and therefore it was very necessary to pick out some of eminent soundness in faith and godliness of life, and set them up on high with great Authority, as fixed Stars in the Heavens (so styled *Revel.* 1.) to whom all might have regard in dangerous times, as Marriners observe in their Sea-faring journies. But the Scripture no where expresses any distinction of order among the Elders, we find there but two orders mentioned, Bishops and Deacons. Of Deacons we shall treat afterwards. Let us now proceed to the Order of Bishops and Priests, which the Scripture distinguishes not, for there we find but one kind of Ordination, then certainly but one Order, for two distinct Orders can't be conferred in the same instant, by the same words, by the same actions. They who think Deaconship and Priesthood distinct, the one subservient to the other, though they intend in the same hour to consecrate the same Man Deacon and Priest, do they not first compleat him Deacon, then Priest? I pray let any Man shew me from Scripture (as I said) *Timothy* or *Titus* or any one ordained twice, made first Priest then Bishop,

which

which is absolutely necessary if they be distinct characters, and 'tis generally affirmed, though I humbly conceive they scarce understand what they affirm, I mean they understand not what these characters are, whether *Greek*, *Hebrew*, or *Arabick*, or what else. But let that pass, I desire them only to shew me how a Man can make two characters with one stroke or motion, A. and B. at the same instant. If then neither *Timothy* nor *Titus*, nor any other were but once ordained, whence can we gather these two distinct characters, these two distinct Orders? We find the Apostles themselves but once ordained, those by the Apostles but once ordained, and so on. When St. *Paul* left *Titus* in *Creete* to ordain, he mentions only one ordination, that of Presbyters, (so the word in *Greek*) no other; ther's no commission given him to ordain Bishops and Presbyters. Who then was to ordain Bishops there? not *Titus*, he had no such command, we do not find that St. *Paul* himself did; And sure you will not grant that the Presbyters which *Titus* ordained, that they could ordain Bishops there, for you will not allow them to ordain so much as Presbyters? Yet Bishops you will needs have in every City, and in *Creete* were very many, who ordained Bishops for them all? Truly I can't find, nor you neither I believe. But you will say, The superior order contains in it virtually the inferior order, (let this pass at present) doth Presbyter then virtually contain Bishop? If so; then all Presbyters are Bishops. No say you, Bishop is the superior order, and that contains in it Presbyter. You say so, but by your leave you are to prove so, or give me leave to say otherwise, especially seeing I have Scripture for my saying, and you have none for yours. But should I grant Bishop the superior, what then? we find *Titus* ordained not any but Presbyters, as he was commanded by St. *Paul*; so we are still at a loss for our Bishops, we find not their Ordination. Or did St. *Paul* mistake in his expression, and meaning *Bishops in every City*, said *Presbyters in every City*, let this pass also, and I pray let us see what you mean by this, The superior order virtually contains the inferior. Do not you say they are two distinct Orders, two real distinct indelible characters imprinted in the Soul, as the School-men affirm (give me leave to talk their Language though I understand it not) If I take a fair paper and make an A. upon it for the character of Presbyter, and then make a B. upon it for the Character of a Bishop, the same paper contains both Characters, but sure one Character doth not contain the other, A. doth not contain B. nor doth B. contain A. So the same Soul may receive two Characters, two Orders, but if the two Orders be distinct, how can they contain each other, I understand no more then I do these Holy Characters. If they can paint them out unto me in their proper figures, perchance I may understand them better, but as yet I ingeniously confess my ignorance. I grant in a Metaphysical way of Abstraction, the superiour species contains the inferiour genus. A Man, a rational creature, contains the animality of a Horse, the inferiour creature, but

read next page 36

 doth

himself and other Bishops generally by the name of *Præpositus*, as if this were the main distinction betwixt himself and his Presbyters, that he was *Præpositus* only, one of them placed with authority over them: no more: Nor doth the name of Bishop in the original *Greek* signify any more then an Overseer of the rest. And as for the avoiding of Heresies and Factions, they thought it meet to settle some Bishop, of great soundness in faith, and godliness of life, with authority to restrain and chastise disorderly Pastors. Just so, when whole Nations were converted, and not only the Pastors but the Bishops also (who had oversight of the Pastors) encreased in number, then for the same reason it was thought fit there should be an Overseer of the Bishops, and be called an Arch-Bishop; when the Arch-Bishops were multiplied, then another set over them, and he called a Patriark; and at last one over the Patriarks, and he call'd *Papa* a Pope *Catexochen*, though *Papa* before was a name attributed to other Bishops. Now as *Pope Patriarck*, *Arch-Bishop*, *Bishop*, are all one and the same Order (Papists themselves grant this) so *Bishop*, *Elder*, *Presbyter*, *Priest*, all one and the same, only one of these set over the rest, and he now particularly call'd *Episcopus*, that is, Bishop *Catexochen*, because he oversees the Overseers: but this last constitution only is Apostolical, the other of Arch-Bishop, Patriark, Pope, are meer humane, not at all mentioned in Scripture.

But now another Objection arises, *Petavius* grants that all the Elders which the Apostles Ordained were Bishops, and towards the end of the Apostles days they set some eminent amongst them over the rest to govern and ordain Elders in every City, as *Timothy* and *Titus*, and these Elders in every City were Bishops, and thus the Apostles left the Church with Bishops only and Deacons. And this is evident by what I brought before out of *Clemens*, who lived after the Apostles days, and mentions only Bishops and Deacons left by the Apostles. This being so, *I* desire to know who after the Apostles days began this new kind of Ordination of *Presbyters* or *Elders* not *Bishops*, the Apostles Ordained none such; who then? and by what authority was this new Order set up? the Scripture mentions it not; when and by whom came it in? A very bold undertaking without Scripture or Apostolical practice.

*I* will not boast my conceit as *Petavius* doth his; only *I* wish the Reader to consider which is most practical, most rational, or rather most scriptural, thereon *I* frame this wole Fabrick as the Rock and only sure Foundation; humane Brain is too weak to erect and to support the Fabrick of the Church of God, which the *Romanists* have made a very *Babel* with their humane inventions and multiplied Characters and Orders; some of them would have nine several holy Orders in God's Church militant here on Earth, because there are nine several Orders of Cœlestial Spirits in the Church Triumphant in Heaven. This is a castle of their own building in the Air, a rare foundation for God's Church. Others will have seven several

veral Orders and Characters as seven Gifts of the Holy Ghost. Hath the Holy Ghost then but seven several Gifts to confer on Men? St. *Paul*, 1 *Cor.* 12. counts unto us nine; not as if these were all, but only for example sake, to shew us that many and divers Gifts are conferred on us by one and the same Spirit; and in the conclusion of the same Chapter he mentions eight. These things were uttered accidentally according to the occasion, not as limiting the Gifts of the Holy Ghost to any set Number. But if you will farther look into their application of these Gifts of the Holy Ghost, and see to what kind of several Orders they appropriate them, it would make a Man amazed to see sober learned Men, even that great Wit and Scholar *Aquinas*, discourse in such wild manner; as did you but stand behind a Curtain to hear and not see them, you doubtless would conclude you heard some old Woman in the Nursery telling her Dreams to Children, rather than Divine Doctors in School. I'le name but one or two of their Orders. The Porter of the Church Door is one, and (he forsooth) hath a Sacred Character imprinted on his Soul, and his gift is *the discerning of Spirits*, that he may judg who are fit to enter into God's Church, who to be shut out. Another of their Orders is that of *Acolothi*, who are now (anciently they were quite another thing certain Boys carrying Torches, and attending on the Bishop saying Mass; these have their Character also, and their Gift of the Holy Ghost, is the *interpretation of Tongues*, signified (no doubt on't) by the Light in their Hands, but understand no more of Tongues than the Stick of their Torch. I will not weary you with more of their Absurdities.

Our Episcopal Divines rejecting these chymerical fancies of Orders and Characters, suppose it to be a certain Faculty and Power conferred by the laying on of Hands for the exercise of Ministerial Duties; and according to this purpose the Superior Order contains the Inferiour, as the greater Power contains in it the less: Thus *Episcopacy* being the superior Order, contains in it Priesthood and Deaconship, these three are their supposed distinct Orders. They may suppose this if they please, and I may suppose the contrary: But I would gladly know on what Scripture they ground this discourse, that's the thing I still require; and there we find no larger Faculty or Power given to *Bishops*, but rather to *Presbyters*, as I have shewed, the Apostles who had the greatest power being stiled *Presbyters*, not *Bishops*. And when our *Bishops* do Ordain *Presbyters*, do not they use the very same form of words which our Saviour used when he Ordained the Apostles? *Receive ye the Holy Ghost: whose sins ye forgive, they are forgiven*, &c. Do they not then by the same words confer the same power? (for I hope they use no Equivocation, nor mental Reservation) if the Power be the same, the Order is the same by their own Rule. Again, let us examine their own Practice; Do they not require a Man should be ordained first Deacon, before he be ordained Priest, and Priest before Bishop? what needs this, if

 the

the ſuperiour contains the inferiour. But in Scripture we find it otherwiſe, *Timothy* who long officiated under St. *Paul* as a *Presbyter*, when he was left at *Epheſus*, and ſo when *Titus* was left at *Creet*, both to be Biſhops, we find no new ordination; were this requiſite, ſure the Scripture would have given us at leaſt ſome hint of it, but not one tittle there. But if the Scripture be defective in expreſſions, you will ſupply it by the expreſſions and practice of the Church in firſt ſucceeding Ages.

Before you go on and take much pains to ſhew me this, give me leave to tell you, that I ſhall not eaſily recede from Scripture in fundamentals, either of Faith or Church-diſcipline, in things indifferent of themſelves, or in more weighty matters very doubtfully expreſs't in Scripture, I ſhall always moſt readily ſubmit to the interpretation of the Primitive and Univerſal Church, I require both Primitive and Univerſal; for I ſhewed before, that in matters of Faith there were ſome errors very Primitive, yet not continued by the Univerſal Church, but rejected in ſucceeding Ages. And at the time of the Evangelical Reformation by *Luther*, *Melancton*, *Calvin*, &c. I can ſhew ſome errors generally received in moſt, if not in all the Churches of Chriſtendom, but neither approved nor known by the Primitive Church: wherefore I require what you produce, ſhould be both Primitive and Univerſal, and this to interpret ſome place of Scripture doubtful in it ſelf, not plain. Now as to the buſineſs in hand, I can't yield that the Scripture is very doubtful in it, or ſcarce doubtful at all; for though in Scripture 'tis not *in terminis* ſaid, *Presbytery* and *Epiſcopacy* are both one and the ſame Order, yet the circumſtantial expreſſions are (as I have ſhewed) ſo ſtrong and many, that they are equivalent to a clear expreſſion *in terminis*. Secondly, this not a matter of any indifferency, but of vaſt and dangerous conſequence, if miſtaken, That a Church without ſuch Biſhops as you require can't be truly call'd a Church, and ſo we ſhall exclude many Godly Reformed Churches: For if Biſhops be of ſuch a ſuperiour and diſtinct order as you pretend, if the power of Ordination be inherent in them only, Then where no Biſhop, no true Prieſts ordained, where no Prieſts no Sacraments, where no Sacraments no Church. Wherefore I humbly beſeech you be not too poſitive in this point, leſt thereby you do not only condemn all the Reformed Churches, but the Scripture and St. *Paul* alſo; who tells us, That the Scripture is ſufficient to make us wiſe unto Salvation, both in matters of faith and works alſo, to inſtruct and throughly furniſh us to every good work: and will any deny this of Ordination to be both a good and neceſſary work, ſeeing that the powerful preaching the Word and adminiſtration of the Sacraments depend upon it. Wherefore I dare not by any means ſuſpect the Scripture defective in this weighty affair. Yet to ſhew you our willingneſs to hear all things, let us hear what you can tell us from Antiquity.

The

The first you bring is *Epiphanius*, three hundred years after the Apostles, from whom the main Objection is drawn against the Identity of Order, and shot as a Cannon Ball against us beyond all possible resistance, but you will find it to be a meer Tennis-Ball. *Epiphanius* making a Catalogue of Hereticks, puts in *Ærius* for one, who was an *Arrian*, and moreover held that *Bishops* and *Priests* were all of one Order, and of equal D gnity and Authority and that a *Presbyter* had power to Ordain, Confirm, and in short, to act any thing equal with a Bishop. That he was an Heretick is apparent, being an *Arrian*; nay, I shall not scruple to yield unto you that he was an Heretick in this his assertion concerning *Episcopacy* and *Presbytery*, (as we now understand them); I say, the Assertion contains Heresie in one part but not in every part, *viz.* That the Bishop and other Presbyters are of equal authority and power to act: this may, in some sense, be called Heresie, for it is against Apostolical Constitution declared in Scripture, therefore an Heresie; and if you can shew me from Scripture as much against Identity of Order, I shall brand him for an Heretick in that also; but being sure there is no such thing in Scripture, there can be no Heresie in affirming the Identity. I fully agree with *Tertullian*, we can make no judgment, *de rebus fidei, nisi ex literis fidei*, of matters of Faith, but from the writings of Faith, that is, the Scripture, and therefore I shall never be pulled from this Pillar of Truth. The Scripture is our compleat Rule of Faith, no Opinion is heretical and damnable which is not against that. Now, *Good Reader*, I pray take notice that *Epiphanius* was a very godly Bishop in the main, but yet a very cholerick Man, as appears in that his fierce contest with *John* Bishop of *Constantinople*, and his bitter expressions therein, which I do not mention in disparagement of this holy Man, but only to give the *Reader* a caution to remember, that passionate Men do sometimes censure more severely than there is cause: *Epiphanius* being a Bishop, and finding the authority and dignity of *Episcopacy* much disparaged by *Ærius* being an *Arrian* Heretick, falls upon him sharply for this his Opinion also, wherein he was in part much to be condemned, as I freely confest before, but not in the very Point now in question; nor doth *Epiphanius* himself condemn him in this particular as an Heretick, but only in the gross, to which I freely give my vote. But you will tell me, that a Man of a far milder temper, St. *Austin*, doth also enrol *Ærius* among Hereticks. I know it well, but I desire you to know that St. *Austin* doth not lay this to his charge as an Heresie, for he saith only thus; *Ærius also was an Heretick, for he fell into Arrian Heresie, and he added some Opinions of his own*; then St. *Austin* recounts several of his Opinions, whereof this was one, That he affirmed there was no difference between a *Bishop* and a *Presbyter*; where I pray you observe, St. *Austin* gives us the reason why he ranks him with Hereticks, (*viz.*) because he fell into the *Arrian* Heresie; then follows, And he added some Opinions of his own: St. *Austin* calls these Opinions not Heresies, for he doth not say he added

more Heresies of his own. Secondly, I pray you observe, St. *Austin* makes no mention of his affirming the Identity of Order, but only this, That there was no difference at all between *Bishop* and *Presbyter*, wherein I will condemn *Ærius* as well as you. But as for the Identity of Order, 'tis well known that St. *Austin* is noted by *Medina*, a Papist Writer, and others, to encline to this Opinion; but for my part, I think the words quoted from St. *Austin* do not express any Opinion one way or other to this purpose, but are only a Complement to St. *Hierom*, who was but a Presbyter; yet in humility St. *Austin* being a Bishop, acknowledges him to be his superiour in many things. But I desire you to take notice of another very remarkable and most worthy passage of St. *Austin*; who tells us plainly that we are not to read him, or any other Author, ever so holy, or ever so learned, with any obligation to submit to his or their Opinions, unless they prove their Opinions by Scripture, or convincing Reasons. So then, had *Ærius* been declared both by *Epiphanius* and St. *Austin* also, to have been a Heretick in this very particular of Identity of Order, yet they bringing neither Scripture nor any Reason at all, but meerly a bare narrative of *Ærius* and his Opinions, not so much as calling his Opinion in this particular Heresie, much less offering proofs for it; by St. *Austin*'s rule we may, with great civility to them and great confidence in the truth, still affirm the Identity of Order.

But how will I answer that Objection taken out of St. *Hierom*, who, say you, was as great a leveller of Bishops with Priests as any (and therefore what ever comes from him, you may be sure is extracted from him by the powerfulness of undeniable truth) yet he confesses that Bishops have the authority of Ordination more than Presbyters. A Man may smile to see this used as an Argument for the preheminency of Bishops, which is directly against it: For St. *Hierom* having discourst of the quality and Identity of Presbyters and Bishops, and having brought many Arguments from Scripture to prove that Bishop and Presbyter was only two names for one and the same Office; for a further confirmation hereof asks this question, I pray what doth a Bishop do more than a Presbyter except Ordination? Plainly intimating thereby, that this could make no such distinction of Eminency in them above Presbyters: I beseech you consider, Do not Presbyters perform Offices of a higher nature than Ordination? *Presbyters* are ordained Embassadors for *Christ*, to preach his Holy Gospel for the salvation of Souls; they are under *Christ*, Mediators between God and the People to make intercession for them; they administer the Sacrament of Baptism, wherein the Children of wrath are regenerated and made the Children of God, and Heirs of eternal Life; yea, they administer the Sacrament of the Lord's Supper also, the most transcendent act of Religion and Christian Dignity, whereby we are made partakers of the Body and Blood of Christ: And what doth a Bishop more than these except Ordination? which being no Sacrament, sure is inferiour in dignity to the other mentioned Acts, and therefore cannot elevate

elevate them to a higher degree. Judg now, I beſeech you, whether this queſtion makes *pro* or *con*; Are not ſuch queſtions always tending to diſparagement? When any Man is boaſting his Power and Authority, ſhould I come and ask, What can you do more than others, unleſs it be in this or that poor buſineſs not worth ſpeaking of? would he not take this as an affront? Wherefore it cannot enter into my head, that St. *Hierom* intended by this Queſtion to expreſs any ſuperiour Order above the *Prieſthood*, but plainly the contrary, *viz.* That Biſhops having no other power diſtinct from Prieſts but Ordination, this could be no Argument for a diſtinct and ſuperiour Order. And now I deſire my *Reader*, if he underſtand Latin, to view the Epiſtle of St. *Hierom* to *Evagrius*, and doubtleſs he will wonder to ſee Men have the confidence to quote any thing out of it for the diſtinction between *Epiſcopacy* and *Presbytery*, for the whole Epiſtle is to ſhew the Identity of them. Before I chanced to read this Epiſtle, I was of the erroneous Opinion, that Biſhops were a diſtinct Order, but ſo convinc'd by this Epiſtle, as I was forced to ſubmit to a change: And I farther deſire my *Reader* to obſerve the various fate of St. *Hierom* and *Ærius*: *Ærius* is reviled as an Heretick for affirming this Identity of Order; *Hierom* paſſes for a Saint, and a great Doctor of the Church, though he affirms the very ſame as fully as *Ærius*, or any Man can do; and therefore it may be my fate to be reviled as *Ærius* was; but our Saviour bids us rejoyce and be exceeding glad when we are reviled for his *Names ſake*, (or for his Words ſake, ſure all is one) for great is our Reward; and ſo I proceed.

But there lies yet a great Objection made by our good Biſhop *Hall*; he tells how that *Calluthus* a *Presbyter* of *Alexandria*, took upon him to ordain others; and that afterwards, in a Council of a hundred Biſhops in *Ægypt*, their Ordination was declared null, becauſe ordained by a *Presbyter*: From this and ſome other ſuch Inſtances, the Biſhop would prove that the Order of *Presbyters* is not capable to ordain, therefore *Biſhops* are a diſtinct Order. I am ſorry ſo good a Man had no better a proof for his intended purpoſe. It ſeems he quite forgot how that the famous Council of *Nice*, conſiſting of above three hundred, made a Canon, wherein they declare, That if any Biſhop ſhould ordain any of the Clergy belonging to another Biſhops Dioceſs, without conſent and leave had of that Biſhop to whoſe Dioceſs they did belong, their Ordination ſhould be null. You ſee then the irregular Ordination of a *Biſhop* is as null, as the irregular Ordination of a *Presbyter*; therefore the irregular *Biſhop*, and the irregular *Presbyter* are of the ſame Order, of the ſame Authority, neither able to Ordain. Is it not moſt evident by this, that 'tis not their Order but Commiſſion that makes them capable to Ordain; ſure an irregular Biſhop is of the ſame Order with the regular: Is the Line of his Dioceſs like a Con-

jurers

jurers Circle, within it he is a Bishop, without it he is none. No, but within it he hath Commission given him to Ordain, without it no Commission, no nor to act in his own Diocess beyond his Commission, which is to ordain only the Clergy of his own Diocess, and within his own Diocess. Can any thing be plainer? *Celluthus* then being but a *Presbyter*, and under the jurisdiction of the Bishop of *Alexandria*; his taking upon him to ordain *Presbyters*, was highly irregular and insolent, and therefore most justly declared null. I desire the Papistical School-Divines, with their manifold indelible Characters to observe here, how easily the Councils dasht out the indelible Character of *Presbyter* imprinted on the Souls of these Men irregularly ordained, they made a clear rasure, not one tittle of it left. And could they so easily cancel the Gift of the Holy Ghost? I leave my Schoolmen to find out how this rare feat was done. And I proceed to add a Canon taken from a Council at *Antioch* concerning *Chorepiscopi*, much to our purpose.

When the Apostles had settled Bishops in every City, with authority of ordaining and governing the several Churches or Congregations within the Circuits of those Cities; some were very large, and therefore in process of Time, when more were converted to the Faith, and the Congregations encreased more in number, and at greater distance than the Bishop himself could well have the oversight of; the Bishop chose some principal Men for his assistance; and dividing his great Circuit into several lesser Circuits, placed these Men as Overseers under him; and these were called *Chorepiscopi*, that is, Country Bishops, and were much after the manner of our Rural Deans. Those *Corepiscopi*, Country Bishops, being thus settled in authority to govern the Pastoral Priests in their Circuits, took upon them to ordain more Priests when occasion required, which the chief Bishops took very ill at their hands, as a great lessening to their Supream Authority. And to prevent it for the future, a Canon was made in the Council of *Antioch*, about the year 340. to forbid these Country *Bishops* to ordain any *Priests*. Now I pray you observe, These *Chorepiscopi* were either really ordained in the Order of the *Chief Bishop*, or not; if they were as full *Bishops* as he, (as really they were) why might they not ordain *Priests* as well as he? The chief Bishop answers, Because he gave them no Commission. Whereby you see that the power of ordaining Priests was annexed no more to Bishops than to Priests, unless the Bishops received a new Commission to ordain, as well as a new Ordination. If it be answered, That these *Chorepiscopi* were meer Priests sent forth to have inspection only over other Priests; Then I pray observe, that these *Chorepiscopi* being meer Priests, took upon them to ordain other Priests; which certainly had been madness for them to do, had they then such a Belief of Bishops as is now required. They might as well have undertaken to create Stars in the Heavens: For if Bishops only have received a Divine

vine power from Chrift and his Apoftles to ordain Priefts, he that hath not this divine power of Ordination, can no more ordain a Prieft, than a Man without the divine power of Creation can create a Star, both are impoffible in nature: from whence it muft follow, that thefe *Country Bifhops* were directly mad in undertaking to ordain Priefts, having received no fuch divine power from Chrift, his Apoftles, or their Succeffors: But if we take thefe *Country Bifhops* for fober godly Perfons in their right wits (as doubtlefs they were, being felected for that Office) they muft needs believe that being Priefts alone, they had power to ordain other Priefts; and alfo believed, that the Bifhops having made them Overfeers and Governors in their little Circuits, they had alfo received thereby Commiffion to ordain as well as to govern, and were as little Bifhops under an Arch-Bifhop, for fuch really they were; fo that I can't in charity cenfure them fo much as of contumacy in taking upon them more then (they thought at leaft) they had Commiffion to act: I doubt not but the chief Bifhop would be wary enough not to employ any contumacious perfons. I conclude then, firft, That it was only a meer miftake, an eafie and pardonable miftake of their Commiffion. Secondly, That in thofe Times it was not thought an impoffible thing for bare Priefts, no Bifhops, to ordain other Priefts, for then certainly they would never have undertaken it. And I confefs my felf of their opinion; and can't but fo continue till I fee more reafon to the contrary.

And I hope my *Reader* will fee what weak proofs are brought for this diftinction and fuperiority of Order, no Scripture, no Primitive General Council, no general Confent of Primitive Doctors and Fathers, no not one Primitive Father of Note fpeaking particularly and home to our purpofe. Only a touch of *Epiphanius* and St. *Auftin* upon *Ærius* the *Arrian* Heretick, but not declared, no not by them, an Heretick in this particular of *Epifcopacy*; fo that I my felf declare more particularly againft him then thefe Fathers do, accufing him of Herefie in part of his affirmation concerning *Bifhops*, though not in every part.

I fhall conclude this bufinefs by giving my poor Jndgment drawn from the preceeding Arguments. I find in Scripture that the *Priefthood* is a holy Order, into which no man is to thruft himfelf unlefs he be called; I do not find that *Deaconfhip* hath an inferiour part in it, or *Epifcopacy* above it, but that it is compleat and entire in it felf, and that it may involve many Adminiftrations in one and the fame Order, and fometimes many in one and the fame perfon. St. *John* was an Apoftle, an Evangelift, a Prophet, a Paftor, a Teacher, an Ordainer (which we call Bifhop) all thefe Gifts he had by one and the fame Spirit, and in one and the fame Priefthood. Chrift himfelf was of this Order, *a Prieft for ever after the Order of Melchifedek*, that is, both King and Prieft, thefe were his Offices; he is called alfo the *Bifhop of our Souls*: Was this in Chrift a diftinct and fuperiour Office or Order

der to his Priesthood, who will presume to affirm this? And Christ told his Apostles, *As my Father sent me, so send I you*; Christ therefore made them also *Kings and Priests*, as St. *John* tells us, *Rev.* 1. Our Saviour's Kingdom was not of this World, no more was that of the Apostles; Our Saviour's Office of *Priest* and *Bishop* was one and the same, so was that of the Apostles; and they Ordained and sent others, as Christ Ordained and sent them; there was no distinction or diversity of Order in Christ and his Apostles, no more was there in those, who were Ordained and sent by the Apostles, though there might be diversity of Gifts or Administrations; all were not Evangelists nor Prophets, some had the gift of Tongues, some of Prophesie, some of Miracles, some of discerning Spirits; and some such Gift I conceive they might have whom the Apostles constituted superintendent Overseers, Bishops over the rest, endued especially with the Gift of Discerning and Judging of Men, and therefore fit to be entrusted with the Ordaining of others, for which there needed no new Order, but the enlargement only of their Commission to Ordain, to oversee and govern those that were Ordained. And these, as I said before, being settled in this eminent manner over the rest, were called by that name in *Greek* which signifies as much, and which we in English call Bishop; and by degrees this name was wholly appropriate to them. In this order the Apostles left the Church at their Death, and in this order their Successors continued it (as in duty sure they ought) from time to time near one thousand five hundred years, without any interruption. Wherefore for any to alter this way of Government, or to take upon them to Ordain, not being chosen this way to it, they would be guilty of great rashness and high presumption; and I thank God, I am as zealous for the preserving this Primitive way, as any Man; Yet I cannot by any means consent to them, who would have Episcopacy to be a distinct Order, for the Reasons before given; nor can I think the Ordination of a Priest made by Priests invalid, for though it ought not be done, (but only of necessity) yet being done 'tis valid, and certainly may without any crime be done by any Priest, by shipwrack or any such chance cast into a Country where there were none Commissionated to Ordain; in such a case he might and ought to Ordain other fit Persons for the Service of God, and Preaching of the Gospel. For who can doubt but that the Substance is to be preferred before Ceremony? And as St. *Paul* approved of the Preaching of Christ out of envy rather than no Preaching; so doubtless to Ordain out of order is better than no Ordination, and the Church of Christ be deprived of Preaching, Praying, and Administring the Sacraments, and all other Pastoral Duties; so great necessity may well excuse any irregularity: Yet where Order can possibly be observed, it ought to be, for God is *the God of Order*: Wherefore he that willfully transgresses against Order, transgresses against God, and shall *receive to himself damnation*: for if to resist the Ordinance of Man only in humane

mane and temporal things be damnation, much more is it, to resist an Apostolick Ordinance in things Spiritual and Divine.

---

# *Concerning Deacons.*

HAving thus stated and united the two pretended distinct Orders of *Episcopacy* and *Presbytery*, I now proceed to the third pretended Spitual Order, that of *Deaconship*. Whether this of *Deaconship* be properly to be called an Order or an Office, I will not dispute; but certainly no Spiriritual Order, for their Office was to serve Tables, as the Scripture phrases it, which in plain English is nothing else but Overseers of the Poor, to distribute justly and discreetly the Alms of the Faithful, which the Apostles would not trouble themselves withal, least it should hinder them in the Ministration of the Word and Prayer. But as most matters of this World in process of time deflect much from the original constitution, so it fell out in this business; for the Bishops, who pretend to be successors to the Apostles, by little and little took to themselves the Dispensation of Alms, first by way of Inspection over the Deacons, but at length the total Management, and the Deacons, who were meer Lay-Officers, by degrees crept into the Church-Ministration, and became a reputed Spiritual Order, and a necessary degree and step to the Priesthood, of which I can find nothing in Scripture and the Original Institution, not a word relating to any thing but the ordering of Alms for the Poor. And the first I find of their officiating in Spiritual matters, is in *Justin Martyr*, who lived in the second Century, he relates, that when the Bishop had consecrated the Bread and Wine for the Lords Supper, the Deacons took it from him, and delivered it to the Lay-Communicants there present, and carried it also to the Faithful that were absent, hindered, I guess, from coming by sickness, or some other good excusing cause. In the beginning when the Congregations of the Faithful were small, the Bishop himself delivered the Communion to them, but at length encreasing to great numbers, it would have taken too much of their time for the *Bishop* to have delivered it to the whole Congregation; so the Deacons were made use of as fit Persons for this matter; for in those days there was always a Communion in the Assemblies on the Lords-Day, and the Laity that Day brought their Alms and Presents with them, which were delivered unto the Deacons to dispose of to the Poor by the *Bishops* direction, and therefore the Deacons receiving from their hands their charitable Benevolence, were thought the fittest to return again to their hands the consecrated Mysteries

 being

being part of their offerings. But 'tis evident this was not yet come to be the genera lpractice of all Churches, but only in *Greece* where *Justin Martyr* lived; for *Tertullian* who lived in *Africk* some years after *Justin*, declares that the custome there was, to receive the blessed Sacrament from the hands of the *Bishop* only, whom he calls the President, that is, whosoever was chief in the Assembly whether *Bishop* or *Presbyter:* But yet I confess that this custom of the Deacons delivering the blessed Sacrament, or at least one part of it, *viz.* the Chalice, by degrees became the custome in most Churches in after Ages; and so passing from one thing to another in time they came to administer the Sacrament of Baptism, and at last to the ministration of the Word, the business which the Apostles peculiarly reserved to themselves, and which the *Bishops* also for a long time reserved so entirely to themselves, as it was thought a great insolency for any, even for the *Presbyters*, to take upon them to preach in presence of the *Bishop*. *Valerius* Bishop of *Hippo* (as *Possidius* relates) was sharply rebuked by his fellow *Bishops* for suffering St. *Austin*, then but a *Presbyter*, to preach before him. I know sometimes it was suffered also in other Churches, but very rarely, where the Bishop himself was of weak abilities for the work, and had some *Presbyters* under him very Eminent. And so it was with *Bishop Valerius* and St. *Austin*, a person of great note in those days. And thus you see in process of time how strangely things alter from their original institution, the *Bishops* omit preaching, and become servants of Tables, and the Deacons from serving of Tables step up into the Pulpit and became Preachers. But *Petavius* takes upon him to prove *Deaconship* a spiritual Order, and brings us a more early author for it than *Justin*, that noble *Martyr* mentioned before, *Ignatius*; who in his Epistle *ad Tralli*, calls Deacons (as *Petavius* conceives) Ministers of the Mysteries of Christ. Here I find that, which I often lament, learned men to go on in a track one after another, and some through inadvertency, some through partiality take many passages of ancient Authors quite different from their meaning, as here, all following the first erroneous Interpreter of *Ignatius*. Whoever first translated this Epistle of *Ignatius*, sure this fancy of Deacons ran much in his head, otherwise he could never have found them here, for 'tis evident the word *Diaconus* in this place relates to the *Presbytery* newly before mentioned, telling the people they ought to be obedient to the *Presbyters* as to the Apostles of Christ; (then follows) *You must therefore please them in all things, being Ministers of the Mysteries of Christ.* Mark I beseech you, *You must therefore*; is not *Therefore* a particle relating to what went before, *viz.* to the *Presbyters*, otherwise the speech is very absurd. Should I say, *Presbyters* are as the Apostles of *Christ*, therefore you must in all things please the Deacons, were it sence? no, but just, *Deus in cœlo, ergo, baculus in angulo*; but to say the *Presbyters* are as the Apostles, therefore you must please them in all things, being the Ministers of the Mysteries of *Christ*, as the Apostles were; this is very good coherent sence: and so run the words of

*Ignatius*;

*Ignatius*; but the weak Interpreter mistaking the word *Diaconus*, ran into this error, and many Learned Men without any consideration have run after him. I grant the word *Diaconos* is often set for Deacons specifically distinguisht from Presbyters; but 'tis very often set for all Ministers in general, Apostles, Bishops, Presbyters, as you find frequently in Scripture. St. *Paul* in one Epistle, *viz.* the 2d. *Cor.* twice styles himself and other Apostles *Diaconous*. And I do the more wonder at the Interpreters mistake in this place, because by the following words *Ignatius* here excludes the specifical Deacons, saying, *Not the Ministers of meats and drinks*. Now we know the specifical Deacons were Ministers of meats and drinks to the Poor, it was their proper work, for this very end they were chosen, and for no other, as appears evidently in the *Acts*; and therefore *Ignatius* saying, *Not the Ministers of meats and drinks*, directly excludes such Deacons, and the word *Diaconous* must necessarily be taken in the larger sence, and relate to the Presbyters before mentioned, therefore please them in all things being the Ministers of the Mysteries of Christ, not of meats and drinks for the Poor. Whoever understands the *Greek* and will see, must needs see the truth of what I affirm. But *Petavius* intoxicated with this Spiritual Order of Deaconship, turns all this round quite another way, according to the working of his fancy. And so he doth some places of Scripture as little to his purpose as this. He tells us out of the *Acts*, that *Philip* and *Stephen*, both Deacons, were Preachers of the Word, that is a Spiritual Work, therefore belongs to a Spiritual Order. I would gladly know who informed *Petavius*, that *Philip* who Preacht to the Eunuch, and afterwards went about Preaching to others, was *Philip* the Deacon and not rather *Philip* the Apostle, as seems to me far more probable; for *Philip* the Deacon was by his Office to reside at *Jerusalem* and take care of the Poor; thither the Alms of the Faithful were sent, to relieve the Saints at *Jerusalem*. But you farther urge, Surely *Stephen* was a Deacon; and let *Philip* also if you please, it signifies little to the purpose. Sure, I can shew out of Scripture Preachers that were in no Spiritual Order, neither Presbyters, nor Deacons neither, as *Aquilla* and *Priscilla* his Wife too, and *Apollo* likewise, to whom they both Preached and instructed him more fully, sure they did not ordain *Apollo* a Deacon, nor can I believe any of the Apostles ordain'd him Deacon, and sent him forth to Preach before he was well Catechised in the Word, he was not so much as Baptized in Christ, but knew only the Baptism of *John*; if not Baptized, surely not ordained Deacon, yet he prevailed and mightily convinced the *Jews*. It is in reason strange, though in practice common, to see how Men wedded to an Opinion, think whatever they read speaks to that, so Fathers, Doctors, all clink as they think. In the Primitive time all both Men and Women did Preach the Gospel, taken in a large sence, as St. Peter calls *Noah a Preacher of Righteousness*, that is, they endeavoured to instruct

all they converſed with, in the Faith of Chriſt and Godlineſs, for which many both Men and Women ſuffered Martyrdom. Wherefore though *Philip* the Deacon and *Stephen* Preach the Goſpel, it ſignifies nothing to the Spirituality of the Deaconſhip, ſeeing that thouſands of Lay-men and Women alſo did the like. And ſo the Apoſtles laying their hands on thoſe choſen to be Deacons, ſignifies as little to this purpoſe. Do not we find that *Paul* laid his hands on the converted Diſciples at *Epheſus*, and they received the Holy Ghoſt, and Prophesied, yet none of them ordained either Presbyter or Deacon. And ſometimes the Apoſtles laid their hands on thoſe that were already ordained, both Presbyters and Apoſtles alſo, as on *Barnabas* and *Paul*, when they were ſent forth to Preach. This laying of hands was a Ceremony uſed on ſeveral occaſions, I need not mention more, they are obvious to any that read the Scripture. 'Tis evident then from Scripture, that the firſt inſtitution of Deacons was a meer Lay-Office, I will not ſay a prophane Office (as ſome too groſly and irreverently have termed it) but a pious and honourable Office in the Church of God, to ſerve Tables, to take care of God's Poor; but (as I have ſhewed) in proceſs of time it became quite another thing, and ſo different from the Original Inſtitution, as it made *Chryſoſtome*, and divers other great and good Men, doubt whether the Apoſtles did not conſtitute two ſorts of Deacons, ſome for this Lay-Office, ſome for Spiritual-Offices: Had *Chryſoſtome* conſulted only Scripture, he would never have doubted, nor dream't of two ſorts of Deacons, there being no mention at all but of one; but he ſeeing the practice of the Church (which he was unwilling to condemn) ſo different from that one Apoſtolical Inſtitution of Deacons; this ſo confounded the good Man that he knew not well what to make of it, and willing to piece Scripture and the preſent practice together, to put a new patch upon an old Garment, made the rent the wider, rending the Deaconſhip in two pieces, which of old was but one, only to ſerve Tables; which Office he that uſed well, purchaſed to himſelf a good degree, a good eſteem, and ſo it might be a recommendation to the degree of Prieſthood, though no neceſſary ſtep to it. And ſo we find that holy Deacon and moſt renowned Martyr St. *Lawrence*, was made a Prieſt, but continued afterwards in that ſame Office of Deacon unto Death, which he ſuffered in a moſt cruel manner, laid on a Gridiron over Coals, rather than he would give up the Treaſury of the Church and Alms of the Poor, to the covetous cruel Tyrant. This holy Deacon *Petavius* brings to prove, that Deacons by virtue of that Order only, did miniſter in holy things, telling us, that St. *Ambroſe* mentions how he did diſtribute in the Lords Supper, the Blood of Chriſt to the Communicants under Biſhop *Xiſtus*. Whereas St. *Ambroſe* tells us how he Conſecrated the Blood of Chriſt, which plainly ſhews how untruly *Petavius* deals with us, and that St. *Laurence* was a Prieſt, not a bare Deacon, for neither *Petavius*, nor ever any allowed Deacons the Conſecration of theſe ſacred Myſteries.

Where-

Wherefore ſeeing the Scripture allows Deacons, as Deacons, no more then ſerving of Tables for the Poor, whatever elſe Miniſtration is allowed them is by humane Authority, not Divine, and their Office or Order, which you pleaſe to call it, being about Temporal things muſt be Temporal, not Spiritual. And ſo I leave them to their proper Office of ſerving Tables, not finding in Scripture any thing more belonging to them.

---

# *Concerning Confirmation.*

CONfirmation or ſome ſuch thing is ſo neceſſary, that for want of due execution thereof, Perſons extreamly unfit are admitted to the holy Table of the Lords Supper. I fear a quarter of the Communicants of this Nation do not ſufficiently underſtand the true meaning of theſe holy Myſteries, the due preparation for them, the benefits, the damages, in worthily or unworthily receiving them: This I affirm upon experience, having, by way of diſcourſe, queſtioned many both of low and high degree, where one would little expect ſuch Ignorance. And by reaſon of this groſs Ignorance in due preparing, and conſcientious receiving this bleſſed Cordial and Medicine of the Soul (of power in it ſelf to cure all our diſeaſes if rightly applied) is turned into our deſtruction, and damnation of the Soul. For this holy Sacrament rightly apprehended, would ſtrike a terror into the Soul and a dread of Sin, but Men receiving it without any regard into their ſinful ſouls, the beams of Grace which this Sun of Righteouſneſs brings with it, harden their dirty hearts, and make them afterwards unſenſible of any horrid abomination whatſoever. And all this is occaſioned by the want of ſome fit Perſon of authority, to examine youth of all degrees, ever ſo high or ever ſo low, before they are admitted to the Lords Table. For there being many poor ignorant Curates, many unconſcientious careleſs Miniſters, many over-awed by the ſuperior quality of their Pariſhioners, ſome cannot, ſome will not, ſome dare not ſearch into the requiſite abilities of perſons to be admitted. All which was prevented in the Primitive times of Chriſtianity, when able and holy Biſhops were elected, and therefore reverenced and obeyed in all Spiritual matters by the greateſt as well as by the leaſt. Theſe diligently and publickly before the Congregation at ſet-times in the year, chiefly at *Eaſter*, examined all thoſe who had been converted to the faith from infidelity that year, and all thoſe, who baptized in the faith, deſired admittance to the Lords Table; and upon approbation and confirmation of the Biſhop, fit perſons only were publickly Baptized by him, and at the Church door,

aſſoon as Churches were built, where the Baptiſtery was placed, and then brought into the Church and admitted to the Lords Table: And no inferiour Miniſter did either Baptiſe, or adminiſter the holy Communion, unleſs it were by the Biſhops order on urgent occaſions. Theſe things are very well known to the Learned, who are converſant in *Ignatius* his Epiſtles, *Juſtin Martyr*, *Tertullian*, *Cyprian*, and other ſucceeding Writers. And in ſhort, nothing was done of any moment, as is plain in *Ignatius*, but by the Biſhops directions. But at length the number of Chriſtians growing great, and multitudes of Children daily Born, and an Opinion growing up alſo, that it was abſolutely neceſſary for the ſalvation of Children not only to be Baptized, but alſo to receive the holy Communion before death; it was impoſſible for the Biſhop to be at hand to perform all, or to give particular order for all: Neceſſity forced every Prieſt in his Cure, to perform theſe Offices. Yet in proceſs of Time, the Opinion of the neceſſity for Children to receive the holy Communion before death, declining, and few or none admitted till the age of diſcretion, and the neceſſity of Baptiſm for Children ſtill continuing, the Biſhops ſuffered ſtill all Miniſters to Baptiſe, but reſumed to themſelves again the power of Confirming and Licenſing youth to the holy Communion. And Biſhops only for a long time executing this Office, it grew by degrees into an Opinion, that Biſhops only were capable to do it, and that Confirmation was a Sacrament, and ſuch a Sacrament as inferiour Prieſts, ſuppoſed then alſo to be of an inferiour Order, were not to meddle with. What errors will Men, yea learned Men, carried along with a croud ſlide into, not willing to ſtand in oppoſition with a multitude, eſpecially when countenanced by the Biſhop their Superiour. And then ſucceeding learned Men having in their infancy ſucked in the error, continue it in their riper Learned years, and endeavour to defend it as a certain truth; and at laſt it paſſeth for an Article of Faith, neceſſary to be believed. Thus have I laid out before you the true State and Progreſs of this buſineſs of Confirmation.

Now I pray conſider firſt; Suppoſe Confirmation to be a Sacrament, and to be adminiſtred by the Biſhop only, and none to be admitted to the Lords Table till Confirmed: How is it poſſible for a Biſhop of ſo large a Dioceſs, as ſome of ours are (ſome extended three or fourſcore miles, many forty or fifty) perſonally to Confirm half the Youth in a Dioceſs, if he duly examine each one, as is moſt fit and neceſſary. We ſee how this is performed in their Triennial Viſitations; not a quarter of thoſe, who are admitted, ever come to the Biſhop, and yet the crowd is great: What is then done to thoſe that come? They are asked by the Biſhop, whether they believe, and will perform thoſe things their God-fathers and God-mothers affirmed and promiſed for them at their Baptiſm; they anſwer, Yes; and ſo are confirmed: But what thoſe things are, whether they underſtand and can give a good account of thoſe things, not a word of this. Oh but the Curate, who

who presents those Children to the Bishop, assures him that they are fully instructed for it; this is the thing we complain of and desire to be redressed; that it may not be left to the discretion and care of every Curate, seeing what pittiful creatures are by them admitted. And do we not see sometimes (the Curate desiring to please the fond Mother) Children confirmed so young as cannot without a miracle be of a capacity to understand those divine Mysteries. Besides, it may often happen that a pious Child well fitted for the holy Sacrament, and perchance being weak, earnestly desires it before his death, yet must stay some years 'till next Visitation, or take a long Journey to the Bishop, for which he may want strength or means to support him. But in the Primitive times the Bishops Confirmed every year; their Diocess also was very narrow, so that access to him was quick and easie, and the work was as easie to the Bishop, yea and easie also to the inferiour Curate to instruct and prepare them; for Parents and Masters did then according to their bounden duty (the great neglect whereof in these daies will find sore punishment at the last day) made it their chief care to instruct their Servants and Children from their infancy in the Principles of Religion.

You see how impossible it is for a Bishop in a large Diocess and Triennial Visitation to perform this necessary work as it ought, and therefore in the second place consider, how necessary it is for the Bishop to appoint some discreet consciencious Ministers (as our Dean Rurals should be) in several Circuits to examine and license to the Lords Table: For I pass it as granted that Confirmation is no Sacrament, and if it were, why may not Priests-not-Bishops perform it? certainly there is not one word in Scripture forbidding it, or any colourable pretence against it, nor can I discover the least ground of reason to forbid it; inferiour Ministers performing other offices superiour to it, and certainly equal to it, though it were a Sacrament, which our Church denies. There is nothing in the world can be pretended, but that in the beginning Bishops did only perform it. To this I answer, That from the very beginning there were no other Priests but Bishops, as I have shewed you, and then Bishops, did all other Ministerial Duties, Preach, Pray, Baptize, Catechise; and in succeeding Ages, when there were several inferiour Priests not Bishops, all but Confirming was ever transmitted to them; and to Deacons also Preaching, Praying and Baptizing, nay Baptizing tolerated in necessity to Midwives (I would glady see any such thing in Antiquity) and shall Confirming, the meanest of all these, be denyed Priests? You will tell me there have been decrees in some Councils to forbid it: And will you be bound up to all the decrees of Councils, without Scripture or any reason for them? If once we leave Scripture and hearken to the doctrines of men, ever so Holy, ever so Learned, ever so Primitive, we shall soon be wheedled into the Papists Religion, and many other Errors, which the Papists themselves now reject, as I have declared, at large before, and

therefore

therefore I forbear, saying more now to this purpose; but proceed to a third Consideration, What will be the best means to prepare Youth for the receiving the holy Communion in every Cure, and then present them to such as are appointed to License them.

In the first place, I humbly conceive it will be necessary to add unto the Catechism, a short and plain Paraphrase upon every sentence in the Creed, the Lords Prayer, and Ten Commandments, and particularly to explain every unusual hard word therein. For those general Questions at the end of them do not so sufficiently open the understandings of the weaker or duller Youth, as that they know how to apply those generals to each particular sentence; but many Youths who can most readily say the Catechism to a little, yet understand many words no more than if they were *Greek*, and scarce are able to give you the meaning of any Sentence in their own words: And although they have all perfectly by heart, as we say, yet have very little in their heads and understandings; and so a Parrot may be well nigh as capable of the Lords Supper, as some of those.

In the next place I must tell you, That I fear as much Ministers of the best parts as those of the meanest for this necessary work of Catechizing, lest both have the same effect, though they act extreamly different, the one talking non-sence, the other above common sence, both of them confounding the brains of the poor Youths, who understand neither of them. I have heard some Learned Ministers call the Youth together, ask a few Catechism-questions, which the Boys answering readily are commended and dismissed: And then begins this learned Man a profound Lecture, shaped according to his own large dimensions, at which both Boys and Men also for the most part gaze, as at a prodigious Monster of Learning; and perchance some of them say to themselves the same, that *Festus* said to St. *Paul, The Man is besides himself, much Learning hath made him mad.* Sure he doth not know where he is, not in an University-Shool of Divinity; but in an Assembly of weak and silly Youth (who must *be fed with milk, and are not capable of strong meat*) where it were better for him with St. *Paul, to speak five words with his understanding, that by his voice he may teach others also, than ten thousand words in an unknown tongue*, or in such *English* as they understand no more than an unknown tongue. I humbly beseech these Men to attend to the Form and Phrase of the Gospel, and mark what kind of matter and language the Divine Oracle used in Preaching it, even to the learned Scribes and Pharisees, and to learn of him who was *lowly in heart, and came not to seek his own glory, but the glory of Him that sent him.* I desire them also to read the latter end of the first Chapter of 1 *Cor.* and the beginning of the second, and learn from thence to speak the Wisdom of God in the weak and foolish way of Preaching, to instruct and gain the weak and foolish, yet wise unto God. Really no Man that hath not made

some

some experience can believe, how strangely weak and dull thousands both of boyes and men also, are in apprehending spiritual matters: so that a man had need to study much, how to fit their weak heads with a sutable discourse, and hath as much need of great patience also to repeat every thing again and again, and even beat it into their heads. I have observed that *Plato*'s manner of many short and plain questions and answers to effect much; and likewise familiar similitudes from things within their own occupation and knowledge. And now to encourage them to this toilsome work, I beseech them to consider, that the Souls of these weak simple ones, cost our Saviour as dear, as those of the Philosophers, and therefore are as dear to him, yea it seems dearer, seeing St. *Paul* tells us in the place before cited, that he calls more of them to Salvation; and therefore they ought to be as dear to our Saviours Ministers, and to be chiefly called and sought by them; and then they shall be sure to have their reward from this our lowly Saviour.

In the last place, I conceive it necessary to consider, what course may be taken to bring all to Catechising: for I have heard some Pious Ministers much complain, that they have used their utmost endeavours, yet cannot effect it: and it can never be expected, that many of the Youth will come, unless compelled by Parents and Masters; of whom many are so careless, many so covetous, as they think every hour lost, which is not spent on their worldly affairs: so that the Parents and Masters need compulsion as well as their Children and Servants. And considering how this necessary work of Catechising hath been neglected for many years past, it is much to be feared that the aged need it as much as the youth. But would Parents and Masters well consider the great advantages that would accrue to them, even in their worldly concerns, they would be very zealous to come themselves, and both see and hear their youth Catechized, and bred up in Piety and Godliness: the want whereof hath bred that great undutifulness in children, that sloth and falseness of servants, which we sadly behold in this degenerated age, And let me mention once again the strict account Parents and Masters must give to God for so great neglect to those committed to their charge, Wherefore unless some fitter expedient can be found, I humbly conceive it would have some effect, if such careless Parents and Masters were not admitted themselves to the Holy Communion, who were faulty in this kind: for though many of them are not very zealous of the Holy Communion, and could easily pass it by, yet for reputation sake they would not easily incur the being rejected; and doubtless many of them would be moved thereby, and the example of some would be followed by others, and so by degrees the number would encrease: and when Catechizing by this means begins to grow in fashion, it would quickly be taken up by all. God be merciful to us, that Religion in many is chiefly for fashion sake! yet I hope by Gods assisting grace, Religion begining,

 though

though but in fashion, would end at last in true Devotion, at least in many, if not in all. However it is good that God should publickly be glorified, the publick would sdeed the better for it, though the private hypocrites suffer punishment in the end. God in his mercy turn their hearts that they may escape.

---

# *Of Church Government.*

MY last particular which remains yet to be handled, is that of the Authority of Bishops to govern as well as to ordain. And in the first place, who can but wonder to see men so zealous in assuming to themselves the sole power of Ordination, so much neglect, and even wholly abandon the power of the Keys, that of Excommunication, so high and so dreadful; which, though by great abuse in latter times is made very contemptible, yet in the original institution and Primitive practice was very terrible: A power to deliver men over unto Satan, that Prince of darkness, to take full possession of their Souls, and sometimes of their Bodies also, both being sentenced thereby to the everlasting flames of Hell; and likewise a power to release penitent souls from the chains of darkness, and slavery of the Devil, and restore them to the glorious liberty of the Sons of God; whereby they are made Heirs of the Kingdom of Heaven. If there be any thing under Heaven fit to stir up the Ambition of mortal men, yea an ambition in Angels themselves, sure this is it. Who can forgive sins but God alone? said the *Jews* to our Saviour Christ swelling with indignation against him for this, though they had seen many divine Miracles wrought by him, yet this is so peculiar, so transcendent a divine act, as not to be offered at by any but the great God *Jehovah* himself. But blessed for ever be this great and gracious God, who by his eternal Son Christ Jesus hath given this power unto men. As his heavenly Father sent him with this power, so sent he his Apostles with this power, saying unto them, *Whosesoever sins ye remit they are remitted unto them, and whosisoever sins ye retain they are retained*: Wherefore if there be any thing in the Office of a Bishop to be stood upon and challenged peculiar to themselves, certainly it should be this; yet this is in a manner quite relinquished unto their Chancellors, Lay-men, who have no more capacity to sentence or absolve a sinner, then to dissolve the heavens and earth, and make a new heaven and a new earth, and this pretended power of Chancellors is sometimes purchased with a sum of Money, their Money perish with them. Good God! what a hor-

rid

rid abuſe is this of the Divine Authority. But this notorious tranſgreſſion is excuſed, as they think, by this, that a Miniſter called the Biſhops ſurrogat, but is indeed the Chancellors ſervant, choſen, call'd, and placed there by him, to be his Cryer in the Court, no better, that when he hath examined, heard and ſentenced the Cauſe, then the Miniſter (forſooth) pronounces the ſentence. Juſt as a Rector of a Pariſh Church ſhould exclude any of his Congregation and lock him out of the Church, then comes the Clerk ſhews and gingles the Keys, that all may take notice that he is excluded. And by this his authority the Chancellor takes upon him to ſentence not only Laymen, but Clergy. men alſo brought into his Court for any delinquency, and in the Court of the Arches there they ſentence even Biſhops themſelves. This is a common practiſe in later ages, but in St. *Ambroſe* his time ſo great a wonder, as with amazement cryeth out againſt the Emperour *Valentinian*, when he took upon him to judge in ſuch caſes, ſaying, *When was it ever heard of ſince the beginning of the World, that Lay-men ſhould judge of ſpirituals*, (he means in ſpiritual things, not in temporal things, which by the laws of God and man belongs to the Lay-Magiſtrate) This was that *Ambroſe* of whom the other great Emperour, as Good as Great *Theodoſius*, Father to this *Valentinian* affirmed, *Ambroſe* onely knew how to act the Biſhop, and with all Chriſtian humility this great Emperour ſubmitted to the ſentence of this godly Biſhop denying him entrance into the Church for the cruelty acted by his Souldiers at *Theſſilonica* by his command; and upon his great repentance and pennance performed ſix months together, aud after pnblique confeſſion in the Church, was again abſolved and joyfully received into the Church. Oh my Great and Reverend Fathers of the Church the Biſhops, whom Chriſt hath cleaved to his high dignity, whom he hath made Kings and Princes, whom he hath called to ſit with him on his Throne, there to give ſentence of eternal life or eternal death, can you ſo tamely part with this prime flower of your Crown, yea the very Apex of it, and ſuffer the Lay-members of the Church to uſurp this divine authority? Or how can you anſwer it to the chief Biſhop of our Souls, if any one Soul by the ill management of the Chancellors ſhould certainly periſh? ſhall not his blood be required at your hands? But perchance ſome of you will anſwer, 'Tis no fault of yours, but of your predeceſſors, who gave ſuch Patents unto them, as by vertue thereof they exerciſe this power, will ye nill ye. 'Tis too true, and I remember when the Biſhop of *Wells*, hearing of a cauſe corruptly mannaged, and coming into the Court to rectifie it, the Chancellor Dr. *Duke* fair and mannerly bad him be gon, for he had no power there to act any thing, and there with all pulls out his Patent ſealed by the Biſhops Predeceſſor, which like *Perſeus* ſhield with the *Gorgons* head frighted the poor Biſhop out of the Court. Where are you Parliament men you great Sons of the Church ſo zealous for Epiſcopal Government, yet ſuffer this principal part of it to be thus alienated and uſurped by Lay-men?

If an unordained person take upon him to pray or preach, with what outcries and severe Laws, and with great reason also, you fall upon him; but if an unordained person take upon him to judge, sentence, and excommunicate Bishops themselves, you calmly pass it over, take no notice of it. You will answer me, The Bishops themselves pass it over, yea and pass it away from themselves and their successors for to gratifie their kinsmen, or their friends; or perchance for worse, why then should you stir in it. Truly in this you have reason, and the balme most wholly light on them, who do not use all possible endeavour and implore your assistance also to rectifie this great abuse, which subverts the main Pillar of the Church Government; this is no Ceremonial matter, but the very substance of it, they strain at Gnats and swallow Camels. For Chancellors to intermeddle in Probats of Wills, payment of Tythes, or any other temporal matters, there is no scripture nor reason to condemn, but rather to condemn, Bishops, should they interpose in such matters for which they have no commission from Scripture, but rather a prohibition from that saying of our Svaiovr, *Man who made me a judge or a divider over you?* but then it will be necessary that Chancellors have also power of Temporal punishments, and not prophane that high and holy power in sordid earthly things; certainly a greater prophanation than to convert a Church into a Chandlers Shop; the Church is a bulk of earthly materials and holy only by dedication; the power of its Keys is in its own nature and original constitution spiritual and divine: If *Uzza* being no *Levite* suffered death for laying hold on the Sacred Ark of God to support and hold it up, what shall he suffer who being no consecrated person layes hold on the sacred authority of God to pull it down from heaven to earth? Let them consider.

But let not the Civilians for this account me an Enemy to their Profession, which no man honours more, and I heartily wish much more of our Civil matters were commited to their management and judicature. The Civil Law is that whereby most of the civilized World is govern'd, and if we will have commerce with them, 'tis fit we should have able Civilians to deal with them, which will never be unelss they have profitable and honourabl places to encourage them for it; all that I beg of them is, that they would contain themselves within their own Sphear of activity, and not intrude into spiritual and sacred matters committed by Christ and his Apostles to the Priesthood. And so I beg of Priests, that they would not intermeddle in Lay and Temporol officer. In the time of Popery when Spiritual and Temporal affairs were all intermingled and horribly confounded, as the Pope took upon him Secular and Imperial authority, directly contrary to the Word and Constitutions of Christ, so the Bishops and Priests under him intermeddled in all Secular Affairs and offices, and in this Nation Bishops were frequently Lord Keepers, Treasurers, Chief Justices,

Vice-

Vice-Royes, what not? which is strangely un-Apostolical and unlawful, their vocation being wholly Spiritual, as Men chosen out of the World, should have no more to-do with it, than of meer necessity for food and rayment. Wherefore to take upon them any Lay-Office, which must needs take them off much from the Ministry of the Word and Prayer, is doubtless very sinful: For *Acts* 6. we find the Apostles gave themselves continually to these, and would not endure to have these interrupted by that charitable Office of taking care for the Poor; certainly then they would have much less endured; yea, abominated to be taken off by temporal and worldly Offices. And on this occasion, let me speak a word to those of the inferiour Clergy, who take upon them to study and practice Physick for hire, this must needs be likewise sinful, as taking them off from their spiritual employment; had they studied Physick before they entered Holy Orders, and would after make use of their skill among their poor Neighbours out of charity; this were commendable, but being entered on a spiritual and pastoral Charge, which requires the whole man, and more to spend their time in this, or any other study not spiritual, is contrary to their vocation, and consequently sinful; and to do it for gain is sordid, and unworthy their high and holy Calling. But *Necessitas cogit ad turpia*, the maintenance of many Ministers is so small, as it forces them even for food and rayment to seek it by other Employment, which may in some measure excuse them, but mightily condemn those who should provide better for them: Whether this belongs not to King and Parliament, I must humbly beseech them in Christs name seriously to consider: I crave pardon for this (I hope useful) Digression, and return to the Business of Excommunication.

This Sacred Authority of Excommunication being committed by Christ to the Apostles by them to their Successors, was used in weighty and very scandalous matters, very few examples of it in Scripture: The incestuous *Corinthian Hymenus* and *Alexander*, scarce another clearly exprest. The Apostles being fully guided by the Holy Ghost in all things, did exercise this power singly themselves; but the succeeding Bishops, having not the Spirit of that full measure, used the assistance of the principal Clergy in their Diocess, that the act might be more solemn and authentick; the person excommunicated, if he conceived the act injurious, appealed to one or more neighbouring Bishops, who assembled together, and discussing the matter, either confirmed or reversed the Act, as they found cause: And sometimes the matter proceeded so far as to cause an Assembly of the whole Province. But each Bishop, or *Præpositus* (as St. *Cyprian* calls him, and declares, that he) was absolute in his own Diocess to exercise his power, and none condemned for using it, but only for abusing it contrary to reason and conscience; there were the only rules they proceeded by at first. Afterwards when Bishops on this or other occasions met in Assemblies Provincial

vincial or General, they made it divers Canons, which passed for Rules and Laws to govern the Church by, which doubtless are very good helps to bridle the extravagant passions of particular Men, very apt in this corrupt age to prevaricate; yet I cannot conceive them so far oblidging but new emergent circumstances may justly cause new and different Decrees; yet so, as every particular Bishop is oblidged for peace sake to submit to, or at least to acquiesce in the General Decree of that Nation where he lives. I said, They are not bound entirely to submit to the Decrees of former Councils, either Provincial or General; because, as I have shewed before, all their Decrees are humane, not Divine; and all humane Ecclesiastical Laws are alterable, according to the time and occasions by other General Councils.

As to the bounds of each Bishops Diocess, they were occasioned several wayes: The Apostles for the better spreading of the Gospel, Preach't it first in the principal Cities, which generally had great influence upon the adjacent parts, by reason that the occasions of most call them thither; and in these Cities they settled the chief Pastors of the Church, with power to ordain Presbyters and Pastors in other lesser Cities and Towns round about, as the Congregations of the Faithful encreased; and all those Churches that were erected, and Pastors establish't in them by these Apostolick Men in the chief Cities (I humbly conceive in reverence of their worth and Apostolick authority) were freely observant and subject to them, which afterwards out of custom, grew into a kind of right challenged by their successors. Sometimes the authority of the Pastor or Bishop of a City was enlarged according to the temporal authority of the same, it being the Metropolitan of this or that Countrey; for so we find in the Council of *Nice*, and other Councils, the chiefest and largest authority given to the Bishop of old *Rome*, because it was the first Imperial City, to *Constantinople* as the second Imperial City, to *Alexandria* as the chief City of that part of *Africa*, to *Antioch*, *Jerusalem*, *Ephesus*, *Corinth*, *Phillipi*, &c. where you see that though *Jerusalem* were the first City from whence the Gospel issued forth, *Antioch* the second City where the Gospel was planted, and where the Faithful were first called Christians; yet *Rome*, *Constantinople* and *Alexandria* were preferred before them, and had far larger Jurisdiction; so that it is a meer humane temporal matter, and Men have no farther obligation to it in conscience, than for Peace sake and Order, which in like manner obliges every Man to be subject to all Magistrates within their respective Jurisdictions.

There are yet two things more to be considered in this business. First, Where the Apostles first planted the Gospel in Cities with authority over the adjacent part, it was in rich populous Countries, where Cities were much nearer together than in these *Northen* parts, and the circuit of each City was much less in compass, so that the Bishop might well have the in-

spection

pe ction into all, and understand the behaviour of each Pastor under him, to admonish and chastise when there was cause. Whereas with us partly by great distance of Cities, partly by the favour of former Princes, several Towns being cast into one Diocess, they became so large, as 'tis impossible any one Bishop should have a sufficient inspection into them. As I said before of great Parishes so here of Diocesses, the Bishop knows not the names nor faces of half, or a quarter of them, much less their behaviour, he may have as well a part of *France* in his Diocess to govern. And as for their Triennial and Circuity Visitations, they signifie just nothing as to this, 'tis a meer money business to pay procurations to the Bishop, fees to Chancellors, Registers, &c. the Bishop indeed usually makes a Speech unto them, and a Sermon is preach't by some one of them, wherein perchance good Admonitions are given; but what knowledge can the Bishop by this have of their lives, or doctrine, or diligence? If he continue long there he may learn a few more names or faces, scarce any thing more. I humbly conceive this ought to be redressed, and the Diocess bronght into that compass, that each Bishop may be a Bishop in Government, as well as in Title and Authority over them. But if the Diocesses be divided less, and Bishops more encreased, where shall we have maintenance for so many Bishops, some having too little already? When ever I shall see the Clergy of this Nation Congregated by his Majesties Authority, resolved in good earnest to reform and establish all according to the holy Constitutions of the Primitive Times, and come to this last mentioned, contracting the bonds, and in number encreasing the Diocesses, and Bishops for them, I'le undertake to propose wayes both rational and conscientious of providing convenient maintenance for all; but I desire to be excused at present, least greedy Harpies make ill use of my zealous intentions.

And so I proceed to consider a second abuse in Church Government, which is, Exempt Jurisdictions, a thing altogether unknown to Antiquity and brought in by Papal Tyranny. The Popes at the height of their usurped dominion, taking upon themselves to be head of the Christian Churches, to be the Universal Bishop thereof, and all other to be but their Curates, took then upon them also, among other matters, to exempt from the power of any their under Bishops whomsover they Pleased. And out of policy to have the more Creatures and Vassals immediately depending on them in every Kingdom and Nation, to stickle for them with Kings and Princes on all occasions, did for the most part exempt all Monasteries (who with their near Relations and Tenants made a great part of the Kingdom) from the Jurisdiction of the Bishop; they exempted also several Deans and Chapterss, several peculiar Chappels, several Arch-Deaconries, and other, and some of these were endowed with Archiepiscopal Jurisdiction in their Precincts, wherein they acted whatever they pleased, without controul of any but their Popeships: All which would have appeared a confused madness in

Pri-

Primitive times, when for any person to have been out of the Jurisdiction of all Bishops, was to have been quite out of the Church, and would have been lookt upon as a Heathen and Infidel, according to the Primitive practice in all Ages, till Papal usurpation. And therefore all these Exempt Jurisdictions are meer Papal, and if duely examined, will be found opposite to the established Laws of this Kingdom since the reformation from Popery, as they are directly opposite to the Primitive Canons of the Church before Popery was known or heard of. And by reason of these Exempt Jurisdictions great disputes and great frauds arise between the Bishop and them, and the poor Clergy are so pild and pold by them both, that they are forc't to go in threadbare Coats, whilst the several Officers of both grow fat and fair by fees extracted from them. Wherefore I humbly conceive the Bishops, with the rest of the Clergy are bound in conscience to implore the Assistance of both Houses of Parliament to Petition His Majesty for the redress of these abuses by Pious Laws, Setling the Church Government in the Primitive purity and authority, which most evidently was very great, and as greatly reverenced, Bishops being the persons to whom Christ and his Apostles committed the Souls of Men, bought with the precious blood of Christ, to whom be glory, and to his holy Spouse the Church, be all Sacred Authority for ever. *Amen.*

---

## *A Charitable Admonition to all Non-Conformists.*

MY beloved in Christ, you see how earnestly I have pleaded for you to the Fathers and Governors of our Church, that they would graciously condescend to abolish some Ceremonies in the Church, that they may receive you into it; but yet I have no great hopes that they will hearken to me, you your selves for whom I plead, destroy my hope; for they presently dash me in the teeth saying, go rather and perswade the Sons in duty to submit to their Fathers, then Fathers to yield to Sons; and can you deny but of the two you are rather to submit? You think to excuse this by saying, Were it not against your Conscience you would submit, but you dare not for fear of displeasing God, his holy Word forbids you; I beseech you shew me in his holy Word any one clear sentence, against any one Ceremony commanded in our Church; you see plainly I am not biast to any one Ceremony,

remony, and I am ſure I have read the Scripture all over ſeveral times, and I humbly conceive 'tis no pride of heart, if I think I underſtand Scripture as well as you; and for my part I cannot find any one condemning Sentence in Scripture. But you have the Spirit of God enlightening you, which I want; by this rule you may affirm any thing out of Scripture, and I ſhould be as mad in diſputing againſt you, as you in affirming it; 'tis madneſs for a blind man (as you conceive me to be) to diſpute of colours; therefore if you are ſo void of all reaſon, as to expect your bare affirmation, you that you have light, ought to convince all gain-ſayers, I ſhall not trouble my ſelf or you, to gainſay you farther, but addreſs my ſelf to others, who ſoberly undertake to ſhew me ſuch Texts, as an unbiaſt Chriſtian willing and deſirous to ſubmit to all Scripture Truths (as I am ſure I am) may diſcover the truth of them; and I deſire thoſe ſober undertakers to ſhew me, any one ſuch clear Text to excuſe their non-conforming, as I ſhew them for their conforming: *Submit your ſelves to every ordinance of man &c.* 1 *Pet.* 2. 13. and, *Obey them that have the rule over you, and ſubmit, Heb.* 13.17. Theſe are as clear as the Sun, that you ought to obey: Now if the Text you bring be not ſo clear but doubtful, I beſeech you is your conſcience ſo bold againſt a clear Text, and ſo timerous at a doubtful Text, is this religion or reaſon? is it not apparently wilfulneſs and faction? I beſeech you my Brethren, take heed of thus diſſembling with God and the world, or take heed of giving your ſelves up to theſe deluſions of a miſtaken ſpirit. Humility and Obedience are evident marks of the Spirit; *Learn of me*, ſaith Chriſt, *Math.* 11. 29. *for I am meek and lowly in Heart: God reſiſteth the proud, and giveth grace to the humble.* Wherefore I beſeech you, firſt, put on the Lord Jeſus with all humility, that he may give you the grace of his holy Spirit, to diſcern clear Truths, from conceited fancical errors. Secondly, I beſeech you conſider, whether of the two it be not ſafer to erre in the way of Humility, then to erre in the way of Pride, which makes it doubly damnable, void of all excuſe (I ſay this becauſe you think or pretend to think our way erronious, not that I have any ſuch thought or doubt) whereas the Humble Soul hath great excuſe to plead; and if Charity cover a multitude of Sins, ſure Humility will cover ſome; a Soul clothed with Humility can't eaſily be diſpleaſing to our humble Saviour; but clothed with pride, can ſcarce be acceptable, but rather hateful, like the proud Phariſee, with all his enumerated Virtues; and my Brethren, 'tis moſt evident your ſpirit ſavours ſomewhat of the Phariſee, magnifying your own holineſs, and deſpiſing all others as Publicans and Sinners, and refuſing all communion with them; whereas the Holy of Holies, our Lord Jeſus, choſe chiefly to converſe with ſuch; really I can't but think your caſe very dangerous on this account only, were there no more to accuſe you of. Thirdly, I beſeech you to conſider the great miſchief you bring upon this Church and Nation by your ſeparation from the Church; You pretend to be the great

Zelots against Popery, and yet give me leave to say, Your indiscreet dis-
obedient Zeal mainly brings it in; your separation, and many following
divisions, have caused many to abhor our Church, and turn to Popery, and
doubtless you are to give an account to God for the ruine of those Souls;
for I can never yie'd that you have any reasonable and true conscientious
cause of separation, but meerly mistaken-reason and conscience, which I
much pity, but no way approve; and therefore I must lay the advance of
Popery to your charge, to your separation, for I am sure 'tis the main snare
wherewith they catch unstable Souls, perswading them our Church is not
guided by the Spirit of Truth, seeing it is confounded by the spirit of divi-
sion, it cannot be of God who is both Verity and Unity. Now though it
be well known to the Learned, that their Church hath neither Verity
nor Unity, yet this is not discernable to weak Souls, especially here in this
Country, where their Church is under a cloud, and therefore their foul
spots nothing so visible as abroad, where it walks barefaced, but are here
by their Priests either with great confidence deny'd, or with great cunning
disguised. Wherefore again I most earnestly and most humbly beseech you
for Jesus sake, put on our Lord Jesus in all humility and obedienc, submit-
ting your selves to the Ordinances of those Superiours and Powers which
God hath set over you; and if out of meer humility and obedience you
conform, though you were guilty of some error therein (I am confi-
dent there is none, yet were it so) my Soul for yours, that guilt shall ne-
ver be laid to your charge by our most gracious Saviour, and most merci-
ful Judge Christ Jesus our Lord: to whom be all honour and glory for
ever. *Amen.*

---

# FINIS.

---

MARVELL, Andrew

# Mr. SMIRKE;

OR, THE

# DIVINE in MODE:

BEING

Certain *Annotations*, upon the *Animadversions* on *the Naked Truth*.

Together with a Short *Historical Essay*, concerning *General Councils*, *Creeds*, and *Impositions*, in Matters of *Religion*.

---

*Nuda, sed Magna est Veritas, & prævalebit.*

---

BY

ANDREAS RIVETUS, *Junior*,

Anagr.

*RES NUDA VERITAS.*

---

Printed *Anno Domini* MDCLXXVI.

To the

# CAPTIOUS READER.

ALL that I have to require of thee is, That wherefoever my Stile or Principles Strike out, and keep not within the ſame Bounds, that the moſt Judicious Author of *the Naked Truth* hath all along obſerved; he may not therefore be traced. He could beſt have writ a Defence proportionable to his own Subject; had he eſteemed it neeeſſary, or that it was decent for him to have enter'd the Pit with ſo Scurrilous an Animadverter. But I thought it a piece of due Civility from one of the Laities, to intereſſe my ſelf for one of the Clergy, who had ſo highly obliged the People of *England*. And I will anſwer for mine own faults, I ask thee no pardon. Nor therefore is either the Author, or any other particular Perſon, or any Party, to be accuſed or miſrepreſented upon my Private Account. For the reſt, neither let any particular Man, or Order, inlaege my meaning againſt themſelves, further than in Conſcience they find they are guilty. Nor let the body of Chaplains think themſelves affronted. None more

more esteems them, nor loves their Conversation better than I do. They are the succeeding hope of our Church, the Youth of our Clergy; and the Clergy are the Reserve of our Christianity. Some of them, whom I know, have indeed, and do continue daily to put very Singular Obligations upon me; but I write to a Nobler end, than to revenge my Petty Concernments.

*Adieu.*

*The Errata's are too many to be Corrected; But* p. 7. *l.* ult. Eighth *is to be struck out.*

# Mr. SMIRKE,
## Or the
# Divine in Mode.

IT hath been the Good Nature (and Politicians will have it the Wisdom) of most Governours to entertain the people with Publick Recreations; and therefore to incourage such as could best contribute to their Divertisement. And hence doubtless it is, that our Ecclesiastical Governours also (who as they yield to none for Prudence, so in good Humor they exceed all others,) have not disdained of late years to afford the Laity no inconsiderable Pastime. Yea so great hath been their condescension that, rather then faile, they have carried on the Merriment by men of their own Faculty, who mightotherwise by the gravity of their Calling,have claimed an exemption from such Offices. They haveOrdained from time to time several of the most Ingenious and Pregnant of their Clergy to supply the Press continually with new Books of ridiculous and facetious argument. Wherein divers of them have succeeded even to admiration: in so much that by the reading thereof, the ancient Sobriety and Seriousness of the *English* Nation hath been in some good measure discussed and worn out of fashion. Yet, though the Clergy have hereby manifested that nothing comes amiss to them, and particularly, that when they give their minds to it, no sort of men are more proper or capable to make sport for Spectators; it hath so happened by the rewards and Promotions bestowed upon those who have labour'd in this Province, that many others in hopes of the like Preferment, although otherwise by their Parts, their Complexion and Education unfitted for this Jocular Divinity, have in order to it wholly neglected the more weighty cares of their Function. And from hence it proceeds, that to the no small scandal and disreputation of our Church, a great *Arcanum* of their State hath been discovered and divulged: That, albeit Wit be not in-

consistent and incompatible with a Clergy-man, yet neither is it inseparable from them. So that it is of concernment to my Lords the Bishops henceforward to repress those of 'em who have no Wit from Writing, and to take care that even those that have, do husband it better, as not knowing to what exigency they may be reduced: But however that they the Bishops be not too forward in Licensing and perfixing their venerable Names to such Pamphlets. For admitting, though I am not too positive in it, that our Episcopacy is of Apostolical Right, yet we do not find that among all those gifts then given to men, that which we call Wit is enumerated: nor yet among those qualifications requisite to a Bishop. And therefore should they out of Complacency for an Author, or Delight in the Argument, or Facility of their Judgements approve of a dull Book, their own understandings will be answerable, and irreverent people, that cannot distinguish, will be ready to think that such of them differ from men of Wit, not only in Degree, but in Order. For all are not of my mind, who could never see any one elevated to that Dignity, but I presently conceived a greater opinion of his Wit then ever I had formerly. But some do not stick to affirm that even they, the Bishops, come by theirs not by Inspiration, not by Teaching, but even as the poor Laity do sometimes light upon it, by a good Mother. Which has occasioned the homely Scotch Proverb that, *An Ounce of Mother-Wit is worth a Pound of Clergy.* And as they come by it as do other men, so they possesse it on the same condition: That they cannot transmit it by breathing, touching, or any natural *Effluvium* to other persons: not so much as to their most Domestick Chaplain, or to the closest Residentiary. That the King himself, who is no less the Spring of That, then he is the Fountain of Honour, yet has never used the Dubbing or Creating of Witts as a Flower of his Prerogative: much less can the Ecclesiastical Power conferre it with the same ease as they do the Holy Orders. That whatsoever they can do of that kind is, at uttermost, to impower men by their authority and commission, no otherwise then in the Licensing of Midwives or Physitians. But that as to their collating of any internal talent or ability, they could never pretend to it; their grants and their prohibitions are alike invalide, and they can neither capacitate one man to be Witty, nor hinder another from being so, further then as the Press is at their Devotion. Which if it be the Case, they cannot be too circumspect in their management, and should be very exquisite, seeing this way of writing is found so necessary, in making choice of fit Instruments. The Churches credit is more interessed in an Ecclesiastical Droll, then in a Lay Chancellor. It is no small trust that is reposed in him to whom the

Bishop

Bishop shall commit: *Omne & omnimodum suum Ingenium tam Temporale quam Spirituale*: And, however it goes with Excommunication, they should take good heed to what manner of person they delegate the Keys of Laughter. It is not every man that is qualified to sustain the Dignity of the Churches Jester: and, should they take as exact a scrutiny of them as of the Non-conformists thorow their Dioceses, the number would appear inconsiderable upon this Easter Visitation. Before men be admitted to so important an employment, it were fit they underwent a severe Examination; and that it might appear, first, whether they have any Sense: for without that how can any man pretend, and yet they do, to be ingenious? Then, whether they have any Modesty: for without that they can only be scurrilous and impudent. Next, whether any Truth: for true Jests are those that do the greatest execution. And Lastly, it were not amiss that they gave some account too of their Christianity: for the world has always hitherto been so uncivil as to expect somthing of that from the Clergy; in the design and stile even of their lightest and most uncanonical Writings. And though I am no rigid Imposer of a Discipline of mine own devising, yet had any thing of this nature entered in to the minds of other men, it is not impossible that a late Pamphlet, published by Authority and proclaimed by the Gazette, *Animadversions upon a late Pamphlet, entituled the* Naked Truth, *or, the true state of the Primitive Church*, might have been spared.

That Book so called *The Naked Truth*, is a Treatise, that, were it not for this its Opposer, needs no commendation: being writ with that Evidence and Demonstration of Spirit, that all sober men cannot but give their Assent and Consent to it, unasked. It is a Book of that kind, that no Christian scarce can peruse it without wishing himself had been the Author, and almost imagining that he is so: the Conceptions therein being of so Eternal an Idea, that every man finds it to be but the Copy of an Original in his own Mind, and though he never read it till now, wonders it could be so long before he remembred it. Neither, although there be a time when as they say all truths are not to be spoken, could there ever have come forth any thing more seasonable. When the sickly Nation had been so long indisposed and knew not the Remedy, but (having Taken so many things, that rather did it harm then good,) only longed for some Moderation, and as soon as it had tasted this, seemed to it self sensibly to recover. When their Representatives in Parliament had been of late so frequent in consultations of this nature, and they the Physitians of the Nation, were ready to have received any wholsome advice for the Cure of our Malady: It appears moreover plainly that the Author is Judicious, Learned, Conscientious, a sincere Protestant, and

 a true

a true Son, if not a Father, of the Church of *England*. For the rest, the Book cannot be free from the imperfections incident to all humane indeavours, but those so small, and guarded every where with so much Modesty, that it seems there was none left for the Animadverter, who might otherwise have blush'd to reproach him. But some there were that thought Holy Church was concerned in it, and that no true born Son of our Mother of *England* but ought to have it in detestation. Not only the Churches but the Coffee-Houses rung against it, they itinerated like Excise-spyes from one house to another, and some of the Morning and Evening Chaplains burnt their lips with perpetual discoursing it out of reputation, and loading the Author, whoever he were, with all contempt, malice and obloquy. Nor could this suffice them, but a lasting Pillar of Infamy must be erected to eternize his Crime and his Punishment. There must be an answer to him, in Print, and that not according to the ordinary rules of civility, or in the sober way of arguing Controversie, but with the utmost extremity of Jeere, Disdain, and Indignation: and happy the man whose lot it should be to be deputed to that performance. It was Shrove-Tuesday with them, and, not having yet forgot their Boyes-play, they had set up this Cock, and would have been content some of them to have ventur'd their Coffee-Farthings, yea their Easter-Pence by advance, to have a fling at him. But there was this close youth who treads alwayes upon the heels of Ecclesiastical Preferment, but hath come nearer the heels *of the Naked Truth* then were for his service, that rather by favour then any tolerable sufficiency carried away this employment, as he hath done many others from them. So that being the man pitched upon, he took up an unfortunate resolution that he would be Witty. Infortunate I say, and no less Criminal: for I dare aver that never any person was more manifestly guilty of the sin against Nature. But however to write a Book of that virulence, and at such a season was very improper: even in the Holy time of Lent when, whether upon the Sacred account, it behoved him rather to have subjugated and mortified the swelling of his passions; or whether upon the Political reason, he might well have forborn his young Wit, as but newly Pigg'd or Calv'd, in order to the growth of the yearly summer provisions. Yet to work he fell, not omitting first to sum himself up in the whole wardrobe of his Function; as well because his Wit consisting wholly in his Dresse, he would (and 'twas his concernment to) have it all about him: as to the end that being huff'd up in all his Ecclesiastical fluster, he might appear more formidable, and in the pride of his Heart and Habit out-*boniface* an *Humble Moderator*. So that there was more to do in equipping of Mr. *Smirke* then there is about *Doriman*, and the *Divine in Mode* might have

vyed

vyed with Sir *Fopling Flutter*. The Vestry and the Tiring-Roome were both exhausted, and 'tis hard to say whether there went more attendants toward the Composing of Himself, or of his Pamphlet. Being thus drest up, at last forth he comes in Print. No Poet either the First or the Third day could be more concern'd, and his little Party, like men hired for the purpose, had posted themselves at every corner to feigne a more numerous applause: but clap'd out of time, and disturb'd the whole Company.

## *Annotations upon his Animadversions on the Title, Dedication*, &c.

AT first bolt in his *Animadversions on the Title, the Dedication, and the Epistle to the Reader*, he denounces sentence before inquiry but against the Book it self, forgetting already his subject, so early his brain circulates; and saith, that, *Having perused the Book thorowly he is abundantly satisfied not only from his* Stile, *which is something Enthusiastick* (his speech bewrays him) *but from his* matter and Principles *if he stick to any, that the Author is a borderer upon Fanaticisme and does not know it.* Even as the Animadverter is upon Wit and Reason; for I have heard that Borderers for the most part, are at the greatest distance, and the most irreconcilable. What the *Stile* is of a *Title*, and what the *Principles* of a *Dedication and Epistle* to the Reader (for these, *if any*, the Animadverter ought here to have stuck to) it's indeed a weighty disquisition fit for a man of his Talent. But I have read them over, and so have others of better judgement, and find every sentence therein poised with so much reverence, humility, and judicious Piety, that from an humane pen (allowing the Reader any tolerable share too of Humanity) I know not what more could have been expected. And as to the Matter, it seems to be but a Paraphrase upon the *Principles* of the Song of the Angels; *Glory to God on high, on Earth Peace, Good Will toward men.* If to speak at that rate, and upon such a subject, with so good an intention, be to have an Enthusiastick *Stile* or *Fanatical Principles*, it is the first crime of which I should be glad to be guilty. What in the mean time shall we say to these men, who out of a perverse jealousy they have of the Non-conformists, run, which few wise men do into the contrary extreme, affixing such odious names to every word or thing that is sober and serious, that with their good will they would render it impracticable for men even to discourse pertinently concerning Religion or Christianity? Put it upon this short issue: If the stile of the Epistle before the *Naked Truth* be Enthusiastick and Fanatical, the stile of the Animadverter is presumed, and so allowed of, as Spiritual, Divine, and Canonical.

The

The first Evidence that he produces, after so hasty a sentence against the Author, is out of the Book too, not out of the Title, Dedication, or Epistle; that he has said p. 17. *In the Primitive times when the whole world of Jews and Gentiles were enemies to the Church and not one of your Ceremonies to preserve it, the simple* Naked Truth *without any Surplice to cover it, without any Ecclesiastical Policy to maintaine it, overcame all, and so it would do now did we trust to it, and the Defender of it.* And upon this he runs division. *The Defender in Heaven*, God; *the Defender of the Faith* His Majesty; and the many *Defenders* (among whom I suppose he reckons himself of the Principal) *who may be trusted*, This is all fooling, whereas the Author does manifestly intend it of God Almighty, and could not otherwise. For though His Majesty may well be trusted for his Reign with the Defence of the *Naked Truth*, yet most of us know that in the Primitive Times, His Majesty was too young for that imployment, and that it was God alone who could then protect it, when the *Defenders of the Faith* were all Heathens, and most of them Persecutors of Christianity. He then descants no less upon Naked Truth; The *Naked Truth of our Cause*, or *the Naked Truth of the Pamphlet*, or, *he knows not what Naked Truth.* But he saith *it should have been Truth Fle'd* (so he had the Butchery of it) Which is like *Pilate* and no worse man, who when our Saviour told him, he came into the world *John* 18. 37. *That he might bear witness to the Truth*, asked him, *What is Truth?* and then though he confessed *he found no evil in this man*, delivered him over, against his Conscience, to be Stripped, Scourged, *Fley'd*, and afterwards Crucified. Such like also is his talking, that *this is Stripping the Church to skinne, nay skinne and all*, and *skinne for skinne:* so wretchedly does he hunt over hedge and ditch for an University Quibble. The casual progress and leaping consequences of any mans memory are more rational then this method of his understanding, and the Non-Conformists Concordance is a Discourse of more coherence then such Animadversions: I have heard a mad man having got a word by the end ramble after the same manner: in this only he is true to himself, and candid to the Author, having avowed that *he had scann'd the Book thorow*, this hacking and vain repetition being just like it, when we were at our

*Montibus inquit erant & erant, sub montibus illis:*
*Risit Atlantiades, &, me mihi perfide prodis,*
*Me mihi prodis, ait.*

For as I remember this *Scanning* was a liberal Art that we learn'd at Grammar-School; and to *Scann* Verses as he does the Authors Prose, before we did, or were obliged to understand them. But his tugging all this while at *skin, and skin for skin, and all that he has*

*he*

*he will give for his life*, meerly to hale in an ill favor'd Jeer at the Author, and truly with some profaneness, for proposing the *Naked Truth* as necessary for the *self preservation of our Church*, and an *expedient against Popery*; is, (whatsoever the Animadverters judgement be) a retchlesness and mockery ill becoming his Character. And it savors of the Liquorishness of a Trencher-Chaplain, little concerned in the *Curâ Animarum*, so he may but *Curare Cuticulam*.

But as to his fastidious reproach of the Authors *seeking of God, his Fasts and his Prayers*, the Animadverter is more excusable, having doubtless writ his Pamphlet without practising any of these Fanatical Superstitions, as neither was it requisite; But if he had, 'twas such an answer to his Prayers as never before came from Heaven. The Animadverter is proof against all such Exorcismes, and although our Saviour prescribed these remedies against the most obstinate Devils, this man it seems is possessed with a superiour spirit which is not to be cast out, no not by Prayer and Fasting, but sets them at defiance.

Nor had the Animadverter, when he considered himself, less reason to blame the Author for deliberating so long before he published his Book, and for doing it then with so much Modesty. These are Crimes of which the Animadverter will never be suspected or accused by any man, at least they will do him very much wrong, but however it will be impossible ever to convict him of them. But to word it too so supercilious ly! *This has been the Travel of his mind, since he had these thoughts, which he has been humbly conceiving these two years; time enough for an Elephant to bring forth in.* Why there is, 'tis true, a winged sort of Elephant, hath a peculiar Trunk too like the other, is not so docile and good-natured; but impudent flying in every mans face, and sanguinary thirsting alwayes after blood, and as if it were some considerable Wild-Beast, makes a terrible Buzze; but in conclusion 'tis a pitiful, giddy, blind, troublesome Insect, ingendered in a nights time in every Marish, can but run a Pore thorow and give a skinne-wound, and the least touch of a mans finger will crush it. In the *Naked Truth* it is but a Gnat: and such is the Animadverter compared with the Author.

But in this next Paragraph the Animadverter seems to have outshot himself, that not content with having passed his own Ecclesiastical Censure upon the Author, he forges too in his mind a sentence of the Lords and Commons assembled in Parliament: who, *he believes* and *'tis probable*, would have doom'd the Book to be burnt by the Hang-man. In this he hath meddled beyond his last: but it is some mens property: yet neither is it so likely they would have done it, at the same time when they were about passing an Act for the easing all Protestant dissenters from Penalties; had he vouch'd for the Convocation,

cation, his Belief, or his probability might have been of more value.

But what has he to do, (yet they have a singular itch to it) with Parliament business: or how can so thin a scull comprehend or divine the results of the Wisdom of the Nation? Unless he can, as in the Epilogue.

*Legion his name, a People in a Man,*
And, instead of Sir *Fopling Flutter*, he Mr. *Smirke*.
*Be Knight oth'-Shire and represent them all.*

Who knows indeed but he may, by some new and extraordinary Writ, have been summon'd upon the Emergency of this Book, to Represent in his peculiar person the whole Representative? Yet by his leave, though he be so, he ought not to Undertake before he be Assembled. I know indeed he may have had some late Precedents for it, and for some years continuance, from men too of his own Profession. And if therefore he should Undertake, and to give a good Tax for it, Yet what security can he have himself, but that there may rise such a Contest between the Lords and Commons within him, that, before they can agree about this Judicial Proceeding against the Book, it may be thought fit to Prorogue him.

The Crimes indeed are hainous, and if the Man and Book be guilty, may when time comes, furnish special matter for an Impeachment. That *he has made a breach upon their Glorious Act of Vuniformity, Violated their Act, their most necessary Act* (the Animadverter hath reason by this time to say so) *against Printing without a License*: and I suppose he reserves another for aggravation in due time; the Act against seditious Conventicles. For these three are all of a piece, and yet are the several Pieces of the Animadverters Armour: and are indeed no less, nor no more then necessary: For considering how empty of late the Church Magazines have been of that Spiritual Armour, which the Apostle found sufficient against the assaults of whatsoever enemy, even of Satan; what could men in all humane reason do less, then to furnish such of the Clergy as wanted, with these Weapons of another Warfare? But, although these Acts were the true effects of the Prudence and Piety of that season, yet it is possible (but who can provide for all cases?) that, if there have not already, there may arise thereby in a short time some notable inconvenience. For suppose that Truth should one day or other come to be Truth and every man a Lyer, (I mean of the humor of this *Parliamentum Indoctum*, this single Representativer, this Animadverter) you see there is no more to be said, as the Case stands at present, but Executioner do your Office. Nor therefore can it ever enter into my mind, as to that Act particularly of Printing, that the Law-givers could thereby intend to allow any man a promiscuous Licenciousness, and Monopoly of Printing Pernicious Discourses,

tending

tending to sow and increase dissension thorow the Land (of which there is but too large a crop already; ) as neither of Prohibiting Books dictated by Christian meekness and charity for the promoting of Truth and Peace among us, and reconciling our Differences; no nor even of such as are writ to take out the Blots of Printing-Inke, and wipe off the Aspersions which divers of the Licensed Clergy cast upon mens private Reputations: and yet this is the use to which the Law is somtimes applyed. And this Animadverter, who could never have any rational confidence or pretence to the Press or Print, but by an unlucky *English* saying men have, or by the Text-Letters of his *Imprimatur*, arraignes this worthy Author for Printing without Allowance, as if it were a sin against the Eleventh Commandment. Though a *Samaritan* perhaps may not practise Physick without a Licence, yet must a Priest and a Levite *always pass by on the other side* and if one of them, in an Age, *pour Oyle and Wine into the Wounds* of our Church (instead of Tearing them Wider,) must he be Cited for it into the Spiritual Court and incurre all Penalties? This high Charge made me the more curious to inquire particularly how that Book *The Naked Truth* was published, which the Animadverter himself pretends to have got a sight of with some difficulty. And I am credibly informed that the Author caused four hundred of them and no more to be Printed against the last Session but one of Parliament. For nothing is more usual then to Print and present to them Proposals of Revenue, Matters of Trade, or any thing of Publick Convenience; and sometimes Cases and Petitions, and this, which the Animadverter calls the Authors Dedication, is his *humble Petition to the Lords and Commons assembled in Parliament*: And understanding the Parliament inclined to a Temper in Religion, he prepar'd these for the Speakers of both Houses and as many of the Members as those could furnish. But that, the Parliament rising just as the Book was delivering out and before it could be presented, the Author gave speedy order to suppress it till another Session. Some covetous Printer in the mean time getting a Copy, surreptitiously Reprinted it, and so it flew abroad without the Authors knowledge, and against his direction. So that it was not his, but the Printers fault to have put so great an obligation upon the publick. Yet because the Author has in his own Copyes, out of his unspeakable Tenderness and Modesty begg'd pardon of the Lords and Commons, in his Petition, for transgressing their Act against Printing without a Licence, this *Indoctum Parliamentum* mistaking the Petition as addressed to himself, will not grant it, but insults over the Author and upbraids him the rather as a desperate offender, *that sins on* he saith, goes on still in his wickedness, and hath done it *against his own Conscience*. Now truly if this were a sin, it was a sin of the first Impression.

 And

And the Author appears so constant to the Church of *England*, and to its Liturgy in particular, that, having confessed four hundred times with *an humble, lowly, penitent, and obedient heart*, I doubt not but in assisting at Divine Service he hath frequently since that received Absolution. It is something strange that to publish a good Book is a sin, and an ill one a vertue; and that while one comes out with Authority; the other may not have a Dispensation. So that we seem to have got an Expurgatory Press, though not an Index, and the most Religious Truth must be expung'd and suppressed in order to the false and secular interest of some of the Clergy. So much wiser are they grown by process of time then the Obsolete Apostle that said, *We can do nothing against the Truth.* But this hath been of late years the practice of these single Representers of the Church of *England*, to render those Peccadillioes against God as few and inconsiderable as may be, but to make the sins against themselves as many as possible, and these to be all hainous and unpardonable. In so much that if we of the Laity would but study our Self-Preservation, and learn of them to be as true to our separate interest as these men are to theirs, we ought not to wish them any new Power for the future, but after very mature deliberation. Forasmuch as every such Act does but serve, as some of them use it, to make the good people of *England* walk in peril of their Souls, to multiply sin and abomination thorow the Land, and by ingaging mens minds under spiritual Bondage, to lead them Canonically on into Temporal slavery. Whereas the Laity are commonly more temperate and merciful (I might say more discreet) in the exercising of any Authority they are intrusted with, and what Power they have, they will not wear it thred bare: so that if I were to commit a fault for my life, (as suppose by Printing this without a License) I would chuse to sin against good Mr. *Oldenburg*.

But this Animadverter is the genuine example of Ecclesiastical Clemency, who proceeding on cannot bear that the Author should use the Title of an *Humble Moderator* (he thinks him sure guilty herein *Læsæ Majestatis Ecclesiasticæ*, and that both these Qualities are incompatible with one of their Coat, and below the Dignity of any man of the Faculty) much less will he indure him when he comes, in the following discourse, to justify his Claime to that Title, by *letting his Moderation* according to the Apostles precept, *be known to all men, for the Lord is at hand.* But he saith that the Author *Assumes*, *Imposes*, and *Turnes all upside down*, and witnesses an *Immoderate Zeal for one* (that is the Non-Conformists) *Party*: then which the Animadverter could never have invented a more notorious, studied, and deliberate Falshood, to prepossesse and mislead the gentle Reader: Wherein does he *Assume*? He speaks like a Man, a Creature to which Modesty and Reason are peculiar;

liar; not like an Animadverter, that is an Animal which hath nothing Humane in it but a Malicious Grinne, that may Provoke indeed, but cannot Imitate so much as Laughter. Wherein does he *Impose*? In nothing but by declaring his Opinion against all unreasonable Imposition? And though it appears natural to him to speak with Gravity, yet he usurps not any Authority further, then as any man who speaks a Truth which he thorowly understands, cannot with all his Modesty and Humility hinder others from paying a due Reverence to his Person and acquiescing in his Doctrine. But wherein does he *Turn all upside down*? This hath been a common Topick of Ecclesiastical Accusation. Our Saviour was accused that he would Destroy the Temple. The first Martyr *Steven* was stoned as a Complice. And Saint *Paul* (as ill luck would have it) was made odious upon the same Crimination of the Animadverters, Acts 17. v. 5, 6. For, *certain Lewd-fellows of the baser sort, set all the City in an uproar, crying those that have turned the world* Up-side-down *are come hither also*. And yet notwithstanding all these Calumnies, *The Naked Truth*, Christianity, hath made a shift, God bethanked, to continue till this day: and there will never want those that bear testimony to it, even to the Primitive Christianity, maugre all the arts that the men of Religion can contrive to misrepresent and discountenance it. But as for the *Turning all up-side-down*, the Animadverter is somewhat innocent, if by the defect of his Organt, as it fares with those whose Brain turnes round, (So we vulgarly expresse it) he have imagined that the world is tumbling headlong with him. But as to the Prejudice, which he therefore reserved as the most effectual and taking to undoe the Author by, that he is *Immoderately Zealous for the Non-Conformists*; it is the effect of as strong a Phancy, or as Malicious an Intention as the Former; it being scarce possible to open the Book in any place without chancing upon some passage where he makes a firm Profession, or gives a clear proof of his real submission and Addiction to the Church of *England*: all his fault for ought I see being, that he is more Truly and Cordially concerned for our Church then some mens Ignorance is capable of, or their corrupt interest can comply with. But therefore whoever were the adviser it is not well done to use him in this dirty manner. There is no prudence in it, nor whereas the Author, in excuse that he sets not his name, saith it is, *because he is a man of great Passions, and not able to bear a Reproach* (The Animadverter had done fairer to cite the whole, *or Commendations: my small Ability puts me out of danger of the last, but in great fear of the former.*) Therefore to resolve thus (whereas they might have undone him you see by Commendation) the rather to Reproach him, now they have learn't his Feeblenes Holy Church, I can tell you hath suffered upon that account so often that it were time for her to be wiser. For by exasperating

 men

men of Parts, who out of an ingenious love of Truth have temperatly Writ against some abuses, She hath added Provocation to mens Wit to look still further; insomuch that at last it hath sometimes produced (then which nothing can be more dangerous to the Church) a Reformation. Therefore, though Christ hath commanded his Followers (so it be not I suppose out of his Way) that if any man press them to go one mile, they should go two; yet it is not wisdom in the Church to pretend to, or however to exercise, that Power of *Angariating* men further then their occasions or understandings will permit. If a man cannot go their Length 'tis better to have his company in quiet as far as his Road lyes. For my part I take the Church of *England* to be very happy in having a Person of his Learning and Piety so far to comply with Her; and, if my advice might be taken, She should not lose one inch more of him by handling him irreverently. For if once She should totally lose him, God knows what an Instrument he might prove, and how much good he might do in the Nation, more then he ever yet thought of. What a shame it is to hear the Animadverter abuse him (who by the very Character of his Stile appears no Vulgar Person, and by how much he hath more of Truth, hath more of Gods Image, and should therefore have imprinted that Awe upon him that Man hath over most Brutes:) he to trifle with so worthy a person at that rate, that one would not use the meanest Varlet, the dullest School-boy, the rankest Idiot, no nor the veryest Animadverter! However he saith, *the Author hath done himself and him the Animadverter a great favour, by concealing his Name, in making it impossible for him to reflect upon his Person* (otherwise it seems he should have had it home) *which he knows no more then the Man in the Moon.* But therefore I am the rather jealous he did know him: for the Animadverter having a Team of ~~Guaz'as~~ Ganzas always a his devotion, and being able if any one tired by the way to relieve it and draw in person, never think that he would want intelligence in that Region. Come 'twas all but an affected ignorance in the Animadverter, and he had both inquired and heard as much as any of us who was the probable Author: and all the Guard that he Lyes upon is, because the Author had not given him legal notice that he Writ it. And this was even as the Animadverter would have wished it. For if a Reverend Person had openly avowed it, he could not have been sawcy with so good a Grace: But under the pretence of *not knowing*, Sir, that it was you, but only, Sir, *as you were the Patron of so vile a Cause*, many a dry bob, close gird, and privy nip has he given him. Yet he saith, the *Author would have done well, and a piece of Justice to have named himself, so to have cleared others: for it hath been confidently layed to the charge of more then one Reverend Person* (how slily!) *who (I have great reason to believe, and am several ways assured) had no hand in it.* Truly the Animadverter

verter too would have done a piece of Justice to have named himself; for there has been more then one Witty person traduced for his Pamphlet, and I believe by this time he would take it for a great favour if any man would be such a Fool as own it for him. For he very securely reproaches the Author, and yet I have been seeking all over for the Animadverters name, and cannot find it. Notwithstanding that he writes forsooth in defence of the Church of *England*; and *against so vile a Cause*, as he stiles it, and under the Publick Patronage. Which is most disingenuously done, as on other accounts, so in respect of my Lord Bishop of *London*, whom he has left in the lurch to justify another mans Follyes with his Authority. But however that venerable Person, who has for Learning, Candor, and Piety, as he does for Dignity also, outstripp'd his Age and his Fellows, have been drawn in to License what certainly he cannot approve of, it was but his First Fruits, and a piece of early liberality, as is usual, upon his new Promotion, and I am given to understand that, for the Animadverters sake, it is like to be the last that he will allow of that nature. But this is not only a Trick of the Animadverters, but ordinary with many others of them; who while we write at our own peril, and perhaps set our names to it, (for I am not yet resolved whether I can bear Reproach or Commendation) they that raile for the Church of *England*, and under the Publick License and Protection, yet leave men, as if it were a Hot-Cockles, to guesse blind-fold who it is that hit them. But it is possible that some of these too may lie down in their turnes. What should be the reason of it? sure theirs is not *so Vile a Cause* too that they dare not abide by it. Or are they the Writers conscious to themselves that they are such Things *as ought not once to be Named among Christians*? Or is it their own sorry performance that makes them ashamed to avow their own Books? Or is there some secret force upon them that obliges them to say things against their Conscience? Or would they reserve a Latitude to themselves to turn Non-Conformists again upon occasion? Or do they in pure honesty abstaine from putting a single Name to a Book, which hath been the workmanship of the whole Diocess?

But though he know not his Name, *seeing he has vented his own Amusements to the Churches great and real prejudice* he saith, (and *that is this Case*) *he must not think to scape for the Godliness of his Stile*: Impious and most unmerciful! Poor *David* was often in this *Case*. Psal. 22. *They gaped upon him with their Mouth. He trusted*, said they, *in the Lord that he would deliver him, let him deliver him seeing he delighted in him.* And Psal. 71. 11. *Persecute and take him, there is none to deliver him.* And yet there are many places too in Scripture, where God spared men even for their outward Formalities, and their Hypocrisie served to delay his Judgements; and should he not still do so, the Church might receive

receive *greater prejudice.* But the Church, and God are two things, and are not it seems obligded to the same Measures: insomuch that even the sincerity of one Person, which might perhaps attone for a whole Order and render them acceptable both to God and Man, yet cannot hope for his own pardon.

*Neither must he think to scape for a Man of good Intentions: yet sure he is, else would not give the Devil so much more then his due, saying he would never condemne any good action though done by the Devil, As if* saith the Animadverter, *he supposed the Devil might do some such.* Here he thinks he has a shrewd hit at him, and this if a man had leisure might beget a Metaphysical Controversy: but I desire him rather to comment on that Text: *Doest thou Believe? thou doest well, the Devils also Believe and Tremble.* Whereas he goeth on to mock at the Authors *Good Intentions*, and tells him pleasantly that, *Hell it self is full of such as were once full of Good Intentions*: 'tis a Concluding piece of Wit, and therefore, as well as for the Rarity, should be civilly treated and incouraged; so that I shall use no further retortion there, that if this be the qualification of such as go to Hell, the Animadverter hath secured himself from coming there and so many more as were his Partners. And thus much I have said upon his *Animadversions on the Title*, &c. Wherein, he having misrepresented the Author and prejudicated the Reader against him by all disingenuous methods, and open'd the whole Pedlers-pack of his malice, which he half-p— worths out in the following discourse to his petty Chapmen, I could not properly say less, though it exceeds perhaps the number of his Pages. For it is scarce credible how vuluminous and pithy he is in extravagance: and one of his sides in *Quarto*, for Falshood, Insolence, and Absurdity contains a Book in *Folio.* Besides, the Reader may please to consider how much labour it costs to Bray even a Little Thing in a Mortar: and that Calumny is like *London*-dirt, with which though a man may be spatter'd in an instant, yet it requires much time, pains, and Fuller's-earth to scoure it out again.

---

## *Annotations* upon the *Animadversions* on the first Chapter, concerning *Articles of Faith.*

THe Play begins. *I Confess* (Do so then and make no more words) *when first I saw this Jewel of a Pamphlet, and had run over two or three pages of this Chapter, I suspected the Author for some Youngster that had been Dabbling amongst the* Socinian *Writers, and was ambitious of*

*shewing*

*showing us his Talent in their way. I was quickly delivered from this Jealousy, by his Orthodox Contradictory expressions in other places.* That word *Jewel* is commonly used in a good sense, and I know no reason why this Book of the Authors might not be properly enough called so, though the Animadverter hath debased the meaning of the word to deprave and undervalue the worth of the Treatise. For I perceive that, during his Chaplainship, he hath learnt it in conversation with the Ladies, who translate it frequently to call Whore in a more civil and refined signification. But to say thus, that *he suspected him at first for a* Socinian, *yet was quickly cured of his Jealousy*, because he found the Author was Honest and *Orthodox*. Why should he *vent his own Amusements* thus *to the great and real prejudice* of any worthy person? It is indeed a piece of second Ingenuity for a man, that invents and suggests a Calumny of which he is sure to be convict in the instant, therefore with the same breath to disclaim it: but it manifests in the mean-time how well he was inclined if he thought it would have pass'd upon the Author; and that could the Animadverter have secured his Reputation, he would have adventured the Falshood. What would he not have given to have made the world believe that he was a *Socinian*. In this beginning you have a right Pattern of the Animadverters whole Stuffe, and may see what Measure the Author is to expect all thorow.

But *he finds*, he saith, *that he is one of the* Men of the second Rate, (*as he takes leave to stile them*) *that scarce ever see to the second Consequence.* At first I suspected from this expression that the Animadverter had been some Ship-Chaplain, that had been *Dabbling* in the Sea-Controversies, a Tarpawlin of the Faculty: but I was *quickly delivered from this Jealousy by his* Magisterial *Contradictions*, that shew him to be a man of more *Consequence*, one of them whose Ecclesiastical Dignities yet cannot wean them from a certain hankering after the Wit of the Laity, and applying it as their own upon (or 'tis no great matter though it be without) occasion. Yet *therefore once for all he Protests*, too, *that he does not charge him with any of his own most obvious Consequences as his Opinions* (for who would believe the one or other that reads the Author?) *for 'tis plaine that he does not* (nor any man that hath Eyes) *discerne them.* This is a Candor pregnant with Contempt. But in the mean time he thinks it ingenuous to load this *second Rate* Frigat, (that was fitted out for the Kings and the Nations service) so deep that she can scarce swime, with a whole Cargo of Consequences which are none of the Authors, but will, upon search, be all found the Animadverters proper goods and Trade, his own Inconsequences and Inanimadversions. So men with vicious Eyes see Spiders weave from the Brim of their own Beavers.

As for example. p. 1. He saith that *this Chapter does admirably serve the*

*the turn of the rankest Sectarian. That in his two or three first pages he appeared* a Socinian. p. 12. That his *Pique at the new word* Homoousios *carryes such an ugly reflection upon the* Nicene *Creed, that he*, the Animadverter, *scarse dares understand him.* p. 6. The Author speaking against introducing new Articles of Faith, the Adversary tells him; *he hopes he does not mean all our Thirty Nine Articles*; and defends them as if they were attaqued. That *he does implicitly condemne the whole Catholick Church both East and West for being so presumptuous in her Definitions.* p. 9. That *upon his Principles the Prime and most necessary Articles of Faith will be in danger. The old dormant Heresies*, Monothelites, Nestorians, *&c. May safely revive again.* p. 13. That his *are the very Dreggs of Mr.* Hobbs *his Divinity, and worse*, p. 14. That *he would have some men live like Pagans and go to no Church at all*, p. 16 *So for ought we know this Author is a Jesuite, and writes this Pamphlet only to embroile us Protestants.* p. 25, That *he is guilty of unthought, of Popery.* p. 33. That our Author *like her* (the foolish woman) *in the* Proverbs, *plucks down our Church with his own hands* and that *she had need therefore be upheld against such as he is.* Of these Inferences which, not being natural, must have required some labour, he is all along very liberal to the Author; but the vile and insolent language costs him nothing, so that he lays that on prodigally and without all reason. Now whether a man that holds a true Opinion, or he that thus deduces ill Consequences from it, be the more blame-worthy, will prove to be the Case between the Animadverter and the Author. *And* (to shew him now from whence he borrowed his Wit of the second Rate, and at the second Hand)

*—— all the subject matter of debate,*
*Is only who's the Knave of the First Rate.*

But he saith, because of these things, *the Mischief being done, to undoe the Charme again it is become a Duty to* Expose *him.* Alas what are they going to do with the poor man? What kind of death is this *Exposing*? But sure, considering the Executioner, it must be some Learned sort of Cruelty. Is it the *Teda*, in which they candled a Man over in Wax, and he, instead of the wick, burnt out to his lives end like a Taper, to give light to the Company? Or is it the *Scapha*, wherein a man, being stripp'd Naked and Smeur'd with Honey, was in the scorching Sun abandon'd to be stung and Nibbled by Wasps, Hornets, and all troublesome Insects till he expired? Or is it rather *ad Bestias*, turning him out unarmed to be bated, worryed, and devour'd, by the wild Beasts in the Theatre? For in the Primitive Times there were these and an hundred laudable ways more to *Expose* Christians; and the Animadverter seems to have studied them. But the Crime being of Sorcery, and that there is a *Charm* which hath wrought great *Mischief and*

*is*

*is not to be undone but by* Exposing *the Malefactor* (Charme he never so wisely) 'tis more probable that it may be the Punishment usual in such Cases. And indeed the Animadverter hath many times in the day such Fits take him, wherein he is lifted up in the Aire that six men cannot hold him down, teares, raves, and foams at the mouth, casts up all kind of trash, somtimes speakes *Greek* and *Latine*, that no man but would swear he is bewitched: and this never happens but when the Author appeares to him. And though in his *Animadversions on the Title* &c. He hath so often scratched and got blood of him (the infallible Country Cure) yet he still finds no ease by it, but is rather more tormented. So that in earnest I begin to suspect him for a Witch, or however, having writ *the Naked Truth*, 'tis manifest he is a Sooth-sayer, that's as bad. Many persons besides have for tryal run needless up to the Eye in several remarkable places of his *Naked Truth*, that look like moles or warts upon his body, and yet he, though they prick never so much, feels nothing. Nay some others of the Clergy, whereof one was a Bishop, have tyed him hand and foot and thrown him into the *Thames* betwixt *Whitehall* and *Lambeth*, for experiment; laying so much weight too on him as would sink any ordinary man, and nevertheless he swims still and keeps above Water. So dangerous is it to have got an Ill Name once, either for speaking Truth or for Incantation, that it comes to the same thing almost to be Innocent or Guilty: for if a man swim he is Guilty, and to be Burnt; if he sinke, he is Drowned, and Innocent. But therefore this *Exposing* must surely be to condemne the Author, as he has done his Book already, to the Fire, (for no man stands fairer for't as being first Heretick, and now Witch by Consequence) and then the Devil sure can have no more power over the Animadverter. Yet when I consider'd better that he does not accuse him of any harme that he has suffered by him in person, but that it is the *Church which may justly Complain of him*, and having done her so much *mischiefe, therefore it is become a Duty to Expose him*, I could not but imagine that it must be a severer Torment. For if our Church be bewitched, and he has done it,

*Huic mites nimium Flammas, huic lenta putassem,*
*Flumina, fumiferi potasset nubila Peti.*

Though I never heard before of a Church that was Bewitched except that of the *Galatians*, *Gal.* 3. 1. Whom Saint *Paul* asks *O foolish* Galatians *who hath* Bewitched *you*? taking it for evident that they were so, *because* (they are his very next words) *they did not obey the Truth.* (And that was a *Naked Truth* with a Witness, the Apostle teaching, *that Christ is become of none effect to them, that from their Christian Liberty returned to the Jewish Ceremonies.* Gal. 5. 4.) But therefore I looked over the *Canons*, the *Rational*, the *Ceremonial*, the *Rubrick*, imagining the *Exposing* mention'd,

 must

must besome new part of our Ecclesiastical Discipline, that I had not taken notice of before, and I should find it in one or other of the Offices. But I lost my labour, and 'twas but just I should, for being so simple, as not to understand at first that to *Expose* a man, is to write *Anim adversions* upon him. For that is a crueller Torment then all the Ten Persecutors (and which none but this Clergy-man could have) invented. To be set in the Pillary first, and bedawb'd with so many Addle Eggs of the Animadverters own Cackle as he palts him with! How miserable then is the man that must suffer afterwards, *sub tam lento Ingenio*! To be raked and harrowed thorow with so rusty a Saw! So dull a Torture that it contains all other in it, and which even the Christian Reader is scarce able to indure with all his Patience! Had he been a man of some accuteness, the pain would have been over in an instant: but this was the utmost inhumanity in whoever it was that advised (whereas several witty men, were proposed that would have been glad of the the imployment) to chuse out onpurpose the veryest (Animadverter) in all the Faculty. This it is to which the Author is condemned. And now that I know it, and that it is an Office a Duty to which our Church it seems has advanc'd the Animadverter; I wish him Joy of his new Preferment, and shall henceforward take notice of him as the Church of *Englands*'s Exposer, for I can never admit him by any Analogy to be an Expositor.

It is no less disingenuously, then constantly done of the Exposer in this same; *p.* 1. To concern the Author in the Non-Conformists, that may have reflected any where, as if there were *Socinian*, or *Pelagian* Doctrines; *Allowed to be preached and maintained in the City-Pulpits.* For the Author hath not in his whole Book the least syllable that can be wrested to any such purpose. Only it serves the Adversaries turn, as he thinks, to preingage the whole Clergy and Church of *England* against him, if they were so simple, and by giving him an odious Badge and jumbling them altogether, to involve him in all the prejudices which are studiously advanced against that party. But neither have I any thing to urge of that nature further then, because he will out of season mention these matters, to observe that our Church seems too remiss in the Case of *Socinus* and *Volkelius*, who had many things to great value stolen from them by a late Plagiary, but as yet have not obtained any Justice or Restitution.

But seeing the Exposer is thus given to transforme not only the Author, but his words and his meaning; it is requisite to state this Chapter in his own Terms: as men set their Arms on their Plate, to prevent the nimbleness of such as would alter the property. The sum of what he humbly proposes is: *That nothing hath caused more mischief in the Church, then the establishing New and Many Articles of Faith, and requiring men to*

*assent*

assent to them with Divine Faith. For the imposing such Dissenters, hath caused furious Wars and lamentable Blood-shed among Christians. That it is irrational to promote the Truth of the Gospel by Imposition, which is contrary to the Laws of the Gospel, and break an evident Commandment to establish a doubtful Truth. For if such Articles be not fully expressed in Scripture wrrds, it is Doubtful to him upon whom it is Forced, though not to the the Imposer. If it be fully expressed in Scripture Words, there needs no new Articles: but if not so, and that it be only Deduced from Scripture Expressions, then men that are as able and knowing as the Imposer, may think it is not clearly Deduced from Scripture. But there is nothing more Fully Exprest, or that can be more clearly Deduced from Scripture, nor more suitable to Natural Reason, then that no man should be Forced to Believe. Because no man can Force himself to believe, no not even to believe the Scriptures. But Faith is a work of peculiar Grace and the Gift of God. And if a man Believe what is Clearly Contain'd in Scripture, he needs not believe any thing else with Divine Faith. To add to, or deminish from the Scripture, is by it unlawful, and lyable to the Curse in the Revelation. If the Imposer answer, he requires not to Believe it as Scripture, he doth, if he urge it to be believed with Divine Faith. If he say he requires it not to be Believed with Divine Faith, he does, if he make it necessary to Salvation. There is no Command nor Countenance given in the Gospel to use Force to cause men Believe. We have no Comprehensive Knowledge of the Matters declared in Scripture, that are the Prime and Necessary Articles of Faith, therefore it is not for any man to Declare one Tittle more to be Believed with Divine Faith, then God hath there Declared. He cannot find the least hint in the Word of God to use any Force to Compel men to the Churches established Doctrine or Discipline: and from Reason there can be no motive to be Forced beyond their Reason: To attempt any such Force, though to the True Beliefe, is to do Evil that Good may come of it. But the Pastor ought first by plaine and sound Doctrine to stop the Mouths of Gainsayers. When the Ministers have Preached and Prayed, they have done all they can in order to mens Believing, the rest must be left to the Justice or Mercy of God. But if turbulent spirits broach New Doctrines, Contrary to Scripture, or not Clearly Contained in the Gospel, and neither by Admonitions nor Intreaties will be stopt, the Pastors may proceed to the Exercise of the Keys. Which if it were duely performed as in the Primitive Times, and not by Lay-Chancellors and their surrogates, would be of great effect. The Magistrate ought to silince and oppose such as preach what is Contrary to or not Clearly Contained in the Gospel, and if they persevere in their perversness, he may use his power mith Christian Moderation. For his power reaches to Punish Evil Doers, who Publish or Practise somthing to subvert the Fundamentals of Religion, or to Disturbe the Peace of the State, or to Injure their Neighbours: but not to Punish Evil Believers. But if the Magistrate shall conceive he hath

 power

*power also to punish Evil Believers, and on that Pretence shall punish True Believers, the Subject is bound to submit and bear it, to the loss of Goods, Liberty or Life.* The Reader will excuse this one long Quotation, for it will much shorten all that followes.

But now for which of these is it that 'tis become a Duty to Expose him? What is there here that seems not, at first sight, very Christian, very Rational? But however, it is all delivered in so Grave and Inoffensive manner, that there was no temptation to alter the stile into Ridicule, and Satyre. But like some Cattle, the Animadverter, may browze upon the Leaves, or Peel the Barke, but he has not teeth for the Solid, nor can hurt the Tree but by accident. Yet a man that sees not into *the second*, but the Thirteenth *Consequence*, that is one *of the Disputers of this World*, and *ought to be admitted to these Doubtfull Disputations* (from which he ironically by St. *Pauls* rule forsooth excludes the Author) what is there that such an one, so subtile, so piercing, cannot distingish upon and Controvert? Truth it selfought to sacrifice to him that he would be propitious: For if he appear on the other side, it will go against her unavoidably.

In his 27. *P.* he is ravisht in Contemplation how *Rarachose* it is, to *see or hear a material Question in Theology defended in the University-Schools, where one stands a Respondent, enclos'd within the Compass of his Pen, as* Popilius *the* Roman *Embassador, made a Circle with his Wand about* Antiochus, *and bid him give him a determinate answer before he went out of it*; a most apt and learned resemblance, and which shews the Gentlemans good reading! But it is, I confess a noble spectacle, and worthy of that Theater which the munificence of the present Arch-Bishop of *Canterbury* hath dedicated in one (may it be too in the other) of our Universities; where no Apish *Scaramuccio*, no Scenical Farces, no Combat of Wild-Beasts among themselves, or with men condemn'd, is presented to the People; but the modest Skirmish of Reason, and which is usually perform'd so well that it turns to their great honour, and of our whole Nation. Provided the Chaire be well filled, with an Orthodox Professor, and who does not by *Solæcismes* in *Latine*, or mistake of the Argument, or Question, render the thing ridiculous to the By-standers. That the Pew be no less fitted with a Respondent, able to sustaine and answer in all points the expectation of so Learned an Auditory: That the Opponent likewise exceed not the terms of Civility, nor Cavil where he should Argue; and that the Questions debated be so discreetly chosen, as there may be no danger, by Controverting the Truth, to unsettle the minds of the Youth ever after, and innure them to a Disputable Notion about the most weighty points of our Religion; by which sort of subtilizing the Church hath in former Ages much suffered, nor hath Ours in the Latter wholly escaped.

Now,

Now, seeing the Exposer seems to delight so much (as men use in what they excell) in this Exercise, he and I, because we cannot have the conveniency of the *Schools* and *Pew*, will play as well as we can in Paper, at this new Game of *Antiochus* and *Popilius*. I must for this time be the *Roman* Senator, and he the Monarch of *Asia*: for by the Rules of the Play, he always that hath writ the last Book is to be *Antiochus*, until the other has done replying. And I hope to gird him up so close within his Circle, that he shall appear very slender. For I am sensible, yet could not avoid it, how much of the Readers and mine own time I have run out in examining his Levity; but now I am glad to see my labour shorten: for, having thus plumed him of that puffe of Feathers, with which he buoy'd himself up in the Aire, and flew over our heads, it will, almost by the first *Consequence*, be manifest in his Argument, how little a Soul it is, and Body, that henceforward I am to deal with.

The Author having said that, *That which we commonly call the Apostles Creed, is, and was so received by the Primitive Church, as the sum Total of Christian Faith, necessary to Salvation. Why not now? Is the state of Salvation alter'd? If it be Compleat, what need other Articles?* The Exposer p. 2. answers. *There may have been needful heretofore, not anly other Articles, but other Creeds for the further Explication of these Articles in the Apostles Creed: and yet in those* New Creeds *not one* New Article. 'Tis safely and cautiously said, *there May*, and not *there Were* other Articles and other Creeds needful. But the whole Clause besides is so drawn up, as if he affected the Academical glory of justifying a Paradox: nor is it for the reputation of such Creeds, whatever they be, to be maintained by the like Methods. But seeing he disdains to explicate further, how there can be a New Creed, and yet not one New Article; I will presume to understand him, and then say, that in such Creeds, whatsoever Article does either explaine the Apostles Creed Contrary to, or Beside the Scripture, or does not containe the same Express Scriptural Authority (which only makes this that is called the Apostles Creed to be Authentick) that is a New Article to every man that cannot conceive the necessary Deduction. But then he galls the Author. *The Apostles Creed* is the sum of the Christian Faith *True. Yet I hope he will not think the* Nicene, *the* Constantinopolitan, *and the* Athanasian Creed Superfluous and and unnecessary. First, it is not necessary to take all those Three in the Lump, as the Exposer puts it: for perhaps a man may think but one, or but two of them to have been superfluous, and unnecessary. Next it is an hard thing for the Exposer, who ought rather to have proved that they were necessary to shift it back thus upon the Author. I have not spoke with him, nor know whether I shall as long as I live, (though I should be glad of the opportunity,) to know his mind. But suppose he should think them, One, Two, or Three Unnecessary, who can help it?

it? But so much I think, upon the State or sum of this Controversie in his own words, I may adventure for him; that as Confessions of Faith he does not disapprove them, (taking it granted there is nothing in any of them flatly against the Word of God) but that if any thing be therein drawn up in such or such an exact Forme of Words, not Expressed in Scripture, and required to be Believed with Divine Faith, as necessary to a Mans own Salvation, and without Believing which, he must Declare too that no Man else can be saved; that this is Dangerous, and the imposing of it is Unwarrantable by Reason or Scripture, He adds in this same Paragraph, that *the Authors Censure upon* Constantine *is so bold and upon some Godly Bishops, (whom* he conceives more Zealous then Discreet, *and so do some Godly Bishops conceive of this Author) and his Pique at the New Word* Homoousios *carryes such aa ugly reflection upon the Creed, that he scarce dare understand him,* And I on the other side take his *Fears* and his *Hopes* to be alike inconsiderable. His words are p. *6. I am confident had the most prudent and pius* Constantine, *the First and Best of Christian Emperours pursued his own intention, to suppress all Disputes, and all new Questions about God the Son, both* Homoousian, *and* Homoiousian, *and commanded all to acquiesce in the very Scripture Expressions, without any addition, that the* Arrian *Heresie had soon expired.* I note that the Exposer very disingenuously, and to make it look more ugly, take not the least notice of his Pique against *Homoiousios* too and the *Arrian Heresie.* But what is there here to fright the understanding Animadverter out of his Wits, or what to make *some Godly Bishops* (who it seems must be numberless or nameless) *to conceive the Author more Zealous then Discreet?* But for this Censure of the Author, as well as for the Godliness of the Bishops, we must acquiesce it seems upon the Credit, or Gratitude of one Nameless Exposer.

He then blames the Author *p. 3.* for saying *p. 1.* that *he would have men improve in Faith rather* Intensive, *then* Extensive, *to confirm it, rather then enlarge it.* Still and alwayes, to make things a little more ugly and of less value, he clips the Authors good English. *You would have men improve in Faith, so would I, but rather* Intensive *then* Extensive. *'Tis good to know all Gospel Truths, no doubt of that, the more the better still; but the Question is not what is Good, but what is Necessary.* This is a pious and undoubted Truth, and confirm'd by the Author out of several Places of Scripture: May I add one *Marke* the 9.17. Where *one brought his Son, being troubled with a Dumb Spirit to our Saviour* v. 23. Jesus *saith to the Father, if thou canst Believe, all things are possible to him that Believeth. The Father coyes out with tears, Lord I Believe, strengthen thou my Unbelieve.* And this Confession of the Intensive Truth of his Faith, with his relyance upon Christ for the strengthening of it, was sufficient to cooperate with our Saviour toward a Miracle, and throwing that Dumb and

Deaf

Deaf Spirit out of a third Person. Whoever indeed will deny this Truth, must go against the whole current of the New Testament. But the Exposer is Deaf to that, 'tis all one to him. Yet he is not Dumb, though as good he had, for all he has to say to it is: *And yet it is certaine that all formal and mortal Hereticks, that are not Atheists, are justly condemn'd for want of due extension in their Faith.* What pertinence! But there goes more Faith I see to the ejecting of a Talkative then of a Dumb Spirit. There is no need of further answer to so succinct a Bob, then that it had been well those terms of *Formal*, and *Mortal*, and *Hereticks*, and no less that of *Coudemned* had in this place been thorowly explained. For we know that there was a time when the Protestants themselves were the *Formal*, and, to be sure, the *Mortal Hereticks*, even here in *England*, and for that very crime too, *For want of due extention in their Faith*, they were *Condemned*, whether justly or no, it is in the Exposers power to determine. For some of our Ruling Clergy, who yet would be content to be accounted good Protestants, are so loath to part with any hank they have got, at what time soever, over the poor Laity, or what other reason, that the Writ *de Hæretico Comburendo*, though desired to be abolish'd, is still kept in force to this day. So that it is of more concernment then one would at first think, how far mens *Faith* (least afterwards for Believing short their Persons and Estates) *be Extended*, or taken in Execution.

He proceeds page the 3. and several that follow, to quarel the Author for quoting to this purpose *Acts* 8. and then saying: *I pray remember the Treasurer* (the Exposer will do it I warrant you, and the Chancellor too, without more intreaty) *to* Candace *Queen of* Ethiopia, *whom* Philip *instructed with in the Faith. His time of Catechising was very short and soon proceeded to Baptisme. But* Philip *first required a Confession of his Faith, and the Eunuch made it, and I beseech you observe it.* I believe that Jesus Christ *is the Son of God, and straight way he was Baptized*: How, no more then *this*? *No more. This little Grain of Faith, being sound, believed with all his heart, purchased the Kingdom of Heaven. 'Tis not the Quantity but the Quality of our Faith God requireth.* Here the Exposer, pretending now to be a learned Expositor, hopes to win his Spurrs, and layes out all his ability to prove that *Philip* (in a very short time for so much work as he finds him) had instructed the Treasurer thorow the whole *Athanasian* Creed; concerning the *Equality*, *Inseparability*, *Coeternity of the Three Persons in the Trinity.* For, saith the Ezposer, *the very Forme of Baptisme, if thorowly explained, is a perfect Creed by it self:* In the Name of the Father, the Son, and the Holy Ghost; *For it seems the name of the* Son, *was by a Divine Criticisme interposed between the other two Persons, whose Godhead was confest and acknowledged by the* Jewish *Church, rather then that of the* Word, *to denote the second Person*, &c. I should be

be glad to know where the Exposer learnt that the *Jewish* Church acknowledged the Godhead of the Holy Ghost, as of a Distinct Person; which if he cannot show, he is very far out in the Matter, as he is in that Expression of *Divine Criticisme*. Therefore he may do well to Consider. But it is simply, to say no worse, done of him, to call that Forme of words as it is ordered by our Saviour himself, a *Divine Criticisme*, as if *Christ* had therein affected that Critical glory, which the Exposer himself in so subtile a Remarke doubtless pretends to. But the Exposer will not only have *Philip* to have instructed the Treasurer in this *Criticisme*, but to have read him so long a Lecture upon Baptisme, as must for certaine have been out of the Assemblies, and not *Noel's* Catechisme: *acquainting him and instructing him abundantly, in those great Points of Faith, the Dying, Burying, and Rising again of* Christ *for our Justification from our sins, together with the Thing signified, Death unto sin, Mortification, the New Birth unto Righteousness, then the Mistery of the First and Second Covenant, Original sin, how thereby he was a Son of Wrath, had hereby Forgiveness, of sins, Adoption, being made a Child of Grace, Co-Heire with* Christ, *to live with him in the Communion of Saints, after the Resurrection, in Life Everlasting*, I am glad to see that, at least when it serves to his purpose, this Exposer will own all the Doctrines, which another Exposer would have call'd *so many Stages of Regeneration*, and have thought them too many to have drove over in one dayes journey, but would rather have turn'd out of the Road, and lay'd short all night somewhere by the way. Here is a whole *Calvinistical Systeme* of Divinity, that, if the Treasurer had been to be Baptized in the *Lake* of *Geneva*, more could not have been expected. And he has in a trice made him so perfect in it, that, as soon as the Christ'ning was over, he must have been fit to be received not only *ad Communionem Laicam*, but the *Clericam also*, if it were then come into fashion. These Exposers are notable men, they are as good as Witches, they know all things, and what was done, and what was not done equally. In earnest, he has made us as formal a story of all *Ppilip* said, and the Treasurer believ'd; as if he had sate all the while in the ~~Cooch~~-boot, and knows how long the discourse lasted, as well, as if he had set his Watch when they began, and look'd upon it just as the Spirit caught up *Philip* to *Azotus*. But (suppose, for the Exposers sake, that the Treasurer) were in a Coach, discourse, and for all the rumbling, so distinctly and thorowly, in so short a time too, if it had been, which is the uttermost, a dayes passage Catechumeniz'ed) it came to this short Print between them: The Treasurer desires to be Baptized, *Philip* replys; *If thou believest with all thine heart thou mayest*, which can never signifie otherwise then with all the Intention of our Spirit, as when we are said to love God with all our Heart: The Treasurer replyes, and that's all, *I believe that* Jesus Christ *is the*

Coach

*Son*

*Son of God.* Now it is worth the Readers observation, that out of a desire of Cavilling and the luxury the Exposer takes in it, he has quite forgot the matter he brought in Controversie. For the Dispute is concerning New Creeds, Imposed beyond clear Scripture: the Authors arguments and proofs tended wholly thither, and to that purpose he urged this passage of *Philip*, to prove that God considers both, but rather the Quality, then Quantity of our Faith. The Exposer amuses himself and us, to tell what *Philip* preach'd to the Treasurer, but never minds that, let that have been as it will, and the Eunuch have believ'd all that this man can imagine, yet all the Creed demanded, and all that he professes is no more then those formal words, believed with all his heart. *I believe that* Jesus Christ *is the Son of God*, Wherein the Author has clearly carryed, and the Exposer thus far lost the Question. And indeed *Antiochus*, you are much too blame to have put the *Romans* to all this trouble, to no purpose. But any thing to stuffe out the Dimensions of a Book, that no man may imagine he could have said so little, in so much (which is the new way of Compendiousness found out by the Exposer) whereas he might have known, that, not God only, but even men alwayes do respect the Quality of any Thing, of a Book, rather then the Quantity. One Remarke I must make more, before I take leave of this page, how, having thus liberally instructed both *Philip* and the Treasurer, he immediately chops in *p.* 5.

*Now this Author may see what Use and Need*
*There was of the* Constantinopolitan *Creed.*

*That puts in one Baptisme for the Remission of Sins.* I read it over and over, for there was somthing in it very surprising, beside the elegancy of the Verses. For the Now in that place is a word of immediate Inference, as if it appeared necessarily, from what last preceded, that he had notably foil'd the Author in some Arguments or other, and therefore exulted over him. To any man of common sense it can signifie neither more nor less then that, (whereas I upon prospect of this spoke merrily of the *Athanasian* Creed, *Noel's* and the Assemblies Catechisme, *&c.* wherein *Philip* instructed the Treasurer) the Exposer means in good earnest (if men mean what they say) that *Philip*, having studied the *Constantinopolitan* Creed himself very exactly, explain'd every Article of it thorowly to the Eunuch, and in especial manner that of Baptisme for the Remission of Sins: Which happening to have been so many hundred years before that Council was in being, must needs be an extraordinary civility in *Philip*, and which he would scarce have done, but for the particular satisfaction of so great a personage, that had the whole manage of the Revenue of the Queen of *Ethiopia*. I am sure it is more then our Church will vouchsafe in Baptisme, either of Infants or those of Riper Years, with their God-Fathers, but fobbs

 them

them of with the plain Apostles Creed: And truly the easier the better, if *astir that*, and by *powering water upon them*, these persons be without any more adoe (*as the Priest* according to our Rubrick, *shall then say*) Regenerate.

To as little purpose doth he trouble in this same 5. *p.* Another Scripture the first of *John* 4. 2. *Every Spirit that confesses that* Jesus Christ *is come in the Flesh, is of God*: Which the Author urges in confirmation of what he said before concerning the Intention of Faith. But, saith the Exposer, *Will a* Mahumetan, *or a* Socinian *Confession of Faith suffice*? This is I trow what they call reducing a man *ad Absurdum*, and I doubt he has hamper'd the Author mischievously. No it will not suffice in the *Mahumetam* or *Socinian* interpretation: but a Confession according to the true sense of this, and the clear express words of Scripture in other places will do it, especially if St. *John*, as most men are of opinion, writ his own Gospel. Nay, though the Exposer contends against this place, he admits another concerning *Peter*, that is not much more pregnant. *All the few primary Fundamentals of Christianity*, saith he, *were virtually contained in St.* Peters *short Confession of Faith*. Thou art *Christ* the Son of the living God: *For which Confession he was blest, and upon which Faith* Christ *declared that he would build his Church as upon a Rock*. In conclusion I see *Antiochus* has *ex mero motu & certâ Scientiâ*, and Prince — like Generosity, given us the Question: For I would not suspect that he hath hunted it so long till he lost it, or let it go of Necessity, because he could hold it no longer. For the Extention as well as Intention of *Peters* Faith, was terminated in these few words. For it is no irreverence to take notice how plain the Apostles were under that dispensation. The same *John* the Apostle and Evangelist *C.* 14. *V.* 26. and in the following Chapters, showes how little it was, and in how narrow a compass, that they knew and believed, and yet that sufficed. Insomuch that where *C.* 16. *V.* 17. Our Saviour promises the Holy Ghost, to instruct them further, he saith only, *It is Expedient for you that I go away, for if I go not away, the Comforter will not Come to you*. He saith not it is Necessary. For that Measure of true Belief would have suffieed for their own Salvation, but there was a larger Knowledge requisite for the future work of their Apostleship, In how many of them, and St. *Peter* himself as much as any, were there such *Ignorances*, I humbly use the word, in matters of Faith, that our Saviour could not but take notice of it and reprove them! As for *Peter*, when our Saviour was so near his Death as to be already betray'd, yet he, *Upon whose Faith he built his Church as on a Rock*, knew not the effect of his Passion, but was ready with his sword, against *Christs* Command and example, to have interrupted the Redemption of Mankind. And this short confession, *in which all the Fundamentalls were virtually contained* (as the Exposer here teacheth us, and so hath

hath reduced himself to that *little Grain of Faith*, against which he contends with the Author) was upon occasion of our Saviours question, when *Peter* doubtless did his best, to answer his Lord and Master, and told him all he knew. For that similitude, taken from so small a Graine by our Saviour, did equal the proportion of Faith then attainable and requisite. And as in a Seed, the very Plain and Upright of the Plant is indiscernably express'd, though it be not branch'd out to the Eye, as when it germinates, spreds, blossomes, and bears fruit; so was the Christian Faith seminally straitned in that virtual sincerity, Vital Point, and Central vigour of Believing with all the heart that *Jesus Christ* was come in the Flesh, and was the Son of the Living God. And, would men even now Believe that one thing thorowly, they would be better Christians, then under all their Creeds, they generally are both in Doctrine and Practice. But that gradual Revelation, which after his death and Resurrection shined forth in the Holy Ghost, must now determine us again within the Bounds of that saving Ignorance by Belief according to the Scriptures, untill the last and full Manifestation. And the Intention of this Faith now also, as it hath been explain'd by the Inspiration of the Holy Spirit in the Sacred Writers, is sufficient for Salvation, without the Chcianrey and Conveyancing of humane Extentions. And the Controverter himself hath, if not by his own confession, yet, by his own Argument all along hitherto proved it.

In the 6. *p*, he saith that, where the Author charges some with introducing Many and New Articles of Faith, *He hopes he does not mean all our Thirty nine Articles.* If he hopes so, why doth he raise the suspition, for which indeed there is no cause imaginable, but the Exposers own disingenuity; the Author appearing thorow his whole Book a True Subscriber to Theme, without that Latitude of Equivocation which some others use, or else they would not Publish those Doctrines they do, and be capable nevertheless of Ecclesiastical Places? But here, as though any man had meddled with those Articles, he explicates his Learning out of Bishop *Lany* and of the *Communio Laica*, which is but his harping upon one string and his usual *Scanning* on his fingers. For the Author having named *many and new Articles of Faith*, the Exposer revolves over in his mind *Articles*, *Articles of* — and, the word not being very pregnant, he hits at last upon *the Thirty nine Articles of the Church of* England: which yet the Exposer saith himself, *are Articles of Peace and Consent not of Faith and Communion.* Why then does he bring them by head and shoulders, when the Author he knows was only upon Articles, of Faith? He might as well have said *the Lords* of the *Articles. But this*, he saith, *is one, as he takes it, of our Churches greatest Ecclesiastical Policyes, that she admits the many in thousands and hundred thousands, without any subscription*, ad Communionem Laicam. Truly she

 is

is very civil, and we are an hundred thousand times obliged to Her. But I know not whether she will take it well of him, that he, not being content with so good an Office as that of her *Exposer*, should pretend to be her *Ecclesiastical Polititian*, over an other mans head that is fitter for both, and not expect the Reversion. And she cannot but be offended, that he should thus call her Fool by craft, assigning that for *her greatest Ecclesiastical Policy*, when to have done otherwise would have been the greatest Impertence and Folly. But who are these *the many*, whom she so graciously receives *Communionem Laicam* without subscription? Truly all of us whom she trusts not *with Teaching others or with University Degrees*. The whole body of the Laity. (There again is another name or us, for we can scarse speak without affronting our selves with some contemptuous name or other that they (forsooth the Clergy) have affixed to us.

*Nos Numerus sumus* the many, *& fruges consumere nati.*

Even his Majesty too, God bless him, is one of the *many*, and she asks no subscription of him neither, although I believe he has *taken his Degree in the University*. Well we must be content to do as we may: we are *the many*, and you are *the few*, and make your best of it. But now, though I am none of you, yet, I can tell you a greater *Ecclesiastical Policy*, then all this you have been talking of. It is a hard Word, and though it be but one Syllable, I cannot well remember it, but by good luck it was burnt by the hand of the Hangman, about that time that *the Naked Truth* was Printed. And had that *Policy* succeeded, *the many* must have taken not only all the *Thirty Nine Articles*, but all the Ecclesiastical Errours and Incroachments that escaped notice, all in the mass at once, as if they had been Articles of Faith, infallible, unalterable; but the State of the Kingdom had been apparently changed in the very Fundamentals. For *a Few* of *the Few*, for above these forty years, have been carrying on a constant Conspiracy to turn all *Upside-down* in the Government of the Nation: But God in his mercy hath alwayes hitherto, and will; I hope, for ever frustrate all such Counsels.

In his 7. p. it is that he saith, *the Author in his 4. p. implicitly condemns the whole Catholick Church, both East and West for being so Presumptuous in her Definitions.* However if he does it but Implicitly, the Exposer might have been so Ingenuous or Prudent as not to have Explicated it further, but conceal'd it least it might do more harme, but at least not to have heighen'd it so; *the whole Catholick Church*, and not only so, but, *the whole Catholick Church both in the East and West too* (why did he not add in the North and South too?) *for being so* Presumptuous, a term far beyond and contrary to the Modesty and Deference of the Authors expressions. But this is the Art and Duty of Exposing, Here it is that he brandishes the whole dint of his Disputative Faculty, and if it be not the

most

most rational, I dare say (and yet I should have some difficulty to perswade men so) that it is the most foolish passage in the whole Pamphlet. It is impossible to clear the Dispute but by transcribing their own words. In the mean time therefore I heartily recommend my self to the Readers patience. The Author, pursuing his point how unsafe and unreasonable it is to Impose New Articles of Faith drawn by humane Inferences beyond the Clear Scripture Expressions; instanceth in several of the Prime and most Necessary Principles of the Trinity, especially that of the Holy Ghost. *Are they not things*, saith he, *far above the Highest Reason and sharpest understanding that ever man had? Yet we Believe them because God, who cannot lye, hath Declared them. Is it not then a strange thing for any man to take upon him to Declare one title more of them then God hath Declared? seeing we understand not what is Declared, I mean we have no Comprehensive Knowledge of the Matter Declared, but only a Believing Knowledge?* To which the Exposer will have it that, if the Author be here bound up to his own words, (and 'tis good reason he should) he hath said that *we understand not that the matter is Declared*, and moreover he saith that *he is sure he has done him no wrong in fixing this meaning to the Authors words. No, it is no wrong*, it seems then, to say that to understand *That*, and to comprehend *What* is the same thing, As for example, (if our Ignorance may be allowed in things so infinitely above us, to allude to things as far below us) because I understand *That* the Exposer here speaks Nonsense; I must therefore be able to Comprehend *What* is the meaning of his Nonsense, and be capable to raise a Rational Deduction from it. I am sure I do the Exposer right in this Inference, and should be glad he only would therefore wear it for my sake, for it will fit none but him 'twas made for. But let us come down to the particular, *The Scripture*, saith the Author, *plainly tells, that the Holy Ghost proceeds from the Father, and That he is sent also by the Father, That he is sent also by the Son: but whether he Proceeds From the Son, or By the Son, the Scripture is silent. I grant that by Rational Deduction, and Humane way of Argument 'tis probable that the Holy Ghost Proceeds from the Son, as from the Father. But we understand not* What *the Procession or Mission of the Holy Ghost is, and therefore we cannot prove they are Both one. And therefore to determine it or any such Divine and high Mysteries by Humane Deductions, in Humane Words, to be Imposed and Believed with Divine Faith is Dangerous*: And much more the Author adds demonstratively to the same purpose,, but the Exposer culls out, by the Duty of his Place, what may best serve for his, neither will that do the turn unless he also pervert it. Here again is the *That* and the *What* the same thing?, Is it the same thing to say or understand *That* the Holy Ghost is sent by the Son (which is Declared in Scripture) and to understand and comprehend *What* the Nature of that Mission is, or What the Nature of Procession that a man may

safely

safely say that he Proceeds From or By the Son, as from the Father (which is not Declared in Scripture but by Humane Deduction) and exact the Divine Belief thereof under Eternal and Temporal Penalties? *Yet this is the Exposers Logick.* And away he goes with it, as if the world (as this inference is) were all his own, and knocks all on the head with a killing Instance which that I may still open more visibly to the Readers, I must beg pardon that I am necessitated to repeat over again their own Words sometimes upon occasion. The Exposer saith, *But he means we have no Comprehensive knowledge. His meaning is good and true but his inference is stark naught, if he means therefore we understand not at all that this or that is Declared.* But the Author neither says nor means any such thing, and the Exposer does him notwithstanding his averment to the Contrary, the most manifest wrong imaginable: for as much as he would not only fix a false meaning upon the Authors words which I first mentioned in the beginning, but upon these other words also which, contrary to their plaine signification, he produces for proof against him. They are by the Exposers own relation, *If then our Reason understand not what is Declared* (which is the very Equipollent of what the Author had said, that we have no Comprehensive knowledge of the matter Declared) *how can we by reason make any Deduction by way of Argument from that which we understand not?* No more. From whence it is evident from that virtual repetition and natural reflection that every Conclusion hath of and upon its Premisses, that the full sense of the words must be — *from that which we understand not, Comprehensive,* And yet he saith that he does him no wrong, he is sure he does not in affixing this meaning unto those words. And proceeds, *Is it even so? Then let us put the Case with reverence that Almighty God, who assuming I suppose, the shape of an Angel, treated with* Abraham *face to face, as a man doth with his Friend. Should for once have spoken in the same manner, to* Arrius or Socinus, *and made this one Declaration, that the Catholick Churches Doctrine of the Trinity was true, and his false: then I demand, would not this have been demonstration enough of the Faith which we call Catholick either to* Socinus *or* Arrius? *And yet all these contradictory Arguments which either of them had once fancied so insolable, supposing them not answered in particular, would remain against it, and stand as they did before, any such declaration, and yet all this without giving him any comprehensive knowledge.* This instance is made in Confutation of his own false supposition that the Authors words, *if then our reason understand not with comprehensive knowledge what is declared, how can we then make any deduction by way of Arguments from that which we understand not,* did in their true meaning signifie how can we by reason make any deduction by way of Argument, from that which *we understand not to have been declared,* or, that I may put it the furthest I can imaginable,

to

to the Exposers purpose or service, *how can we by reason understand that it is declared*, which is to impose a most ridiculous and impossible sense upon the Authors plain words; for if we neither understand *That* nor *What*, there is an end of all understanding. Yet admitting, here, sayes the Exposer, I have stated you a Case which proves the contrary, for here *Arrius* or *Socinus* have *no comprehensive knowledge of what is declared*, and *yet they understand that it is declared*: and doubtless the Author would say so too, without ever meaning the Contrary: yea and that this revelation would have been *demonstration enough of that Faith, which we call Catholick*. But what would become of *their former Contradictory Arguments* which the Exposer saith, *would stand as they did before*, and *remain against it*. I cannot vouch for the Author, that he would be of the same opinion. For I cannot comprehend though God had not answered those Arguments of theirs, in particular as the Exposer puts it, that those Arguments would or could remaine against it, and stand as they did before any such declaration, to *Arrius* and *Sacinus* after they had received a sufficient demonstration from Gods own mouth by New Revelation. They would indeed remain against it, and stand as they did before to Mr. *Sherlocke*. But when I have thus given the humorous Exposer his own will and swing in every thing, yet this superlupary instance does not serve in the least to confirme his Argument that he makes against the Authors words, after his transforming them: For here *Arrius* and *Socinus* only bring their sense of hearing, and having heard this from God, do not *by Reason* make any *Deduction by way of Argument*, but by a believing knowledge do only assent to this, second further Revelation: Nor can they then from this second Revelation make any third step of Argument to extend it beyond its own tenour, without incurring the Authors just & wise Argument again, that *seeing our reason understands not what is declared, I mean we have no comprehensive knowledge of this Doctrine of Trinity*. (which the Exposer supposes to be declared) *how can we by reason make any deduction by way of Argument from that which we understand not*, to wit, *not comprehensively*? As I have abundantly cleared. But this instance was at first extingnished, when I shewed in the beginning that he did impertinently tradnce the Authors words, and forge his meaning.

In the mean time, though he saith *put the Case with Reverence*, when the Case so put cannot admit it, I cannot but at last reflect, upon the Exposers unpardunable indiscretion, in this more then absurd and monstruous representation of God almighty, assuming the shape of an Angel as he saith he treated with *Abraham* face to face as a man doth with his friend, to Discourse with *Arrius* and *Socinus*. These are small escapes with which he aptly introduces such an interview and conference, *that he treated our* 4th. Abraham *face to face, as a man doth with his friend*:

for

for it is true *Abraham* is Stiled the friend of God, and that God spoke to him; but it is never said in Scripture that God did *Treat*, that is a word of Court, not of Scripture: No nor that *God spoke to him face to face*. But it is said in Sripture only of *Moses*, *Exod.* 33. 11. *The Lord spoke to him face to face as a man speaketh unto his friend.* But that was a priviledge peculiar to *Moses*. *Numbers* 12. 5. *And the Lord came down in a Pillar of Cloud, and stood in the door of the Tabernacle of the Congregation, and called* Aaron *and* Miriam, *and they both came forth, and he said, hear now my words if there be a Prophet among you, I the Lord will make my self known to him in a Vision, and will speak unto him in a Dream: my servant* Moses *is not so who is faithful in all my house, with him will I speak mouth to mouth, even apparently and not in darke Speeches, and the similitude of the Lord shall he behold, wherefore then were not you afraid to speak against my Servant* Moses? (the Exposer is not afraid to do him manifest injury.) for *Deut.* 34. 10. *And there arose not in* Israel *a Prophet like unto* Moses, *whom the Lord knew face to face*, &c. And much more might be said of this matter, were the man capable of it: But I perceive he neither reads nor understands Scripture, and one *Divine Criticism* is stock enough it seems to set up an Exposer. Neither is it so notorious an errour that he saith God assumed the shape of an Angel to treat with him. I would be glad to know of the Exposer, seeing he is so Cherubick. what is the shape of an Angel? Some humane Criticks have told me that it was the similitude of a Calfe. But Gods appearing in a sha e to *Abraham*, when he treated with him face to face was in the shape of a man. *Gen.* 18 1. *The Lord appeared to him in the Plane of* Mamre *as he sate in the Tent door, and so three men stood by him*, &c. These are easie slips and he that stumbles and falls not, gains a step. Yet for one as he mocks the Author p. 2. *That appears as one drop'd down from Heaven, vouching himself a Son of the Church of* England, *teaching as one having authority like a Father*, to trip in this manner, is something indecent. But to bring God in to so little a purpose, contrary to all rules, that I have seen one with a better grace brought down by a Machine to treat with *Arrius* and *Socinus*, no other Company, those who have contended against the Son of God and his Holy Spirit, whose Opinions have been the Pest of the Clergy for so many Ages, to have them now at last brought in as Privado's to the Mysteries of Heaven, and the Trinity; what Divine in his Witts but would rather have lost an Argument! What will the Gentleman I last named say, to see such a reconciliation, to behold *Arrius* and *Socinus* in so close *Communion with God*, as to be admitted even to single Revelation: He cannot then avoid thinking, what he lately printed, and now with more reason: *That God is all Love and Patience when he has taken his fill of Revenge, as others use to say the Devil is good when he is pleased.* What a shame is it to have men like the Exposer, who are de-

dedicated to the service of the Church, and who ought as in the place quoted by the Author in the present Argument, they of all other to hold fast the form of sound Words, thus by their rash levity administer so much occasion upon the most revered subject, that one can scarce answer them in their own dialect without seeming, though never so averse to border upon their Profaneness. But these are the Divines in Mode, who, being by their Dignities and Preferments plump'd up beyond humane proportion, do whether for their Pride or Ignorance, neither understand themselves nor others, (men of Nonsense) much less do they understand to speak of God, which ought to be their study, with any tolerable *Decorum*, These are the great Animadverters of the times, the Church-respondents in the Pew, Men that seem to be members only of *Chelsy* Colledge, nothing but broken Windows, bare Walls, and rotten Timber. They with a few Villanous words, and a seared Reason are the only Answerers of good and serious Books: But then they think a Book to be sure fully answered, when as the Exposer has by *an humane Criticisme*, they have writ or scribled the same number of pages. For the Authors Book of the *Naked Truth*, chancing to be of sixty six pages, the Exposer has not bated him an Ace, but payed him exactly, though not in as good Billet, yet in as many Notches. This being done, then the Exposer ubiquits himself, peeping at the Key-holes, or picking the Locks of the Bed-chambers of all the Great Ministers, and though they be reading Papers of State, or at the Stool more seasonably obtrudes his Pamphlet. Next he sends it by an express to his friends at the Universities, but especially to his own Colledge, and can scarce refrain from recommending it to the Tutors to instruct their Pupills, reading it to them in lieu of other Lectures. But they are lay'd in for provision by the Manciple and Butler, and that Quarter few escape without being sconc'd for an Animadversion. The Country Cathedralls learn it latest, and arrive by slower degrees to their understanding, by the Carrier. It grows a business of Chapter, and they admire it in body as a profound Book of Theology. Those of 'em that can confide in one another, discourse it over in private, and then 'tis odds, but, before the Laity get notice of it, they first hear it preach'd over by him whose turn it is next Sunday in the Minster, the rest conceal the Fraud for the reputation of the Diocess. After the Book is grown common the Plagiary wonders how, but that proportionable Wits jump together, the Exposer could hit so right upon his Notions. But if the Dean foresee that 'tis a very vendible Book, he you may imagine forestalls the Market, and sends up for a whole Dicker of 'em to retaile at his best advantage. All this while the little Emissaryes here in town are not idle, but hawke about from *London* to *Westminster* with their Britches stiffe with the Copyes, and will sell them to any one for Commendation. Nor do they grudge

 this

this drudgery out of the hope and vision that they themselves also may, at some happy hour or other, be received into the band of Answerers, and merit the same Applause and advancement. But if they found it so hard a task as I do this, sure they would be better advised. 'Tis a great paine to answer, even an Animadverter; they are much happyer of the two, 'tis better by far Preaching, and a Sermon is soon curryed over. Yet sometimes it happens the Printing of a Sermon is toilsome afterwards and hazardous: for even one that was preached before His Majesty, and by his special command to be Printed, is it seems making over again, there having been sure some error in the *Fonte*, and has lay'd several months in disobdience. But when it shall come out new vamp'd and refitted, it will be a question worthy the Schooles, whether it be the same Sermon, and whether he has not prevaricated against his Majesties special Command, and *Sinn'd on*, by Printing without a Licence. Yet I rather expect that after all, it will incurre the same fate with that memorable Sermon preached before the House of Commons, at their receiving the Sacrament upon the first opening of the Parliament: Which for some dangerous opinions there vented, was so far from ever coming forth, that one might sooner have obtain'd His Majesties special Command against ever Printing it. But to return to the Exposer, who by this impertinence has forced an occasion upon me to reflect on some *Few* who are guilty of the same, and may thank him for the favour. May not, with more reason p. 1. then he saith it of the Author, *the Church justly complaine of him for thrusting out such crude indigested matter, without communicating these conceptions of his to some that would have shewed him the weak and blind sides of them*? I profess after those passages of his that I have already taken notice of, and this egregious one the last, wherein by so few lines he hath so amply molested the Judicious Reader, I do not think I ow him the patience to consider what remains with the same exactness, every thing that he adds henceforward growing methodically slighter and worse as it hastens to, the Center of Levity, the Conclusion of his Pamphlet. Yet somthing I will reply all along, with more justice then he practises toward the Author, for whereas he picks out here and there whit he thinks tenderest in him to tire upon, and render it by his affected misrepresentation obnoxious, but shuts his eyes as not being able to indure the resplendence of those evident Truths which he delivers with great demonstration; I shall in the Exposer only observe and deal with what seems the least impertinent. Only I may not perhaps think him worth the transcribing so punctually as I have done hiterto, but for brevity more often refer to his own pages.

Therefore be pleased to look on his *p.* 7. where, relating to what the Author had said *p.* 4. of the Procession of the Holy Ghost, wherein the

*Greek*

*Greek* Creed and ours differ, he muffles it all up with saying that *yet this breaks not Communion between us*, *the difference arising only from the* Inadequation of Languages. Which is a Mathematical and more Civil way, either of owning his Ignorance in so weighty a point, or confessing that he cannot answer what the Author hath said upon it. If by reason of the *Inadequation of Languages* a mystery so inexplicable could not be expressed why did either our Church or theirs meddle in it beyond the Scripture? There is no *Inadequation between the Languages*, in speaking of it, *Dia* and *Apo* a *Patre Filioque*, and *a Patre per Filium*: *From the Father and Son*, or *From the Father By the Son*: *Proceeding* or *Sending*: But no language can reach the nature of Profession or Mission, nor to represent to humane understanding how they can both be the same, or wherein they may differ. He does in this as the *Arrian* Bishops in their subscription of the *Nicene* Creed to *Jovianus* Socr. l. 3. c. 21. which now they said they could do with a good Conscience, understanding *neque vocabulum substantiæ apud sanctos Patres ad consuetudinem Græci Sermonis capi.* 'Tis an happy thing I see to find our Church in good humour, else she might have made more adoe about an Article of Faith, as she does about much lesser matters. 'Tis not strange that the Exposer finds no greater difference or distinction between terms so distant, seeing in the last Paragraph above, he was so dull that he understood not *What* is *What*. But he most aptly concludes how Demosthenes *once answered the Orator* Æschines, *who kept much adoe about an improper word. The Fortunes of* Greece *do not depend upon it.* So trivial a thing it seems does the Exposer reckon it, to have improper words obtruded upon Christians in a Creed, without believing of which no man can be saved, and whereupon the Eastern and Western Churches divided with so much concernment. But how proper and ingenious a contrivance was it of the Author (who is the very Cannon of Concinnity) to bring in *Demosthenes* and *Æschines*, as being doubtless both of the *Greek* Church, to decide the matter in Controversy of the Procession or Mission of the Holy Ghost between them and the West. *Antiochus*, whensoever you take the Pew again, be sure you forget not *Demosthenes* and *Æschines*: For it will be to you as good as current Money, which answers all things. The Exposer, though here so gentle, yet, in the very page before this was as dogged, to as good men as the *Greeks* some of them, the Papists, Lutherans, and Calvinists. *The Author*, he sayes, *may make as bold with them as he pleases, for we are none of these, I am not bound to make War in their vindication.* But if he should once *Kyrie Eleison*, what would become of us? Good Mother Church of *England* maintaine this humor thorow, carrey it on, but above all things make much of this thy Exposer; give him any thing, think nothing too good for him, Happy the Church that hath, and miserable that wants such a Champion!

But I must find some more expeditious way of dealing with him, and walke faster, for really I get cold. The force of all that he saith in the 8. and 9. pages, is to represent the Author ridiculously and odiously, as if upon his wishing that *Constantine* had commanded both parties *Homoousian*, and *Homoiousian* to acquiess in the very Scripture Expressions, without any addition, whereby he is confident the *Arrian* Heresie had soon expired, he did by consequence cut *Poe-dike* to let in a Flood of all Heresies, upon the Fenns of Christianity. But the words with which he cuts the Author down, are: *Why, this was the designe of the* Arrians *themselves, that which they drove at Court, that silence might be imposed on both Parties.* Well, and 'twas very honestly done of them and modestly, and like Christians, if the Controversie arose, as men think about the Imposing of a Creed, or Article concerning a Question so fine, in Words so Gross, which yet a man must Believe that without Believing it, *no man can be Saved*; though no humane understanding can comprehend the subject of the Question, nor the Scripture Expressions, as they conceived, did reach it. There is field enough for Faith in the Scriptures, without laying out more to it; and to resigne their Reason to be silenced in a Question, stirred up by others, that Peace might be established in the Church, was Ingenuity in them: and the contrary proceeding of the Church was the occasion of many other Heresies that else had never been heard of. But the Exposer had said somthing, if he could have divined that they would have used this silencing the dispute by *Constantine* as the *Arminians* (so they were at that time called) did the same in the Reigne of his late Majesty, who procuring a command from him to prohibite all writing or preaching about those points, having thereby gagged their Adversaries, did let the Press and the Pulput loose more then ever to propagate their own Doctrines. That which the Exposer drops in the ardour of this Argument, *p.* 9. *How many terms in the* Athanasian *Creed, which to seek for in the Apostles Creed, or in the whole Bible, were to as much purpose as it was for the old affected* Ciceronian *in* Erasmus *to labour and toile his Brains to turn that Creed into* Ciceronian *Latine. Yet these are the terms in which the Catholick Church thought she spoke safely in these Divine matters; is, totidem verbis*, either to beg the Question or make a formal resignation of it. And our Church (how soever else he may have oblidged her) has reason to resent this indiscretion. Why was she her self so indiscreet to admit such a Blab into her secrecies? How if no man else ought to have known it? It is an ill matter to put such things in mens minds, who otherwise perhaps would never have thought of it. 'Tis enough to turn a mans stomach that is not in strong health, not only against the *Athanasian* Creed, but against all others for its sake. He saith *p.* 8. Scoffingly that the Author is one of those whom St. *Paul* forbids *to be admitted to*

*any*

*any doubtful Disputations*: But let the Exposer see whether it be not himself rather that is there spoken of. And withall that he may make some more proper use of the place, which he warily cites not, I recommend it to him in order to his future dispute about Ceremonies: 'Tis the 14. *Rom. v.* 7. Where St. *Paul* calls him that contends for them the Weak Brother, *Weak in the Faith*; and such therefore the Apostle excludes from doubtful Disputations, so that one gone so far in Ceremony as the Exposer, had no License from him to Print Animadversions.

As to what he patches in *p.* 10. upon the matter of School-Divinity, as if the Author poured contempt upon the Fathers; I referre it to the Animadversions on the Chapter about preaching, and should I forget I desire him to put me in mind of it. And *p.* 11. and 12. where the Author having in his 2. and 3. *p.* said that, *None can force another to believe, no more then to read where the Candle does not give clear light*, and more very significantly to that purpose; the Exposer flying giddily about it, burns his wings with the very similitude of a Candle. Sure if a man went out by night on Tranelling, or Bat-fowling, or Proctoring, he might catch these Exposers by Dozens. But the force of his Argument is *p.* 13. Whereas the Author sayes, you can force no mans sight or his faith, he replyes, *If it be not in any mans power to Discerne Fundamental truths, (of which this Chapter treats) when they are laid before his Eyes when there is a sufficient proposel, then it is none of his fault.* Yet this is as weak as water: For, supposing a Fundamental Truth clearly demonstrated from Scripture, though a man cannot force himself to believe it, yet there is enough to render a mnn inexcusable to God. *God hath not been wanting* (one of the Exposers scraps) *in necessaries*: but I hope he will not compel God too, but that he may dispense his saving and efficacious Influence (without which all that sufficient Proposal he speaks of will have been insufficient,) only to the minds of whom he pleases. The Animadverter in defending that a man can force himself to believe, argues against Experimental Demonstration (try it in any man in every man) but raises only a maligne ignorant and cavilling dispute, herein to reduce the Author to *the Dreggs*, forsooth, *of Mr.* Hobb's *his Divinity*, 1 c. *It is not the man's fault, saith he, if he cannot believe after a sufficient Proposal.* He saith, *he is sure*, too it is not then the man's fault. (so in the Dispute lately about *That* and *What*, he said, *he was sure he did the Author no wrong*) But I desire him first to read *Romans* 3. the 4, 5, 6. verses, with the Context: But especially *Romans* 9. from the 13. to the 22. verse, where the Apostle introduces a man objecting in the same words to the same purpose, *Thou wilt say unto me why doth God yet find fault*, &c. And if the Exposer will not take the Apostles Answer, but *be sure* of the contrary, then he too cannot, it seems *force himself to be-*

*lieve*

*lieve* after what he ought to have allowed for a *sufficient Proposal.* But where the Author supposes that any man does clearly or sufficiently demonstrate a Fundamental Truth from Scripture: yet unless a mans Brains be clear it is to him no demonstration. You suppose that all of you do clearly demonstrate, so that if they don't Believe you may justly open their Eyes with a paire of Pincers. Whereas there are some *Few* among the *Few*, such *Spermologers*, that unless a grain of Faith fall down, by the by, from Heaven your seed is Barren. I do not reckon much upon a Church Historical devilish belief. Unless a thing be in the Express words of Scripture, there are some of the Laity to whom a Counsel cannot demonstrate clearly, a Preacher cannot demonstrate, sneezing Powder cannot demonstrate, no Earthly can do it. Christ used Clay indeed, but it was his Spittle that gave the healing quality, and cured the Blind man. Alas you are so wise in your own conceit, that you cannot conceive how simple some poor men are. He saith, *the Reason which helps every man to see these Fundamental Truths, at least when they are shew'd and pointed out to him* (such Truths you must conceive as the Creed Doctrines of the Trinity) *is a vulgar and popular thing* (what need then so many Disputes in the Councills? *and sure the Author, that he may not admit any mans hypocrisie and wilfulness to be gross and palpable, imagins there are a world of Idiots.* So the exposer would now cokes the Lay-multitude, whom before he call'd *the hundred thousands*, and *the many*, and for their simplicity *excusable from subscribing* the 39. *Articles*, to be grown on the suddain so very wise men, that he may with justice therefore compel them by corporal punishments or penalties to believe in spight of their Teeth or their understandings. Alas if any men consider those Fundamental Truths, so subject he saith to vulgar and popular reason, it is one of the difficultest things in the world, and yet more to those who are most removed from being Idiots to believe them; and some men by their clear Demonstrations, by their sufficient Proposals, by their Creeds have rendered it still more difficult. Why have I wasted all this on the Exposer who, (whether it be his fault or no) yet cannot force himself to Believe even *the Naked Truth*, though so clearly demonstrated from Scripture (and the Exposer I suppose believes the Scripture) though so Consonant and obvious to the most vulgar and popular reason, but Believes his own Animadversions, against the most vulgar and popular Reason, to be a sufficient Proposal to the Contrary? In the 13 and 14. *p.* speaking of that place *Gal.* 5. 12. which the Author understands of the Magistrates Power, but the Exposer will have to be Excommunication; I crave leave to dissent from both of them, humbly conceiving that the Word there of *Cutting off* is rather meant in the usual sense of Scripture in a multitude of places, for Gods taking them of by his hand. But whatsoever it be, I desire the Exposer for his own sake to take good

heed

heed that, whether it be Executing, or Punishing, or Banishing, or Excommunicating, or taking them away Gods hand of Justice, the Apostle speaks of such as taught for Circumcision, and alluding to the word wishes that they were rather *cut off*, who trouble the *Galatians* about the retaining of that, and who would oblidge them contrary to *their Christian Liberty* to such *Jewish* Ceremonies.

For what he hales in of the great and notable effect *p.* 14. of conferences, wishing that there were such held publickly or privately to satisfie the Non-conformists; truly though they be no great men; yet perhaps it were fit they were first satisfied what kind of Reception they should meet with. But I doubt such Conferences in Publick are but the Resemblance and Epitome of General Councils. For that of the *Savoy* in which he instances it might almost as well have been in *Piemont*. A man disinteressed either way, might make a pleasant story of the *Anecdota* of that Meeting, and manifest how well his Majesties Gracious Declaration, before his return, and his Broad-Seal afterwards were pursued. But it is not my present business. But for shortness sake, as to his desire *That he that does not believe the notable effect of them would but read what my Lord Bishop of* Winchester *printed of that Conference, where the Adverse Party was driven immediatly to assert that whatsoever may be the occasion of sin to any must be taken away*: I shall as civilly as I can, though I deferre much to his extraordinary veracity, tell the Exposer I do not believe him.

I come now to what he *p.* 14, 15, 16, 17. and in other places declares to be his Judgement, as to Compulsion in matter of Faith and Religion. The Authors opinion appears in the beginning, where I stated his own words thorow this Chapter. The expose does beat the aire. *p.* 14. concerning the *Donatists*, a must seditious and turbulent sect, *who* saith the Author (as it is objected by those that would have Force used) *some of them came to St.* Augustine *and gave thanks, that the Civil Power was made use of to testraine them, confessing that was the means that brought them to consider more calmly their own former extravagant opinions, and so brought them home to the true Church.* But he quarrels the Author for his four answers, against the Magistrates using that as a Precedent. The first, *our Case is not in repressing seditious Practises, but inforcing a Confession of Faith.* I will return straight to the Exposers Answer to this. The Authors second is; *unless it can be evidenced that their hearts were changed as well as their Profession (a thing impossible to prove) all this proves nothing.* Neither does it. For the dispute now betwixt the Author and his Adversary is, whether it be possible to compel a man to believe. This instance proves only that those *Donatists* were forced to come to Church. Therefore there cannot be a more uncharitable and disingenuous thing invented, then for the Exposer to upbraid him with such a retort, *for ought he knows they were Hypocrites*: (the Author does say so) *so for*

*ought*

*ought we to know this Author is all this while a* Jesuite, *and writes this Pamphlet only to imbroile us* Protestants. But he must make some sputter rather then be held to the terms of the Question: and truly I perceive *Antiochus* is very weary and shifts like a Crane (not to instance in a worse Bird) first one foot and then another to rest on, being tired to stand so long within so close a Circle. For thirdly the Author answers, *Put the case their hearts were really changed, as to matter of Belief, 'tis evident their hearts were very worldly still, grovelling on earth not one step nearer Heaven*: He will not be candid without Compulsion, but leaves out what follows; *and sure their heart was evil, which was far more moved for the quiet enjoyment of this worlds good, then for the blessed enjoyment of* Christ. In earnest I begin to think an Exposer is a Rational Creature. For had he not onpurpose left these last words out, he could not have cryed, *A horrible charitable saying! We may forgive the Author any thing after this*; which is all the Answer he gives: so charitable is the Exposer grown to the *Donatists*, for every man that will come to Church is *ipso facto* with him, a true Believer. But it did in truth appear to have been so, and there is not the least uncharitableness in this that the Author has said; For by those *Donatists* own confession, it was not any love to that which they now owned for the Truth to St. *Austin*, not any Convicton of Conscience, not so much as even an inclination to obey the Magistrate; but meer fine force and fear of Punishment that brought them to Church, and whatsoever good came on't was by accident. Whether might not a man adde that their giving thanks for that force, and so owning that Principle of Compulsion, was a further evidence that their heart was naught still, even while they were with St. *Augustine*? I think a man might, untill I be better informed. But the Author having given a fourth answer that, *suppose they were now really brought over to the Truth* of the Church of Beliefe, and Religion by the Magistrates severity, (I express it thus that I may not with the Exposer trifle about the *Jews* care) yet St. *Paul* hath said, *God forbid we should do evil that good may come of it*? This is answer enough for a man of understanding. For it is not lawful, suppose for St. *Austin* himself, to beguile any man even into Christianity: unless as St. *Paul* perhaps, 2 *Cor.* 12. 16. *Being crafty caught the* Corinthians *with guile*, by preaching the *Gospel without being burthensome to the people*. No man ought to cheat another though to the true beliefe: Not by Interlining the Scripture. Not by false Quotation of Scripture, or of a Father. Not by forging a Heathen Prophecy, or altering an Author. Not by a false Syllogisme: Not by telling a lye for God. And if no ~~*Pettie Fraud*~~ much less can a *Pia Vis* be allowed, to compell them to Faith, compell them to a Creed, seeing it *were to do evil that good may come of it*: much less to a Creed not perfectly Scriptural, and, instead of being inforced, indeed weakned by

pia
a Fraus

by compulsion, seeing it is impossible to compel a man to believe, and some Divines teach us to believe (though I suspend,) that even God himself cannot, or doth not Compel men to Believing. But now it falls in naturally to me to be as good as my word, to consider what the Exposer replyes to the Author's first answer concerinig the *Donatists*, that *our Case is of inforcing a Confession of Faith, not concerning seditious Practises, of which the* Donatists *were notoriously guilty, in which Case he had shown before, that the Civil Magistrate may proceed to Punishment.* Wherein the Author reasons with his usual justness, and I though a very slender accession, cannot but come into him. For St. *Paul*, in the 13. Chapter of the *Romans*, laying out the Boundaries of the Duty of Christian subjects and the Magistrates Power; saith, *Rulers are not* (ought not to be) *a terrour to good works, but to evil*, and so forward: but to the Christian people he saith, *they must be subject not only for wrath* as those *Donatists* were afterwards, *but for Conscience sake.* And the subjection he defines is in doing good, walking uprightly, keeping the Moral Law, Fearing, Honouring, and Paying Tribute to the Magistrate. But not one word saith the Apostle of forbearing to Preach out, of that Obedience; saying in another place *Necessity is laid upon one and woe is unto me if I preach not the Gospel*: (and that supposes too meeting) and as little of Compelling to hear. For in those times and a great while after, there was no inforcing to Christianity. It was very long before that came in fashion: And, writing on the suddain, I do not well remember whether it did ever before the dayes of *Piçarro* and *Almagro*, the Apostles of the *Indians*. yet upon recollection it was sooner. But what saith the Exposer to this of the *Donatists*, whom the Author allows only to have been punishable only for seditious Practises, having before declared that *for such as only refuse to conforme to the Churches established Doctrine and Discipline (pardon him if he say) really he cannot find any warrant or so much as any hint from the Gospel to use any Force to compel them: and from Reason sure there is no motive to use force, because as he shewed before, Force can't make a man believe your Doctrine, but only as an Hypocrite, Profess what he believes not.* I expect that the Exposer, in this place above all other, which I guess was his greatest motive to this Imployment, should ply and overlay him now with Reason, but especially with Scripture, let us hear how he answers. *I say only this p. 5.* (for he speaks now of our Non-Conformists) *the very Act against them calls them* Seditious Conventicles, *and openly to break so many known Laws of the Land, after so many reinforcements, is not this to be turbulent?* This now you must understand to be Reason, and not Scripture: That I suppose as the strongest is reserved for the Rear. Truly, (as far as a man can comprehend by comparing that with other Acts of this Parliament,) they did only appoint that the Penalty of Sedition should ly against those that frequent such Meetings: as in the Act against *Irish* Cattel, if it be not in it self a Nuisance no Law-givers can make it so. Nor can any Legislators

 make

make that to be *Sedition* which is not *Sedition* in its own nature. So Prohibitions of that kind operate no more as to the intrinseque Quality, then a publick Allowance of taking away any honest mens Goods by violence and giving it another name, would extinguish the Robbery. It was the King and Parliaments prudence to make such Laws, and as long as they shall continue of that mind, it is reason the Non-Conformists should lye under the Penalty, which I humbly conceive is all that could be intended, But the Exposer rivets this with Reason again, not Gospel. *And was it not ever understood so in all Religions; even in Heathen* Rome? *The most learned* P. Ærodius *tells us* (Does he so? What is it I beseech you) *that the* Roman *Senate* (the Exposer quotes it at large as a story of great use and not to be hudled over; I must be glad to contract it) *made an Act against the Conventicles of certaine Innovators in their Religion; if any particular person judged such a sacrifice to be necessary, he must repair first to the Prætor, he to the Senate, where the* Quorum *must* be *an hundred, and they must not neither give him leave if at all to have above five persons present at the Meeting. The self same number, beside the Dissenters own Family, is so far forth indur'd by an Act of this present Parliament, that there must be more then Five to make it a Conventicle.* This is a very subtile Remarke that he has made, as if it were one of those Witty accidents of Fortune, or an extraordinary hand of Providence, that the Senate of *Rome* and the Parliament of *England* should hit so pat, upon an Act of the same nature: And upon that number of Five. However they are oblidg'd to him, and he deserves the publick Thanks for furnishing them, so long after, with a Precedent. I confess I alwayes wonder'd they would allow them so many as Five, for fear when, not two or three, but Five of 'em were gathered together *God should bear their request*: and it seem'd therefore to me a Formidable Number. But where has the Example been hid so long? I believe the Exposers study has laid much this way. But this was so deep an *Arcanum* that was fit for none but an Arch-Bishops Close. I wish he have come honestly by it. But Murder I see and Theft will out, and so this comes to light by a blabbing Animadverter, that cannot keep counsel, but will violate the Ecclesiastical secret rather then lose the Leachery of his Tattle and the vain-glory of his Pedantry. I could be glad to know what complexion this Exposer is of. I am perswaded, whatsoever he may be now, he was once extreme faire: for I remember since I was at School: that the learned *P. Ovidius* told me, that the Crow was once a white Bird, and much in *Apollo's* favour till for telling of Tales,

*Sperantem non falsæ præmia linguæ,*
*Inter aves albas vetuit consistere Corvum.*

And of another, the fairest thing that ever eyes were laid on, but for carrying of Storyes, was turn'd into a Jackdaw, and grew as black as a Crow, Filching, and Kaw me and I'le Kaw thee, ever after.

And that which sure must make him more black, more a Jack-daw, and like it, worthy to be expelled from the guard, and from the protection of *Minerva*, and who henceforward

*Ponatur*

*Ponatur post Noctis avem,*

is, that he does with open mouth proclaim the Naked design of all the *Few* that are of his Party. *p.* 12. *The* Jews *in* Rome *are constrained once a week to hear a Christian Sermon.* The same *p.* 12. *We that would oblidge him to open his Eyes whether he will or no. p.* 14. *I can only wish for the present, that by forcing them into our Churches, they may hear our defences,* p. 17. *I speak nothing more against them then that they may be brought to our Churches,* &c. All this as the last result and greatest condescension of his Ecclesiastical Clemency. In conclusion he declares he would have them forced: and for what manner of force, violence, punishment or penalty he leaves it all open, go as high as men will. These things still are not Scripture neither, but Reason. His first was an Heathenish Reason in one sense, and this a *Jewish* in another. For I confess it is a very pregnant and *adequate* example, and of great authority for us to imitate; that *the* Jews *in* Rome *are constrained once a week to hear a Christian Sermon.* What could there be more proportionable, then to resemble the proceeding with Christians among themselves here in *England*, not differing in any point of Faith, with the proceeding at *Rome* against the *Jews*? But that the Exposer should *implicitly* liken and compare our Bishops to the Pope, may perhaps not be taken well by either Party. So that I dare say, had he consulted with his usual Prudence, he would not have disoblidged both sides at once. But for the Precedent, I have nothing to oppose to this more then the first, it being *doubtless of notable effect*, as notable as that of the *Piemont* conference. Only out of the affection I have for him, I would wish him to correct here one slip, if I be rightly informed; for some that have been abroad say his Intelligence from *Rome* has failed him, for that it is not once a week, but once a year that the *Jews* at *Rome* are oblidged, forced, to hear a Christian Sermon. And therefore, when the *Parliamentum Indoctum* sits again, I would advise him not to make his Act too severe here upon this mistake, then it is against those *Judaick* Non-Conformists at *Rome*.

But the next Reason would be so extraordinary troublesome to the *Few*, that are of the Exposers party and to himself, that, if he had thorowly consider'd it, I question whether he would have been so charitable to the Fanaticks, that he would oblige them *to open their Eyes whether they will or no.* For it would require two of the Church of *England* to every Non-conformist, unless 'twere here and there one that had lost an Eye in the Service. Less would not do the business decently, and those two also must be well in order, to open the Non-conformists Eyes both at once, lest one Eye should be of one and the other Eye of a contrary opinion. And then they should in humanity, give them some interval for winking. Else they had as good cut off their Eye-lids, as the Episcopal *Carthaginians* used the Presbyterian *Regulus*, for keeping in the true sense to his Covenant. But on the other side, it would look too big for a Company of beggarly Fanaticks, to be waited upon in as much Majesty as *Obeshankanogh* the King of *Virginia*, that had two Squires of the Body in constant attendance, to lift up his Eye-lids

as oft as he conceiv'd any man worthy to be look'd upon. But let the Exposer order it as he pleases, *I am not bound to* be any of his Sight-supporters. Onely this, it would be very improper for him to chuse any one that is blind to that employment. For his several times repeated wish, *that they might be forced to come to Church to give them a fair hearing, and to hear their discourses*: truly I believe they know the Lion by the Claw, there is a great part of Oratory consists in the choice of the Person that is to perswade men. And a great Skill of whatsoever Orator is, to perswade the Auditory first that he himself is an honest and a fair man. And then he is like to make the more impression on them too, if he be so prudent as to chuse an acceptable subject to speak on, and manage it decently, with fit arguments and good language. None but the very rabble love to hear any thing scurrilous or railing; especially if they should hear themselves rail'd on by him, they would be ready to give him the due applause of *Petronius* his Orator, with flinging the stones about his ears, and then leaving him to be his own Auditory. Now, they have had so ample experiment of the Exposer as to all these points, in his Defence against *the Naked Truth*, that I doubt his perswasion to this comming to hear him or others, will be of little force with them, and nothing would oblige these *Donatists* to it, but the utmost extremity; *nor then would they find themselves one step nearer heaven.* His Book is as good to them as a Sermon, and no doubt he has preach'd as well as printed it, and took more pains in it than ordinary; did his best. Must they, will they think, be compelled to make up the pomp of his Auditory? Must they, while the good Popish Fathers suffer'd those of *Chiapa* to come to Church with their *Chocolatte pots*, to comfort their hearts, be inforced to come to Church by him, to have Snush thrust up their Noses, *to clear their Brains for them*? 'Tis the onely way to continue and increase the Schisme. But in good sober earnest, 'tis happy that some or other of this *Few* chances ever and anon to speak their minds out, to shew us plainly what they would be at. Being conscious of their own unworthiness, and hating to be reformed, it appears that they would establish the Christian Religion by a *Mahometan* way, and gather so much Force that it might be in their power, and we lie at their mercy, to change that Religion into *Heathenisme Judaisme, Turcisme*, any thing. I speak with some emotion, but not without good reason, that I question whether, which way soever the Church Revenues were applied, such of them would not betake themselves to that side as nimbly as the Needle to the Load stone. Have they not already, *ipso facto* renounc'd their Christianity; by avowing this Principle, so contrary to the Gospel? Why do not they *Peter Hermite* it, and stir up our Prince to an *Holy War* abroad, to propagate the Protestant Religion, or at least our Discipline and Ceremonies, and they take the Front of the Battel? No 'tis much better lurking in a fat Benefice here, and to domineer in their own Parishes above their Spiritual Vassals, and raise a kind of Civil War at home, but that none will oppose them. Why may they not,

as

as well as force men to Church, cram the Holy Supper too down their Throats (have they not done something not much unlike it) and drive them into the Rivers by thousands to be baptized or drowned? And yet this, after the King and Parliament by his, their, Gracious Indulgence have enacted a Liberty for Five beside their own Family to meet together in their Religious Worship: and could not therefore intend at the same time to force them to go to Church with the utmost or any severity. What can be the end of these things, but to multiply Force with Force, as one absurdity is the consequence of another, till they may again have debased the Reason and Spirit of the Nation, to make them fit for Ignorance and Bondage? Is it not reason, if they had care or respect to mens souls (which they onely exercise it seems the cure of, perhaps not that neither, but evacuate one Residence by another) to allow that men should address themselves to such Minister as they think best for their souls health? Men are all infirm and indisposed in their spiritual condition. What sick man, but, if a Physician were inforced upon him, might in good prudence suspect it were to kill him, or that, if the next Heir and the Doctor could agree, he would certainly do it? I shall conclude this reasonable transport with remarking that although the Author did modestly challenge any man to shew him a warrant or colour or hint fro a Scripture, to use Force to constrain men to the Established Doctrine and Worship, and offer'd to maintain that nothing is more clear to be deduced or is more fully exprest in Scripture, nor is more suitable to Natural Reason, than that no man be forced in such Cases; the Exposer took notice of it, yet hath not produced one place of Scripture, but onely made use of Force a an Invincible Reason; so that upon supposal, which none granted him, that all his *Few* do clearly demonstrate from Scripture, what is at best therefore but deducible from Scripture, he thinks it reasonable to oblige all men by force to come to all their Parishes. And yet he himself who does (I suppose it onely for the Cases sake) believe the Scripture although he cannot produce one place of Scripture for using this force, and though the Author has produced so many, and urges the whole Scripture that such force is not to be used, hath his brains nevertheless so confused, or so obdurate, that he cannot force himself to believe the Author: but persists in his unchristian and unreasonable desire that men *may be compelled*, and hereby deserves to be made an Example of his own Principle. For herein he exceeds *Pharaoh*, who had ten *sufficient Proposals*, and yet his heart was so hardned, that he would not let *Israel* go out of *Egypt* but was proof against Miracles. But He onely would imagine that the *Israelites* were idle, and would therefore force them to make Brick without Straw: but the Exposers heart and brains are so hardned, that he will conceive all the Nonconformists to be *obstinate fools or hypocrits*, and therefore will *compel them* all to go to all their Parish-Churches, and to make therefore Faith without Reason. And hence it is not onely probable but demonstrable, if they were compelled to go and hear him and the *Few* of his Party, how well he or

they

they would acquit themselves too, in *clearly demonstrating from Scripture the Prime Articles of Faith*, as it is extended in all the Creeds, of which it was treated in this Chapter that I have now done with, and truly almost with those remaining.

For I had intended to have gone Chapter by Chapter, affixing a distinct Title, as he does to every one of them (that men may believe he has animadverted thorowly without reading) except that concerning the difference between Bishops and Presbyters, which, as being the most easie to be answered, he therefore referred to a Bishop. But in good earnest, after having consider'd this last Chapter, so Brutal whether as to Force or Reason, I have changed my resolution. For he argues so despicably in the rest, that even I, who am none of the best *Disputers of this World*, have conceiv'd an utter contempt for him. He is a meer Kitchin-plunderer, and attacks but the Baggage, where even the Suttlers would be too hard for him. P. 18. Does the Exposer allow that under *Constantinus Pogonatus* to have been a free General Council? In the same page, If the Exposer would have done any thing in his, *Dic Ecclesiæ*, he should have proved that a General Council is the Church, that there can be such a General Council, or hath been; that the Church can impose new Articles of Faith beyond the Express Words of Scripture; that a General Council cannot erre in matters of Faith; That the Church of his making cannot erre in matters of Faith; Whereas our Church, *Article* 19. saith thus far, *The Church of* Jerusalem, Alexandria, *and* Antioch, *have erred, so also the Church of* Rome *hath erred, not onely in their living and manner of Ceremonies, but also in matters of Faith.* This is an Induction from Particulars, and remark the Title of the Article, being *of the Church.* Ours defines it, *The Visible Church of* Christ *is a Congregation of faithful men, in which the pure Word of God is preached, and the Sacraments be duly ministred, according to* Christs *Ordinance in all those things that of necessity are requisite to the same.* And then, if the Reader please to look on the 20. and 21. *Articles* following, one *of the Authority of the Church*, the other *of the Authority of General Councils*, unless a man will industriously mis-apply and mis-construe them, those three are a Compendious and irrefragable Answer, not onely to what he saith here upon the *Appendix*, but to his whole Book, from one end to the other, *p.* 19. I ask him when the *Greek* Church is excommunicate by the *Roman*, when the *Protestants* left the *Roman Church*, when we in *England* are neither *Papists*, *Lutherans*, nor *Calvinists*, and when in Queen *Maries* time we returned to the *Roman* Church, what and where then was the Catholick Church, that was indefectible and against which the Gates of Hell did not prevail? Was it not in the *Savoy*? Moreover I ask him what hinders but a General Council may erre in matters of Faith, when we in *England*, that are another World, that are under an Imperial Crown, that *are none of them*, as the Exposer words it, but have a distinct Catholick Faith within our Four Seas, did in the Reign before-mentioned (and

reckon how many in that Convocation those were that dissented) again make our selves *one of them*? unless he has a mind to do so too, which would alter the Case exceedingly. *P.* 20. He quotes the Act 1 *Eliz. cap.* 1. let him mind that clause in it, *by the express and plain words of Canonical Scripture*; and then tell me what service it hath done him: whether he had not better have let it alone, but that it is his fate all along to be condemn'd out of his own mouth, which must always succeed so, when man urges a Real Truth against a Real Truth. P. 23. I have reason to affirm and he will meet with it (and has already in the Author) that those General Councils howsoever called, were no *Repræsentatio totius nominis Christiani*, but nominally: yea that such a Representation could not be. P. 22. He expounds Scriptures here, and thinks he does wonders in it, by assuming the Faculties of the whole Body to the Mouth, which *Mouth*, he saith (and in some sense 'tis very true, if a man would run over the Concordance) *is the Clergy*. But I know not why the Mouth of the Church should pretend to be the Brain of the Church, and understand and will for the whole Laity. Let every man have his word about, and 'tis reason. We are all at the same Ordinary, and pay our souls equally for the Reckoning. The Exposer's *Mouth*, which is unconscionable, would not onely have all the Meat but all the Talk too, not onely at Church, but at Council Table. Let him read Bishop *Taylor* of Liberty of Prophecy. P. 25 The Exposer, that alwayes falsly *Represents* his Adversary, as an Enemy to Creeds, to Fathers, (as afterwards he does to Ceremonies, to Logick, to Mathematicks, to every thing that he judiciously speaks and allows of) here. P. 25. saith the Author (who delivers but the Church of *Englands* Doctrine herein, and would not have Divine Faith impos'd upon, nor things prest beyond Scripture) in this matter of General Councils is guilty of *unthought of Popery*, *for the Papists* (really I think he part'y slanders them herein) *cannot endure Councils, General and Free*. They allow many a General Council more than we do. If the Pope do not, for some reason or other, delight in some that are past, or in having new ones; it does not follow that the Papists do not. I think those were Papists that ruffled the Pope too here in the West, and that at the Council of *Constance* burnt *John Hus* and *Hierome* of *Prague*, and resolv'd that Faith was not to be kept with Hereticks. But pray Mr. Exposer, if we must give divine Faith to General Councils, let the Author ask you in his turn which are those General Councils? How shall we know them? Why, onely such as accord with Scripture. Why, then we, I mean you Mr. Exposer, make our selves, you still, Judges of the General Councils, the fault you so much condemn the Author for. But what *Popery*, thought or *unthought of*, are you, in the very next line, guilty of, that call the Pope's Supremacy *the Quintessence of Popery*? So that it seems the Quintessence of the Controversie betwixt our Church and theirs, is onely which shall be Pope: for the Articles of Religion we do not so much differ, we need not much

compulsion, though the Non-conformists may. I thank you, Mr. Exposer, for your News: I had often heard it before, I confess, but till now I did never, and scarce yet can, believe it; it is rather to be wish'd then hoped for, a thing so surprizingly seasonable. But for the good news, Mr. Exposer, I will give you four Bottles (which is all I had by me, not for mine own use, but for a friend upon occasion) of the First, Second, Third, and Fourth Essence. But the *Quintessence* I doubt would be too strong for your Brain, especially in the morning when you are writing Animadversions. P. 28. of Ceremonies he sports unworthily, as if the Author spoke *Pro* and *Con*, Contradictions: while, as a Moderator, he advises our Church to Condescension on the right, and the Dissenters to submission on the left (how are men else to be brought together?) He had as good call every man, because he has two hands, an *Ambidexter*. He would turn every mans Stomach, worse than *the Singing-mens dirty Surplices*, to hear him defend it so foolishly. P. 29, 30, 35, 36. The best of his reasons for it are the *Apparitions in white*, in the Evangelists. The *Transfiguration*. The *Saints in white Linnen*. The *Purity of a Minister*. Why then does he not wear it all the Week? The Bishop *Sisynnius* did so, and a Churchman asking him, why not in Black? as 'twas then the mode, he gave the same reasons; and I believe *Garnay* the Non-conformist, if, as they say, he went to Market in it, learn'd them of him. Why does not the Exposer (there is more reason in Scripture. *Col.* 4 6. *Let your speech be always seasoned with Salt, that ye may know how ye ought to answer every man*) carry a Salt-box always in his Pocket, to be tasting of? for I doubt he is of the *Salt that has lost his savour*: however I am sure he is very insipid, and this might correct it: beside it must have been of great vertue, when he was to animadvert on *the Naked Truth*, that *he might have known how to answer him*. See *Fox* Vol. 3. p. 500. col. 2. what the Martyr, the Conformable Bishop *Ridley* saith, would not be forced to wear it, *he was no Singer*. See as to all these things his beloved *Tertullian*, de *Cor. Mil. Si ideo dicatur Coronari licere, quia non prohibeat Scriptura, æquè retorquebitur; ideo Coronari non licere, quia Scriptura non jubeat.* Bishop *Chrysostome*, Or. 1. *adversus* Judæos, *Ostendite eos ex Dei sententiâ jejunare. Quod, ni id fiat quâvis ebrietate sceleratius est jejunium. Etenim contra-quod fit præter Dei voluntatem est omnium pessimum. Non enim ipsa eorum quæ fiunt natura, sed Dei voluntas ac Decretum efficit ut eadem vel bona sint vel mala.* P. 33. his jeering at the Authors *Oh my Fathers*, is inhumane and impious: *but* Oh *the pity of it that twenty such* Oh's *will not amount to one Reason*. They will, *Heb.* 4. 12, 13. *that day, which the Devils believe and tremble, when all things shall be naked and bare before the Word of Truth.* P. 37. he is scarce proper to come in a Pulpit, after what he saith, that the *Apostles received not the Sacrament sitting*; much less after p. 41. he has said, *We read that our Saviour kneeled in several places*, much less after p. 59. where of preaching he saith, *He knows not what the Author means by the* Demonstration of

the

the Spirit, *unless to speak as he does, magisterially.* He never read 1 *Cor.* 2.4. of *preaching in demonstration of the spirit*, nor *Mat.* 7.29. how Christ *taught as one having authority*; there is such an Art if he knew it. P. 42. he can never answer the Author upon *Rom.* 14. where *the zealous Observer of Ceremonies is the Weak Brother.* He whiffles, *those were the* Jewish *Ceremonies.* The *Jews* had a fairer pretence than we: for theirs were instituted by God himself, and they knew not they were abrogate.

His intolerably ridiculous Story out of *Schottus* p. 15. of contriving a pair of Organs of Cats, which he had done well to have made the Piggs at *Hogs-Norton* play on, puts me in mind of another Story to quit it, relating as his does to *screwing* the Non-conformists into Church; and I could not possibly miss of the rencounter, because the Gentleman's name of whom it is told, is the Monosyllable voice with which Cats do usually address themselves to us. 'Twas (you have it as I had it) the Vice-Chancellour of one of our Universities, but now a Bishop, *Octob.* 22. 1671. and 12. *Febr.* 1669, He came to a Fanaticks house, they not being then at Worship, yet one of 'm said, *They were come to pray to the God of Heaven and Earth*; he said, *Then they were within the Act.* He would force them to Church to Saint *Maries*, himself laid hands on'm. *He commanded them to follow him in the Kings name.* His Beadle told them, *He would drive them thither in the Devils name.* The Vice-Chancellour said he had converted hundreds so at *Reading.* They spoke of Queen *Maries* dayes, he said, *he could burn them too now, if the Law required it.* There was old tugging, he had the victory. They were placed in Saint *Maries*, with Beadles to attend them. As he carried them in he quoted *Luke* 14. 23. *Compel them to come in.* What pity 'tis the Exposer knew not of this Text, that he might have had one Scripture for his Doctrine of Compulsion! But it chanced the Minister there preached one time *Acts* 5.41. the other time *Mat.* 10.16. Afterwards he took the penalty nevertheless for not having been at Church that same Sunday that he had hurried them thither. P. 62. He speaks of Bishop *Morton*, whose *industrious Brain made up the fatal breach between the two Houses of* York *and* Lancaster. Much good do the Clergy with their Lay Offices He coggs p. 7. with the Bishop of *Ely* for his short Syllogisme: he made a longer of the *Holiness of Lent.* He complements (I said he would not forget him) my Lord Chancellor *the Christian* Cicero. 'Tis true of him, but contradictorily exprest. *Ps.* 35. 16. *With the flatterers were busy mockers, that gnashed with their teeth.* The Exposer has commenc'd in both Faculties. But the Printer calls: the Press is in danger. I am weary of such stuffe, both mine own and his. I will rather give him this following Essay of mine own to busie him, and let him take his turn of being the *Popilius.*

## *A short Historical Essay, touching General Councils, Creeds, and Imposition in Religion.*

THE Christian Religion, as first Instituted by our Blessed Saviour was the greatest security to Magistrates by the Obedience which it taught, and was fitted to enjoy no less security under them by a Practice conformable to that Doctrine. For our Saviour himself, not pretending to an Earthly Kingdom, took such care therefore to instruct his followers in the due Subjection to Governours; that, while they observed his Precepts, they could neither fall under any Jealousy of State as an ambitious and dangerous Party, nor as Malefactors upon any other account deserve to suffer under the Publick Severity: So that in this only, it could seem pernicious to Government that Christianity, if rightly exercised upon its own Principles, would render all Magistracy useless. But although he, *who was Lord of all, and to whom all Power was given both in Heaven and in Earth*, was nevertheless contented to come in the form of a Servant, and to let the Emperours and Princes of the World alone with the use of their Dominions; he thought it good reason to retain his Religion under his own cognizance and exempt its Authority from their jurisdiction. In this alone he was imperious, and did not only practise it himself against the Laws and Customs then received, and in the face of the Magistrate; but continually seasoned and hardened his Disciples in the same confidence and obstinacy. He tells them, *They shall be brought before Kings and Governours for his name* but fear them not, he will be with them, bear them out and justifie it against all Opposition. Not that he allowed them hereby to violate their duty to the Publick by any resistance in defiance of the Magistracy; but he instructed and animated them in their duty to God, in despight of Suffering.

In this manner Christianity did at first set out and accordingly found reception. For although our Blessed Saviour, *having fulfilled all Righteousness* and the time of his Ministery being compleated, did by his Death set the Seal to his Doctrine, and shew the way toward Life and Immortality to such as Believing imitate his Example: yet did not the *Heathen* Magistrate take the Government to be concerned in the point of Religion or upon that account consent to his Execution. *Pontius Pilate* then Governour of *Judæa*, though he were a man unjust and cruel by Nature, and served *Tiberius*, the most tender, jealous, and severe in point of State or Prerogative, of all the *Romane* Emperours; though he understood that great Multitudes followed him, and that he was grown the Head of a new Sect that was never before heard of in the Nation, yet did not he intermeddle. But they were the men of Religion, the Chief Priests, Scribes and Elders and the High-Priest *Caiaphas*. And yet, although they accused him falsly, That *he taught that Tribute was not to be given to* Cæsar

that

that *he* was a Fifth Monarch, and *made himself a King*: and (as it is usual for some of the Clergy to terrifie the interiour Magistrates out of their duty to Justice under pretence of Loyalty to the Prince) threatned *Pilate* that *if he let that man go he was not* Cæsars *friend*; he understanding *that they did it out of Envy*, and that the Justice and Innocence of our Saviour was what they could not bear with, would have adventured all their Informing at Court, and first have freed him and then have exchanged him for *Barrabas*; saying, that *he found no fault in him*: but he was overborne at last by humane weakness and poorly imagined that by washing his own hands he had expiated himself and wiped off the guilt upon those alone who were the occasion. But, as for *Tiberius* himself, the growth of Christianity did never increase his cares of Empire *at Rome*, nor trouble his sleep at *Capreæ*: but he both approved of the Doctrine, and threatned the Informers with Death; nor would have staid there, but attempted, according to the way of their Superstition, upon the intelligence he had from *Pilate*, to have received *Christ* into the number of their Deities. The Persecution of the Apostles after his Death, and the Martyrdome of *Stephen* happened not by the interposing of the Civil Magistrate in the matter of Religion, or any disturbance occasioned by their Doctrines: but arose from the High-Priest and his emissaries, by suborned Witnesses, stirring up the rabble in a brutish and riotous manner to execute their cruelty. How would the modern Clergy have taken and represented it, had they lived in the time of St. *John Baptist* and seen *Jerusalem, Judæa and all the Region round about* Jordan *go out to be baptized by him*! Yet that *Herod*, for any thing we read in Scripture, though he wanted not his instillers, apprehended no Commotion: and had not *Caligula* banished him and his *Herodias* together, might in all appearance have lived without any change of Government. 'Twas she that caused *John's* Imprisonment for the convenience of her Incest, *Herod* indeed *feared him*, but rather reverenced him, *as a just man*, and *an holy*, *observed him and when he heard him he did many things and heard him gladly*. Nor could all her subtilty have taken off his Head, but that *Herod* thought himself under the obligations of a Dance and an Oath, and knew not in that Case they ought both to be dispensed with. But *he was exceeding sorry at his death*, which few Princes are if men have lived to their jealousie or danger. The Killing of *James* and Imprisonment of *Peter* by that other *Herod* was *because he saw he pleased the people*; when the Priests had once set them on madding: a Complaisance to which the most innocent may be exposed, but which partakes more of guile than Civility or Wisdome.

But, to find out what the disinteressed and prudent men of those dayes took to be the wisest and only justifiable way for the Magistrate to proceed in upon matters of Religion, I cannot see any thing more pregnant than the concurrent Judgment of three Persons, of so different Characters, and that lived so far asunder, that there can be no danger of their having

corrup

corrupted one anothers Understanding in favour to Christianity. *Gamaliel*, the Deputy of *Achaia*, and the Town-clerk of *Ephesus*; The first a Jewish Doctor, by Sect a Pharisee, one of the Council, and of great Authority with the People, who (when the Chief-Priest had cast the Apostles in Prison, and charged them for Preaching against the Command he had before laid upon them) yet gave this advice, confirming it with several fresh precedents, *Acts* 5. *That they should take heed to themselves what they intended to do with those men and let them alone, for if this counsel*, saith he, *or this work be of men, it will come to nought*, but *if it be of God you cannot overthrow it, lest ye be found fighting with God.* So that his Opinion grounded upon his best experience, was that the otherwise unblameable Sect of Christianity might safely and ought to be left to stand or fall by Gods Providence under a free Toleration of the Magistrate. The Second was *Gallio*, Acts 18. A *Roman*, and Deputy of *Achaia*. The *Jews* at *Corinth* hurried *Paul* before his Tribunal, laying the usual charge against him, *That he perswaded men to Worship God contrary to the Law*: which *Gallio* looked upon as so slight and without his Cognizance, that, although most Judges are willing to increase the jurisdiction of their Courts, *He drave them away*, saving *Paul* the labour of a defence, and told them, *If it were a matter of wrong or wicked lewdness, reason would that he should bear with them, but if it be a question of words and names and of your law, look ye to it I will be no judge of such matters*: and when he had so said, *Paul* was released, but the *Greeks* that were present took *Barrabas*, and before the Judgment Seat *beat* Sosthenes *the Chief Ruler of the Synagogue*, and Ring-leader of the Accusers. His Judgment therefore was that, to punish Christians meerly for their Doctrine and Practise, unless they were Malefactors otherwise, was a thing out of the Magistrates Province and altogether unreasonable. The Third case was no less remarkable. For one *Demetrius*, that was a Silver-smith by trade and made shrines for *Diana*, stirred up all the Free-men of his Company against *Paul*, and indeed he stated the matter very fairly and honestly, assigning the true Reason of most of these Persecutions: *Ye know that by this craft we have our wealth, but that by* Pauls *Preaching that they be no Gods which are made with hands, not only our Craft is in danger to be set at naught, but also the Temple of the great Goddess and her Magnificence, whom all* Asia *and the World Worship, should be despised and destroyed.* And it is considerable that even the *Jews*, though of a contrary Religion yet, fomented, as it usually chances, this difference and egg'd the *Ephesians* on against the Apostle and his followers. But when they had brought *Alexander*, one of *Paul's* Companions into the Theatre, the Recorder of *Ephesus* (more temperate and wise than some would have been in that Office) would not make any *Inquisition* upon the matter, nor put *Alexander* upon his tryal and defence, but, (although he himself could not have born that Office without being a great *Dianist*, as he declared too in his discourse) he tells the People, *They*

*had*

*had brought those men which were neither robbers of Churches nor Blasphemers of their Goddess*, (for that Judge would not Condemn men by any inferences or expositions of old Statutes which long after was *Julian's* practice and since imitated) *and therefore if* Demetrius *and his Crafts-men had any matter against them the Law was open, and it should be determined in a Lawful Assembly, but that the whole City was in danger to be called in question for that uproar, there being no cause whereby they might give account of that concourse.* And by this he plainly enough signified, that if *Paul* and his Companions had stoln the Church-Plate they might well be indicted, but that *Demetrius* had no more reason in Law against them, then a Chandler might have had, if by *Paul's* Preaching Wax-tapers, as well as Silver-Candlesticks had grown out of fashion. That it is matter of right and wrong betwixt man and man that the Justice of Government lookes too: but that, while Christianity was according to its own Principle carried on quietly, it might so fall that the disturbers of it were guilty of a Riot and their great City of *Ephesus* deserve to be fin'd for't. And taking this to have been so, he dismist the Assembly, *Acts* 19.

After these Testimonies which I have collected out of the History of the *Acts*, as of greatest Authority, I shall only add one or two more out of the same Book, wherein *Paul* likewise was concern'd before Heathen Magistrates of greater eminence, *Acts* 23. *Ananias* the High Priest (these alwayes were the men) having countenanc'd and instigated the *Jews* to a Conspiracy, in which *Paul's* Life was indanger'd and aim'd at, *Lysias* the chief Captain of *Jerusalem* interposes and sends him away to *Fœlix* then Governour of *Judæa*; signifying by Letter *That he had been accused only of questions of their Law*, but he found nothing to be laid to his Charge worthy of Death or of Bonds. Whereof *Fœlix* also, though the High-Priest was so zealous in the Prosecution that he took the journey on purpose, and had instructed an exquisite Orator *Tertullus* to harangue *Paul* out of his Life, as a *Pestilent-fellow, a mover of Sedition and Ring-leader of the Sect of the* Nazarenes, not omitting even to charge *Lysias* for *rescuing him by great violence* from being Murdered by them, was so well satisfied of the contrary upon full hearing, that he gave him his Libery and *a Centurion for his guard, with command that none of his acquaintance should be debarr'd from comming and Ministring to him.* But being indeed to leave his Government afterwards; *left him in Prison*, partly to shew the *Jews* and their High-Priest another piece of complaisant Policy, which; 'tis possible they paid well for, seeing the other reason was, because though he had *sent for* Paul *the oftener and communed with him, in hopes that he would have given him money to be discharged*, there came nothing of it. Which was so base a thing in so great a Minister, that the meanest Justice of the Peace in *England* would scarce have the face to do so upon the like occasion. But his Successor *Festus*, having called *Agrippa* and *Berenice* to hear the Cause, they all three were of Opinion that 'twas all on the *Jews* side calumny and impertinence, but

that

hat *Paul* had *done nothing Worthy of death or of Bonds, and might have been set free but that having appeal'd to* Cæsar he must be transmitted to him in safe Custody. Such was the sense of those upon whom the Emperors then relyed for the Government and security of their Provinces; and so gross were their Heathen understandings, that they could not yet comprehend how quietness was Sedition, or the innocence of the Christian Worship could be subject to forfeiture or penalty. Nay, when *Paul* appear'd even before *Nero* himself *and had none to stand by him but all forsook him*: he was by that Emperor acquitted, and permitted a long time to follow the work of his Ministry. 'Tis true that afterwards this *Nero* had the honour to be the First of the *Roman* Emperors that Persecuted Christianity; whence it is that *Tertullian* in his *Apologetick* saith; *We glory in having such an one the first beginner and Author of our punishment, for there is none that hath read of him, but must understand some great good to have been in that Doctrine, otherwise* Nero *would not have Condemned it.*

And thence forward Christianity for about Three hundred Years lay subject to Persecution. For the *Gentile* Priests could not but observe a great decay in their Parishes, a neglect of their Sacrifices and diminution of their Profits by the daily and visible increase of that Religion. And God in his wise Providence had so ordered that, as the *Jews* already so, the *Heathens* now having fill'd up their measure with iniquity, *Sprinkling the Blood of his Saints among their Sacrifices*, and the Christians having in a severe Apprentiship of so many Ages Learned the Trade of Suffering, they should at last be their own Masters and admitted to their Freedom. Neither yet, even in those times when they lay exposed to Persecution, were they without some Intervalls and catching seasons of Tranquility, wherein the Churches had leisure to reap considerable advantage, and the Clergy too might have been inured, as they had been Exemplary under Affliction so, to bear themselves like Christians when they should arrive at a full prosperity. For as oft as there came a just *Heathen* Emperour and a lover of Mankind, that either himself observed, or understood by the Governours of his Provinces, the innocence of their Religion and Practices, their readiness to pay Tribute, their Prayers for his Government and Person, their faithful Service in his Wars, but their Christian valour and contumacy to Death under the most exquisite Torments, for their holy profession; he forthwith relented, he rebated the Sword of the Executioner, and could not find in his heart or in his power to exercise it against the exercise of that Religion. It being demonstrable that a Religion instituted upon Justice betwixt man and man. Love to one another, yea even their Enemies, Obedience to the Magistrate in all Humane and Moral Matters, and in Divine Worship upon a constant exercise thereof and as constant Suffering in that Cause, without any pretence or latitude for Resistance, cannot, so long as it is true to itself in these things, fall within the Magistrates Jurisdiction.

But

But as it first was planted without the Magistrates hand, and the more they pluck'd at it, so much the more still it flourished, so it will be to the end of the world, and whensoever Governors have a mind to try for it, it will by the same means and method sooner or later foil them; but, if they have a mind to pull up that Mandrake, it were advisable for them not to do it themselves, but to chuse out a Dog for the Imployment. I confess whensoever a Christian transgresses these bounds once, he is impoundable, or like a wafe and stray whom *Christ* knows not, he falls to the Lord of the Mannor. But otherwise he cannot suffer, he is invulnerable by the sword of Justice: only a man may swear and damn himself to kill the first honest man he meets, which hath been and is the case of all true Christians worshiping God under the power and violence of their Persecutors.

But the Truth is that, even in those times which some men now, as oft as it is for their advantage, do consecrate under the name of Primitive, the Christians were become guilty of their own punishment, and had it not been, as is most usual, that the more Sincere Professors suffered promiscuously for the Sins and Crimes of those that were Carnal and Hypocrites, their Persecutors may be look'd upon as having been the due Administrators of God's Justice. For (not to go deeper) if we consider but that which is reckoned the Tenth Persecution under *Diocleſian*, so incorrigible were they after nine preceding, what other could be expected when, as *Eusebius* l. 3. c. 1. sadly laments, having related how *before that the Christians lived in great trust and reputation in Court, the Bishops of each Church were beloved esteem'd and reverenced by all mankind and by the Presidents of the Provinces, the Meetings in all the Cities were so many and numerous, that it was necessary and allow'd them to erect in every one spacious and goodly Churches, all things went on prosperously with them, and to such an height that no envious Man could disturb them, no Devel could hurt them, as long as walking yet worthy of those mercies they were under the Almighty's cure and protection: after that our affair by that too much Liberty, degenerated into Luxury and Lazinesſ, and some prosecuted others with Hatred and Contumely, and almost all of us wounded our selves with the weapons of the Tongue in ill language when Bishops set upon Bishops, and the people that belonged to one of them stirred Sedition against the people of another; then horrible Hypocrisy and Disimulation sprung up to the utmost extremity of Malice, and the Judgment of God, while yet there was liberty to meet in Congregations, did sensibly and by steps begin to visit us, the Persecution at first discharging it self upon our Brethren that were in the Army. But we having no feeling of the hand of God, nor indeavoring to make our peace with him, and living as if we believed that God did neither take notice of our Transgressions nor would visit us for them, we heaped up Iniquity upon Inquity. And those which seemed to be our Pastors, kicking under foot the rules of Piety were inflamed among themselves with mutual Contentions, and while they minded nothing else but to exaggerate their Quarrells, Threats, Emulation, Hatred and Enmities, and earnestly each of them pursued his particular Ambition in a Tyrannical manner,*

 *then*

*then indeed the Lord, then I say, according to the voice of the Prophet* Jeremy, *he covered the Daughter of* Sion *with a cloud in his anger, and cast down from Heaven unto earth the beauty of* Israel *and remembred not his foot-stool in the day of his anger.* And so the Pious Historian pathetically goes on, and deplores the Calamities that insued, to the loss of all that stock of Reputation, Advantage, Liberty and Safety, which Christian people had by true Piety and adhering strictly to the Rules of their Profession formerly acquired and injoyed, but had now forfeited and smarted deservedly under *Diocleſian's persecution.* And it was *a severe* one, the longest too that ever happened, ten years from his beginning of it and continued by others: by which time one might have thought the Church would have been sufficiently winnowed, and nothing left but the pure Wheat, whereas it proved quite contrary, and the holiest and most constant of the Christians being blown away by Martyrdom, it seem'd by the succeeding times as if nothing but the Chaff and the Tares had remained. But there was yet such a Seed left, and notwithstanding the defection of many, so internal a virtue in the Religion it self, that *Diocleſian* could no longer stand against it, and tired out in two years time, was glad to betake himself from rooting out Christianity, to gardening and to sow Pot-herbs at *Salona.* And he with his Partner *Maximianus*, resigned the Empire to *Galerius* and *Constantius*, the excellent Father of a more glorious and Christian Son, *Constantine* the Great, who in due season succeeded him, and by a chain of God's extraordinary providences seemed to have been let down from Heaven to be the Emperor of the whole World, and as I may say, the Vniversal Apostle of Christianity.

It is unexpressible the vertue of that Prince, his Care, his Indulgence, his Liberality, his own Example, every thing that could possibly tend to the promotion and incouragement of true Religion and Piety. And in order to that he thought he could not do better, neither indeed could he, then to shew a peculiar respect to the Clergy and Bishops, providing largely for their subsistence, had they too on their part behaved themselves worthy of their High Calling, and known to make right use of the advantages of his Bounty to the same ends that they were by him intended. For if the Apostle 1 Tim. 5. 17. requires *that an Elder*, provided *he rule well, be accounted worthy of Double Honor, especially those who laboring in the Word and Doctrine*, it excludes not a Deouple or any further proportion, and indeed there cannot too high a value be set upon such a Person: and God forbid too that any measure of wealth should render a Clergy man Uncanonical. But alas, Bishops were already grown another Name and Thing, then at the Apostles Institution; and had so altered their property, that *Paul* would have had much difficulty by all the marks in the 1. *Tim.* 3. to have known them. They were ill enough under Persecution many of them, but that long and sharp Winter under *Diocleſian*, being seconded by so warm a Summer under *Constantine*, produced a Pestilence, which as an Infection that seizes sometimes only one sort of Cattel, diffused it self most remarkably thorow the whole body of the Clergy. From his reign the

most

most sober Historians date that New Disease which was so generally propagated then, and ever since transmitted to some of their Successors, that it hath given reason to inquire whether it only happened to those men as it might to others, or were not inherent to the very Function. It show'd it self first in Ambition, then in Contention, next in Imposition, and after these Symptoms broke out at last like a Plague-Sore in open Persecution. They the Bishops who began to vouch themselves the Successors of *Christ*, or at least of his Apostles, yet pretended to be Heirs and Executors of the *Jewish* High-Priests and the Heathen Tyrants, and were ready to prove the Will. The Ignorant *Jews* and Infidels understood not how to Persecute, had no Commission to meddle with Religion, but the Bishops had studied the Scriptures, knew better things, and the same, which was Cruelty and Tyranny in the Heathens, if done by a Christian and Ecclesiastical hand, was hallowed to be Church-government and the care of a Diocess. But that I may not seem to speak without book or out-run the History, I shall return to proceed by those degrees I newly mention'd whereby the Christian Religion was usurped upon, and those things became their crime which were their duties.

The first was the Ambition of the Bishops, which had even before this, taken its rise when in the intervals of the former Persecutions the Piety of the Christians had laid out ample provisions for the Church, but when *Constantine* not only restored those which had been all confiscate under *Diocleſian*, but was every day adding some new Possession, Privilege, or Honor, a Bishoprick became very desirable, and was not only *a Good Work* but a Good Thing, especially when there was now no danger of paying as it was usual, formerly their First-fruits to the Emperor by Martyrdom. The Arts by which Ambition climes, are Calumny, Dissimulation, Cruelty, Bribery, Adulation, all applyed in their proper places and seasons; and when the man hath attained his end he ordinarily shows himself then in his colours, in Pride, Opiniastry, Contention, and all other requisite or incident ill Qualities. And if the Clergy of those times had some more dextrous and innocent way then this of managing their Ambition, it is to be lamented *inter Artes Deperditas*, or lyes enviously hid by some musty Book-worm in his private Library. But so much I find that both before, and then, and after, they cast such Crimes at one another, that a Man would scarse think he were reading an History of Bishops, but a Legend of Divels: and each took such care to blacken his adversary, that he regarded not how he smutted himself thereby and his own Order, to the Laughter or Horror of the by-standers. And one thing I remark particularly, that as Son of a Whore is the modern Word of Reproach among the Laity, of the same use then among the Clergy was Heretick. There were indeed Hereticks as well as there are Bastards, and perhaps it was not their fault, (neither of 'em could help it) but the Mothers or the Fathers. but they made so many Hereticks in those days, that 'tis hard to think they really believ'd them so, but adventur'd the Name only to pick a Quarrel. And one thing that makes it very suspicious, is, that in the Ecclesiastical History the Ring-leaders of any Heresy

for the most part accused of having a mind to be a Bishop, though it was not the way to come to it. As there was the damnable Heresy of the *Novatians*, against which *Constantine*, notwithstanding his Declaration of general Indulgence at his coming in, was shortly after so incensed, that he published a most severe Proclamation against them; *Cognoscite jam per legem hanc quæ a me sancita est O Novatiani* &c. prohibiting all their meetings not only in Publick but in their own Private Houses, and that all such places where they assembled for their worship, should be rased to the ground without delay or controversie, &c. *Euf.* l. 3. c. 62. *de vita Constantini.* Now the story the Bishops tell of *Novatus* the Author of that Sect *Euseb.* l. 6. c. 42. is in the words of *Cornelius* the Bishop of *Rome*, the very first line. *But that you may know that this brave* Novatus *did even before that affect to be a Bishop* (a great crime in him) *that he might conceal that petulant Ambition, he for a better cover to his arrogance, had got some Confessors into his Society, &c.* and goes on calling him all to naught, *but then*, saith he, *he came with two Reprobates of his own Heresy into a little, the very least, Shire of* Italy *and by their means seduced three most simple high-shoon Bishops, wheedling them that they must with all speed go to* Rome *and there meeting with other Bishops all Matters should be reconciled. And when he had got thither these three Silly Fellows, as I said, that were not aware of his cunning, he had prepared a company of Rogues like Himself, that treated them in a private room very freely, and having thwack'd their bellies and heads full with meat and drink, compell'd the poor drunken Bishops by an imaginary and vain Imposition of Hands, to make* Novatus *also a Bishop.* Might not one of the same Order now better have conceal'd these things had they been true, but such was the discretion. Then he tells *that one of the three returned soon after*, repenting it seems next morning, *and so he receiv'd him again into the Church* unto the *Laick Communion.* But for the other two he had sent Successors into their places. And yet after all this ado, and the whetting of *Constantine*, contrary to his own Nature and his own Declarations against the *Novatians*, I cannot find their Heresy to have been other then that they were the *Puritans* of those times, and a sort of Non-conformists that could have subscribed to the Six and thirty Articles, but differed only in those of Discipline: and upon some inormities therein separated, and (which will always be sufficient to qualify an Heretick) they instituted Bishops of their own in most places. And yet afterwards in the times of the best *Homotusian* Emperors, a sober and strictly Religious People did so constantly adhere to them, that the Bishops of the Church too found meet to give them fair quarter; for as much as *they differ'd not in Fundamentals, and therefore were of use to them against Hereticks that were more dangerous and diametrically opposite to the Religion.* Nay in so much, that even the Bishop of *Constantinople*, yea of *Rome*, notwithstanding that most tender point and interest of Episcopacy, suffered the *Novatian* Bishops to walk cheek by joul with them in their own Diocess; until that, as *Socr.* l. 7. c. 11. *the* Roman *Episcopacy having as it ware passid the bounds of Priesthood, slipp'd into a Secular Principality,*

*cipality, and thenceforward the* Roman *Bishops would not suffer their Meetings with Security, but, though they commended them for their Consent in the same Faith with them, yet took away all their Estates.* But at *Constantinople* they continued to fare better, the Bishops of that Church *embracing the* Novatians *and giving them free liberty to keep their Convinticles in their Churches.* What, and to have their Bishops too, Altar against Altar? A Condescension which as our Non-conformists seem not to desire or think of, so the Wisdom of these times would, I suppose, judg to be very unreasonable, but rather that it were fit to take the other course, and that whatsoever advantage the Religion might probably receive from their Doctrine and party, 'tis better to suppress them and make havock both of their Estates and Persons. But however the Hereticks in *Constantine*'s time had the less reason to complain of ill Measure, seeing it was that the Bishops meated by among themselves. I pass over that controversy betwixt *Cecilianus*, the Bishop of *Carthage* and his adherents, with another set of Bishops there in *Africk*, upon which *Constantine* ordered ten of each party to appear before *Miltiades* the Bishop of *Rome* and others to have it deceived. Yet after they had given sentence, *Constantine* found it necessary to have a Council for a review of the business, as in his Letter to *Chrestus* the Bishop of *Syracuse*, Euseb. l. 10. c. 6. *Whereas several have formerly separated from the* Catholick *Heresy*, (for that word was not yet so ill natured but that it might sometimes be used in its proper and good Sense:) and then relates his Commission to the Bishop of *Rome* and others; *But for as much as some having been careless of their own salvation, and forgetting the reverence due to that most holy Heresy* (again) *will not yet lay down their enmity, nor admit the sentence that hath been given, obstinately affirming that they were but a few that pronounced the Sentence, and that they did it very precipitately, before they had duly inquired of the matter: and from hence it hath happened that both they who ought to have kept a bortherly and unanimous agreement together, do abominably and flagitiously dissent from one another, and such whose minds are alienated from the most holy Religion, do make a mockery both of it and them. Therefore I, &c. have commanded very many Bishops out of innumerable places to meet at* Arles, *that what ought to have been quieted upon the former Sentence pronounced, may now at least be determined, &c. and you to be one of them; and therefore I have ordered the Prefect of* Sicily *to furnish you with one of the publick Stage-Coaches and so many Servants, &c.*

Such was the use then of Stage-Coaches, Post-Horses, and Councills, to the great disappointment and grievance of the *many*: both Men and Horses and Leather being hackneyd-jaded, and worn out upon the errand of some contentious and obstinate Bishop, So went the Affairs hitherto, and thus well disposed and prepared were the Bishops to receive the Holy Ghost a second time at the great and first general Council of *Nice*, which is so much Celebrated.

The

The occasions of calling it were two. The first a most important question in which the Wit and Piety of their Predecessors and now theirs successively had been much exercised and taken up: that was upon what day they ought to keep *Easter*, which though it were no point of Faith that it should be kept at all, yet the very calendiny of it was controverted with the same zeal, and made as heavy a do in the Church as if both parties had been Hereticks. And it is reckoned by the Church Historians as one of the chief felicities of *Constantines* Empire to have quieted in that Council this main controversie. The second cause of the assembling them here was indeed grown, as the Bishop had order'd it, a matter of the greatest weight and consequence to the Christian Religion; one *Arrius* having, as is related, to the disturbance of the Church, started a most pernicious opinion in the point of the Trinity Therefore from all parts of the Empire they met together at the City of *Nice*, two hundred and fifty Bishops, and better, saith *Eusebius*, a goodly company, three hundred and eighteen say others; and the Animadverter too, with that pithy remark, *pa.* 23. *Equal almost to the number of servants bred up in the house of* Abraham. The Emperour had accommodated them every where with the publick Posts, or layd Horses all along for the convenience of their journey thither, & all the time they were there supplyed them abundantly with all sorts of provision at his own charges. And when they were all first assembled in Council, in the great Hall of the Imperial Palace, he came in, having put on his best clothes to make his guests welcome; and saluted them with that profound humility as if they all had been Emperour, nor would sit down in his Throne, no it was a very little and low stool, till they had all beckoned and made signes to him to sit down. No wonder if the first Council of *Nice* run in their heads ever after, and the ambitious Clergy, like those who have been long a thirst, took so much of *Constantines* kindness, that they are scarce come to themselves again after so many Ages. The first thing was that he acquainted them with the causes of his summoning them thither, and in a grave and most Christian discourse *exhorted them* (to keep the peace or) *to a good agreement* as there was reason. *For* (saith *Ruffin* L. 1. c. 2. *the Bishops being met here from almost all parts, and as they use to do, bringing their quarrels about several matters along with them, every one of them was at the Emperour, offering him Petitions, laying out one anothers faults*, (for all the good advice he had given them) *and were more intent upon these things then upon the business they were sent for. But he, considering that by these scoldings and Bickerings the main affair was frustrated, appointed a set-day by which all the Bishops should bring him in whatsoever complaint they had against one another.* And they being all brought, he made them that high *Asiatick* complement: *God hath made you Priests, and hath given you power to judge me, and therefore it is in you to judge me righteously, But you cannot be judged by any men. It is God only can judge you, and therefore reserve all your quarrels to his Tribunal. For you are as Gods to me, and it is not convenient that a man should judge of Gods, but he only of whom it is written*, God standeth in the Congregation of the Gods, and discerneth in the midst of them. *And therefore setting*

*these*

*these things aside, apply your minds without any contention to the concernments of God's Religion.* And so *without opening or reading one Petition commanded them all together to be burnt there in his presence.* An action of great Charity and excellent Wisdom, had but some of the words been spared. For doubtless, though they that would have complained of their brethren, grumbled a little; yet those that were accusable were all very well satisfied: and those expressions, *you can judg me righteously, and you cannot be judged by any man*, and *God only can judg you. You are Gods to me, &c.* were so extreamly sweet to most of the Bishops palates, that they believ'd it, and could never think of them afterwards but their teeth watered; and they ruminated so long on them, that *Constantine's* Successors came too late to repent it. But now the Bishops, having mist of their great end of quarelling one with another, betake themselves though somwhat aukwardly to business. And it is necessary to mine, that as shortly as possible for the understanding of it, I give a cursory account of *Alexander* and *Arrius*, with some few others that were the most interessed in that general and first great revolution of Ecclesiastical Affairs, since the days of the Apostles. This *Alexander* was the Bishop of *Alexandria*, and appears to have been a pious old Man, but not equally prudent, nor in Divine things of the most capable, nor in conducting the affairs of the Church, very dextrous; but he was the Bishop. This character that I have given of him, I am the more confirm'd in from some passages that follow, and all of them pertinent to the matter before me. They were used *Sozom.* l. 2. c. 16. at *Alexandria* to keep yearly a solemn Festival to the memory of *Peter* one of their former Bishops, upon the same day that he suffered Martyrdom; which *Alexander* having Celebrated at the Church with publick Devotion, was sitting after at home expecting some guests to dine with him, *Sozom.* l. 2. c. 16. As he was alone and looking towards the Sea side, he saw a prity way off the Boys upon the beach, at an odd Recreation, imitating it seems the Rites of the Church and office of the Bishops, and was much delighted with the sight as long as it appear'd an innocent and harmless representation: but when he observed them at last how they acted, the very administration of the Sacred Mysteries, he was much troubled, and sending for some of the chief of his Clergy, caused the Boys to be taken and brought before him. He asked them particularly what kind of sport they had been at, and what the words, and what the actions were that they had used in it. After their fear had hindred them a while from answering, and now they were afraid of being silent, they confess'd that a Lad of their play-fellows, one *Athanasius*, had baptized some of them that were not yet initiated in those Sacred Mysteries: Whereupon *Alexander* inquired the more accurately what the Bishop of the game had said, and what he did to the boys he had baptized, what they also had answered or learned from him. At last, when *Alexander* perciev'd by them that this Pawn-bishop had made all his removes right, and that the whole Ecclesiastical Order and Rites had been duely observed in their Interlude, he by the advice of his Priests about him approved of that Mock-baptism, and determined that, the boys, being

*ing once in the simplicity of their minds dipped in the Divine Grace, ought not to be Re-baptized*, but he perfected it with the remaining Mysteries, which it is only lawful for Priests to administer. And then he deliverd *Athanasius* and the rest of the boys that had acted the parts of *Presbyters* and *Deacons* to their Parents, calling God to witness that they should be educated in the Ministry of the Church, that they might pass their lives in that calling which they had chosen by imitation. But as for *Athanasius*, in a short while after *Alexander* took him to live with him and be his Secretary, having caused him to be carefully educated in the Schools of the best *Grammarians* and *Rhetoricians*; and he grew in the opinion of all that spoke with him a discreet and eloquent person, and will give occasion to be more then once mentioned again in this Discourse, I have translated this in a manner word for word from the Author. This good natured old Bishop *Alexander*, that was so far from Anathemising, that he did not so much as whip the boys for profanation of the Sacrament against the Discipline of the Church, but without more doing, left them, for ought I see, at liberty to regenerate as many more Lads upon the next Holy day as they thought convenient: He *Socr.* l. 1. c. 3. *being a man that lived an easy and gentle life, had one day called his Priests and the rest of his Clergy together, and fell on Philosophyring divinely among them, but somthing more subtly and curiously* (though I dare say he meant no harm) *then was usual, concerning the Holy Trinity.* Among the rest, one *Arrius* a Priest too of *Alexandria* was there present, a Man who is described to have been a good Disputant, and others add, (the Capital accusation of those times) that he had a mind to have been a Bishop and bore a great pique at *Alexander*, for having been preferr'd before him to the See of *Alexandria*: but more are silent of any such matter, and *Sozom.* l. 1. c. 14. saith *he was in great esteem with his Bishop.* But *Arrius* Socr. l. 1. c. 3. *hearing his discourse about the Holy Trinity and the Unity in the Trinity, conceiv'd that, as the Bishop stated it, he had reason to suspect he was introducing afresh into the Church the Heresy of Sabellius* the *African* who *Fatebatur unum esse Deum, & eta in unam essentiam Trinitatem adducebat, ut assereret nullam esse vere subjectam proprietatem personis, sed nomina mutari pro eo atque usus poscant, ut nunc de illo ut patre, nunc ut filio, nunc ut spiritu sancto differatur:* and thereupon it seems *Arrius* argued warmly for that opinion which was directly contrary to the *Africane*, driving the Bishop from one to a second, from a second to a third, seeming absurdity; which I studiously avoid the relation of, that in all these things I may not give occasion for Mens understandings to work by their memories, and propagate the same errors by the same means they were first occasion'd. But hereby *Arrius* was himself blamed as the maintainer of those absurdities which he affixed to the Bishops opinion, as is usual in the heat and wrangle of Disputation. Whereas Truth for the most part lyes in the middle, but men ordinarily seek for it in the extremities. Nor can I wonder that those ages were so fertile in what they called Heresies, when being given to meddling with the mysteries of Religion further then humane apprehension or divine revelation did or could lead them,

some

ſome of the Biſhops were ſo ignorant and groſs, but others ſo ſpeculative, acute and refining in their conceptions, that, there being moreover a good fat Biſhoprick to boot in the caſe, it is rather admirable to me how all the Clergy from one end to tother, could eſcape from being or being accounted Hereticks. *Alexander* hereupon *Soz.* l. 1. c. 14°. inſtead of ſtilling by more prudent Methods this new Controverſy, took, doubtleſs with a very good intention, a courſe that hath ſeldom been ſucceſsful: makes himſelf judg of that wherein he had firſt been the Party, and calling to him ſome others of his Clergy, would needs ſit in publick to have a ſolemn ſet Diſputation about the whole Matter. And while *Arrius* was at it Tooth and Nail againſt his oppoſers, and the Arguments flew ſo thick that they darkned the Air, and no Man could yet judg which ſide ſhould have the victory; the good Biſhop for his part ſate hay now hay, neither could tell in his Conſcience of a long time which had the better of it; but ſometimes he lean'd on one ſide and then on the other, and now incouraged and commended thoſe of one party, and preſently the contrary, but at laſt by his own weight he caſt the Scales againſt *Arrius*. And from thence forward he excommunicating *Arrius* for obſtinacy, and *Arrius* writing in behalf and his followers to the Biſhops, each one ſtating his own and his adverſaries caſe with the uſual candor of ſuch men in ſuch Matters; the Biſhops too all over began to divide upon it, and after them their people. Inſomuch that *Conſtantine* out of a true paternal Senſe and care, found neceſſary to ſend a very prudent and eminent Perſon to *Alexandria*, to try if he could accommodate the matter, giving him a Letter to *Alexander* and *Arrius*; how diſcreet, how Chriſtian-like, I never read any thing of that nature equal to it! It is too long for me here to inſert, but I gladly recommend my Reader to it in the 2° *Euſ.* de vitâ *Conſt.* c. 67. where he begins *I underſtand the foundation of the controverſy to have been this, that thou* Alexander *didſt inquire of thy Prieſts concerning a paſſage in the Scripture, nay didſt ask them concerning a frivolous quillet of a queſtion what was each of their opinions: and thou* Arrius *didſt inconſiderately babble what thou neither at the beginning couldſt conceive, and if thou hadſt conceived ſo, oughtſt* not to have vented, &c.

But the Clergy having got this once in the wind, there was no beating them off the ſcent. Which induced *Conſtantine* to think the convening of this Council the only remedy to theſe Diſorders. And a woful ado he had with them when they were met to manage and keep them in any tolerable *decorum*. It ſeemed like an Eccleſiaſtical Cock-pit, and a man might have laid wagers either way: the two parties contending in good earneſt either for the truth or the victory, but the more unconcerned, like cunning Betters, ſate judiciouſly hedging, and ſo ordered their matters that which ſide ſoever prevail'd, they would be ſure to be the Winners. They were indeed a moſt venerable Aſſembly, compoſed of ſome holy, ſome grave, ſome wiſe, and ſome of them learned Perſons: and *Conſtantine* had ſo charitably burnt the accuſations they intended againſt one another, which might otherwiſe have depopulated and diſpirited the Council, that all of them may be preſumed in one or other reſpect to have made

a great Character. But I obſerve *Soz.* l. 1. c. 16. that theſe great Biſhops, although they only had the deciſive voices, yet thought fit to bring along with them certain men that were cunning at an Argument, to be auxiliary to them when it came to hard and tough Diſputation; beſide that they had their Prieſts and Deacons ready at a dead lift always to aſſiſt them: So that their underſtandings ſeem'd to be ſequeſter'd, and for their dayly Faith, they depended upon what their Chaplains would allow them. And in that quality *Athanaſius* there waited upon *Alexander*, being his Deacon, (for as yet it ſeems Arch-biſhops nor Arch-deacons were invented.) And it is not improbable that *Athanaſius* having ſo early perſonated the Biſhop, and ſeeing the declining age of *Alexander*, would be careful that *Arrius* ſhould not ſtep betwixt him and home upon vacancy, but did his beſt againſt him to barr up his way, as it ſhortly after happened; *Athanaſius* ſucceeding after the Council in the See of *Alexandria*. In the mean time you may imagine that *Hypoſtaſis*, *Perſona*, *Subſtantia*, *Subſiſtentia*, *Eſſentia*, *Coeſſentialis*, *Conſubſtantialis*, *Ante ſæcula Coæternus*, *&c.* were by ſo many diſputants pick'd to the very bones, and thoſe too broken afterwards to come to the marrow of Divinity. And never had *Conſtantine* in his life ſo hard a task as to bring them to any rational reſults: *meekly and patiently*, Euſeb. L. 3. c. 13. de vitâ Conſt. *liſt'ning to every one, taking each Man's opinion and without the acrimony with which it was delivered, helping each party where they diſagreed, reconciling them by degrees when they were in the fierceſt Contention, conferring with them a part courteouſly and mildly, telling them what was his own opinion of the matter:* Which though ſome exceptious perſons may alleadge to have been againſt the nature of a Free Council, yet truly unleſs he had taken that courſe, I cannot imagine how poſſibly he could ever have brought them to any concluſion. And thus this firſt, great, General Council of *Nice*, with which the world had gone big ſo long, and which look'd ſo big upon all Chriſtendom, at laſt was brought in bed, and after a very hard labor deliver'd of *Homooouſios*.

They all ſubſcribed to the New Creed, except ſome ſeventeen, who it ſeems had rather to be Hereticks then Biſhops. For now the *Anathema's* were publiſhed, and whoever held the contrary was to be puniſh'd by Deprivation and Baniſhment, all *Arrian* books to be burned, and whoever ſhould be diſcover'd to conceal any of *Arrius* his writings, to dye for it. But it fared very well with thoſe who were not ſuch fools as to own his opinion. All they were entertain'd by the Emperor at a magnificent Feaſt, receiv'd from his hand rich Preſents, and were honorably diſmiſt, with Letters recommending their great Abilities and performance to the Provinces, and injoyning the *Nicene* Creed to be henceforth obſerved. With that ſtroke of the Pen: *Socr.* l. 1. c. 6. *For what three hundred Biſhops have agreed on*, (a thing indeed extraordinary) *ought not to be otherwiſe conceiv'd of then as the decree of God Almighty, eſpecially ſeeing the Holy Ghoſt did ſit upon the minds of ſuch and ſo excellent men, and open'd his divine will to them.* So that they went I trow with ample ſatisfaction; and, as they could not but take the Emperor for a very civil, generous

nerous, and obliging Gentleman, so they thought the better of themselves from that day forward. And how budge must they look when they returned back to their Dioceses, having every one of 'm been a principal limn of the *Æcumenical*, *Apostolical*, *Catholick*, *Orthodox* Council! When the Catachrestical titles of the Church and the Clergy were so appropriate to them by custom, that the Christian people had relinquished or forgotten their claim; when every Hare that crossed their way homeward was a Schismatick or an Heretick, and if their Horse stumbled with one of them, he incurr'd an Anathema. Well it was that their journeys laid so many several ways, for they were grown so cumbersom and great, that the Emperor's highway was too narrow for any two of them, and there could have been no passage without the removal of a Bishop. But soon after the Council was over, *Eusebius* the Bishop of *Nicomedia*, and *Theognis* the Bishop of *Nice*, who were already removed both by banishment and two others put in their places, were quickly restor'd upon their petition: wherein they suggested the cause of their not Signing to have been only, because they thought they could not with a safe conscience subscribe the Anathema against *Arrius*, appearing to them both by his writings, his discourses, and Sermons that they had been auditors of, not to be guilty of those errors. As for *Arrius* himself, the Emperor quickly wrote to him. *It is now a considerable time since I writ to your Gravity to come to my Tents, that you might injoy my countenance; so that I can scarce wonder sufficiently why you have so long delaid it: therefore now take one of the publick Coaches and make all speed to my Tents, that, having had experience of my kindness and affection to you, you may return into your own Country. God preserve you most dear Sir.* *Arrius* hereupon (with his comarade *Euzoius*) comes to *Constantine*'s Army, and offers him a petition, with a confession of Faith that would have pass'd very well before the *Nicene* Council, and now satisfied the Emperor *Socr.* l. 1. c. 19. & 20. insomuch that he writ to *Anathasius*, now Bishop of *Alexandria*, to receive him into the Church: but *Anathanasius* was of better mettle then so and absolutely refus'd it. Upon this *Constantine* writ him another threat'ning Letter: *When you have understood hereby my pleasure*, see that you afford free entrance into the Church to all that desire it: for if I shall understand that any who desires to be admitted into the Church should be either hindred or forbidden by you, I will send some one of my Servants to remove you from your *Degree*, and place another in your stead. Yet *Athanasius* stood it out still, though other Churches received him into Communion: and the Heretick *Novatus* could not have been more unrelenting to lapsed Christians then he was to *Arrius*. But this, joyned with other crimes which were laid to *Athanasius* his charge, at the Council of *Tyre*, (though I suppose indeed they were forged) made *Athanasius* glad to fly for it, and remain the first time in exile. Upon this whole matter it is my impartial opinion that *Arrius* or whosoever else were guilty of teaching and publishing those errors whereof he was accused, deserved the utmost Severity which consists with the Christian Religion. And so willing I have been to think well of *Athanasius* and

ill of the other, that I have on purpose avoided the reading, as I do the nameing, of a book that I have hear'd tells the story quite otherwise, and have only made use of the current Historians of those times, who all of them tell it against the *Arrians*. Only I will confess, that as in reading a particular History at adventure a Man finds himself inclinable to favor the weaker party, especially if the Conqueror appear insolent; so have I been affected in reading these Authors: which does but resemble the reasonable pity that men ordinarily have too for those who though for an erroneous conscience suffer under a Christian Magistrate. And as soon as I come to *Constantius*, I shall for that reason change my compassion and be doubly ingaged on the Orthodox party. But as to the whole matter of the Council of *Nice*, I must crave liberty to say, that from one end to the other, though the best of the kind, it seems to me to have been a pityful humane business, attended with all the ill circumstances of other worldly affairs, conducted by a spirit of ambition and contention, the first and so the greatest Æcumenical blow that by Christians was given to Christianity. And it is not from any sharpness of humor that I discourse thus freely of Things and Persons, much less of Orders of men otherwise venerable, but that where ought is extolled beyond reason and to the prejudice of Religion, it is necessary to depreciate it by true proportion. It is not their censure of *Arianism*, or the declaring of their opinion in a controverted point to the best of their understanding, (wherein to the smalness of mine they appear to have light upon the truth, had they likewise upon the measure,) that could have moved me to tell so long a story, or bring my self within the danger and aim of any capious Reader, speaking thus with great liberty of mind but little concern for any prejudice I may receive, of things that are by some men Idolized. But it is their Imposition of a new Article or Creed upon the Christian world, not being contained in express words of Scripture, to be believed with Divine Faith, under Spiritual and Civil Penalties, contrary to the Priviledges of Religion and their making a Precedent follow'd and improv'd by all succeeding ages for most cruel Persecutions, that only could animate me. In digging thus for a new Deduction they undermined the fabrick of Christianity; to frame a particular Doctrine they departed from the general Rule of their Religion; and for their curiosity about an Article concerning *Christ*, they violated our Saviour's first Institution of a Church not subject to any Addition in matters of Faith, nor liable to Compulsion either in Belief or in Practice. Farr be it from me in the event as it is from my Intention, to derogate from the just authority of any of those Creeds or Confessions of Faith that are receiv'd by our Church upon clear agreement with the Scriptures: nor shall I therefore, unless some mens impertinence and indiscretion hereafter oblige me, pretend to any further knowledg of what in those particulars appears in the ancient Histories. But certainly if any Creed had been Necessary, or at least Necessary to have been Imposed, our Saviour himself would not have left his Church destitute in a thing of that moment. Or however, after the Holy Ghost, upon his departure, was descended upon the Apostles, and *They the Elders and Brethren*

*thren* (for so it was then) were assembled in a legitime Council at *Jerusalem*, *it would have seemed good to the Holy Ghost and them* to have saved the Council of *Nice* that labor, Or at least the Apostle *Paul* 2 Cor. 12. 2. and 4. *who was caught up into Paradise, and heard unspeakable words, which it is not lawful for any man to utter*, having thereby a much better opportunity then *Athanasius* to know the Doctrine of the Trinity, would not have been wanting, *through the abundance of that revelation*, to form a Creed for the Church, sufficient to have put that business beyond controversy. Especially seeing Heresies were sprung up so early, and he foresaw others, and therefore does prescribe the method how they are to be dealt with, but no Creed that I read of.

Shall any sort of men presume to interpret those words, which to him were unspeakable, by a Gibbrish of their Imposing, and force every man to Cant after them what it is not lawful for any man to utter? *Christ* and his Apostles speak articulately enough in the Scriptures, without any Creed, as much as we are or ought to be capable of. And the Ministry of the Gospel is useful and most necessary, if it were but to press us to the reading of them, to illustrate one place by the authority of another, to inculcate those duties which are therein required, quickning us both to Faith and Practice, and showing within what bounds they are both circumscribed by our Saviour's Doctrine. And it becomes every man to be able to give a reason and account of his Faith, and to be ready to do it, without officiously gratifying those who demand it only to take advantage: and the more Christians can agree in one confession of Faith the better. But that we should believe ever the more for a Creed, it cannot be expected. In those days when Creeds were most plenty and in fashion, and every one had them at their fingers-ends, 'twas the Bible that brought in the Reformation. 'Tis true, a man would not stick to take two or three Creeds for a need, rather then want a Living, and if a man have not a good swallow, 'tis but wrapping them up in a Liturgy, like a wafer, and the whole dose will go down currently; especially if he wink at the same time and give his Assent and Consent without ever looking on them. But without jesting, for the matter is too serious. Every man is bound to *work out his own Salvation with fear and trembling*, and therefore to use all helps possible for his best satisfaction: hearing, conferring, reading, praying for the assistance of God's Spirit; but when he hath done this, he is his own Expositor, his own both Minister and People, Bishop and Diocess, his own Council; and his Conscience excusing or condemning him, accordingly he escapes or incurs his own internal Anathema. So that when it comes once to a Creed, made and Imposed by other men as a matter of Divine Faith, the Case grows very delicate; while he cannot apprehend, though the Imposer may, that all therein is clearly contained in Scripture, and may fear being caught in the expressions to oblige himself to a latitude or restriction, further then comports with his own sense and judgment. A Christian of honor, when it comes to this once, will weigh every word, every syllable, nay further, if he consider that the great business of this Coun-

cil

cil of *Nice* was but one single Letter of the Alphabet, about the inserting or omitting of an *Iota*. There must be either that exactness in the Form of such a Creed, as I dare say, no men in the world ever were or ever will be able to modulate: or else this scrupulous private judgment must be admitted, or otherwise all Creeds become meer instruments of Equivocation or Persecution. And I must confess, when I have sometimes considered with my self the dulness of the Non-conformists, and the acuteness on the contrary of the Episcoparians, and the conscienciousness of both; I have thought that our Church might safely wave the difference with them about Ceremonies, and try it out upon the Creeds, which were both the more honorable way, and more suitable to the method of the ancient Councils, and yet perhaps might do their business as effectually. For one that is a Christian in good earnest, when a Creed is Imposed, will sooner eat fire then take it against his judgment. There have been Martyrs for Reason, and it was manly in them: but how much more would men be so for reason Religionated and Christianized! But it is an inhumane and unchristian thing of those Faith-stretchers, whosoever they be, that either put mens Persons or their Consciences upon the torture, to rack them to the length of their Notions: whereas the *Bereans* are made Gentlemen and Innobled by Patent in the *Acts*, because they would not credit *Paul* himself, whose writings now make so great a part of the New Testament, untill *they had searched the Scripture dayly whether those things were so, and therefore many of them believed.* And therefore, although where there are such Creeds, Christians may for peace and conscience-sake acquiesce while there appears nothing in them flatly contrary to the words of the Scripture: yet when they are obtruded upon a man in particular, he will look very well about him and not take them upon any Humane Authority. The greatest Pretense to Authority is in a Council. But what then? shall all Christians therefore take their Formularies of Divine Worship or Belief, upon trust, as writ in Tables of Stone, like the Commandments, deliver'd from Heaven and to be obeyed in the instant not considered: because three hundred and eighteen Bishops are met in *Abraham's* great Hall, of which most must be servants and some children, and they have resolv'd upon't in such a manner? No, a good Christian will not, cannot attorn and indenture his conscience over; to be Represented by others. It is not as in Secular matters, where the States of a Kingdom are deputed by their fellow Subjects to transact for them, so in spiritual: or suppose it were, yet 'twere necessary, as in the *Polish* constitution, that nothing should be obligatory as long as there is one Dissenter, where no Temporal Interests, but every man's Eternity and Salvation are concerned. The Soul is too precious to be let out at interest upon any humane security, that does or may fail, but it is only safe when under God's custody, in its own Cabinet. But it was a General Council. A special general indeed if you consider the proportion of three hundred and eighteen, to the body of the Christian Clergy, but much more to all Christian Mankind. But it was a general Free Council of Bishops. I do not think it possible for any Council to be free that is composed only of Bishops,

and

and where they only have the Decisive Voces. Nor that a Free Council that takes away Christian Liberty. But that, as it was founded upon Usurpation, so it terminated in Imposition. But 'tis meant that it was Free from all external Impulsion. I confess that good meat and drink, and lodging, and money in a Man's purse, and coaches and Servants, and horses to attend them, did no violence to 'm, nor was there any false Article in it. And discoursing now with one and then another of 'm in particular, and the Emperor telling them this is my opinion, I understand it thus, and afterwards declaring his mind frequently to them in publick; no force neither. Ay! but there was a shrewd way of persuasion in it. And I would be glad to know when ever and which free general Council it was that could properly be called so: but was indeed a meer Imperial or Ecclesiastical Machine, no free agent, but wound up, set on going, and let dow by the direction and hand of the Workman. A General Free Council is but a word of Art, and can never happen but under a Fifth Monarch, and that Monarch too, to return from Heaven. The Animadverter will not allow the second General Council of *Nice* to have been Free, *because it was overawd by an Empress*, and was guilty of a great fault (which no Council at liberty he saith could have committed) the Decree for worshipping of Images. At this rate a Christian may scuffle however for one point among them, and chuse which council he likes best. But in good earnest I do not see but that *Constantine* might as well at this first council of *Nice*, have negotiated the Image worship, as to pay that superstitious adoration to the Bishops, and that Prostration to their Creeds was an Idolatry more pernicious in the consequence to the Christian Faith, then that under which they so lately had suffer'd Persecution. Nor can a council be said to have been at liberty which laid under so great and many obligations. But the Holy Ghost was present where there were three hundred and eighteen Bishops, and directed them or three hundred. Then, if I had been of their counsel, they should have sate at it all their lives, least they should never see him again after they were once risen. But it concerned them to settle their *Quorum* at first by his Dictates; otherwise no Bishop could have been absent or gone forth upon any occasion, but he let him out again: and it behoov'd to be very punctual in the Adjournments. 'Tis a ridiculous conception, and as gross as to make him of the same Substance with the Council. Nor needs there any strong argument of his absence, then their pretense to be actuated by him, and in doing such Work. The Holy Spirit! If so many of them when they got together, acted like rational Men, 'twas enough in all reason and as much as could be expected.

But this was one affectation, among many others, which the Bishops took up so early, of the stile, priviledges, powers, and some actions and gestures peculiar and inherent to the Apostles, which they misplaced to their own behoof and usage: nay, and chalenged other things as Apostolical, that were directly contrary to the Doctrine and Practice of the Apostles. For so because the Holy Spirit did in an extraordinary manner preside among the Holy Apostles at that Legitime Council of *Jerusalem*, *Acts* 15. they, although under

an-

an ordinary Adminiſtration, would not go leſs whatever came on't: nay; whereas the Apoſtles, in the drawing up of their Decree dictated to them by the Holy Spirit, ſaid therefore no more but thus: *The Apoſtles, Elders, and Brethren, ſend greeting unto the Brethren of, &c. Foraſmuch as, &c. It ſeemed good to the Holy Ghoſt and us to lay upon you no greater burthen then theſe neceſſary things: that ye abſtain from, &c. from which if ye keep your ſelves, you ſhall do well.* Fare ye well.

This Council denounces every invention of its own; (far from the Apoſtolical modeſty, and the ſtile of the Holy Spirit) under no leſs then an Anathema. Such was their arrogating to their inferior degrees the ſtyle of *Clergy*, till cuſtom hath ſo much prevailed, that we are at a loſs how to ſpeak properly either of the name or nature of their function. Whereas the *Clergy*, in the true and Apoſtolical ſenſe, were only thoſe whom they ſuperciliouſly always call the *Laity*: The word *Clerus* being never but once uſed in the New Teſtament, and in that ſignification, and in a very unlucky place too, *Peter* 1. 5. 3, where he admoniſhes the Prieſthood, *that they ſhould not Lord it or domineer over*, the Chriſtian People, *Clerum Domini* or *the Lord's Inheritance*. But having uſurp'd the Title, I confeſs they did right to aſſume the Power. But to ſpeak of the Prieſthood in that ſtyle which they moſt affect, if we conſider the nature too of their Function, what were the *Clergy* then but Lay-men diſguis'd, dreſt up perhaps in another habit? Did not St. *Paul* himſelf, being a Tent-maker, rather then be idle or burthenſom to his People, work of his trade, even during his Apoſtleſhip, to get his living? But did not theſe, that they might neglect their holy vocation, ſeek to compaſs ſecular imployments, and Lay Offices? Were not very many of them, whether one reſpect their Vices or Ignorance, as well qualified as any other to be Laymen? Was it not uſual as oft as they merited it to reſtore them, as in the caſe even of the three Biſhops, to the Lay-communion? And whether, if they were ſo peculiar from others, did the Impoſition of the Biſhops hands, or the lifting up the hands of the Laity conferr more to that diſtinction? And *Conſtantine*, notwithſtanding his complement at the burning of the Biſhops papers, thought he might make them and unmake them with the ſame power as he did his other Lay-Officers. But if the inferior degrees were the *Clergy*, the Biſhops would be the Church: although that word in the Scripture-ſenſe is proper only to a congregation of the Faithful. And being by that title the only men in Eccleſiaſtical councils, then when they were once aſſembled they were the *Catholick Church*, and, having the Holy Spirit at their devotion, whatſoever Creed they light upon, that was the *Catholick Faith, without believing of which no man be ſaved.* By which means there roſe thenceforward ſo conſtant perſecutions till this day, that, had not the little inviſible *Catholick Church* and a People that always ſearch'd and believ'd the Scriptures, made a ſtand by their Teſtimonies and ſufferings, the Creeds had deſtroyd the Faith: and the Church had ruined the Religion. For this General council of *Nice* and all others of the ſame conſtitution, did, and can ſerve to no other end or effect, then particular order of menby their uſurpings

for a

this Sheet in the Council order is stiled tend sedition and the C tion of the Chr Religio n

ping a trust upon Christianity, to make their own Price and Market of it, and deliver it up as oft as they see their own Advantage.

For scarce was *Constantine's* Head cold, but his Son *Constantius*, succeeding his Brothers, being Influenced by the Bishops of the *Arrian* Party, turn'd the wrong side of Christianity outward, inverted the Poles of Heaven, and Faith (if I may say so) with its Heels in the Air, was forced to stand upon its Head, and play Gambols, for the Divertisment and Pleasure of the *Homoiousians*. *Arrianism* was the Divinity then in Mode, and he was an ignorant and ill Courtier, or Church man, that could not dress, and would not make a new Sute for his Conscience in the Fashion. And now the Orthodox Bishops (it being given to those Men to be obstinate for Power, but flexible in Faith;) began to wind about insensibly, as the *Heliotrope Flower* that keeps its ground, but wrests its Neck in turning after the warm Sun, from Day-break to Evening. They could look now upon the Synod of *Nice* with more indifference, and all that pudder that had been made there betwixt *Homoousios* and *Homoiousios*, &c. began to appear to them *as a Difference only arising from the Inadequation of Languages:* Till by degrees they were drawn over, and, rather than lose their Bishopricks, would joyn, and at last be the Headmost in the Persecution of their own former Party. But the Deacons, to be sure, that steer'd the Elephants, were thorow-paced; Men to be reckon'd and relied upon in this or any other occasion, and would prick on to render themselves Capable and Episcopable, upon the first Vacancy. For now the *Arrians* in grain, scorning to come behind the Clownish *Homoousians*, in any Ecclesiastical Civility, were resolved to give them their full of Persecution. And it seem'd a piece of Wit rather than Malice, to pay them in their own Coyn, and to *Burlesque* them in earnest, by the repetition and heightning of the same Severities upon them, that they had practised upon others. Had you the *Homoousians* a Creed at *Nice?* We will have another Creed for you at *Ariminum*, and at *Seleucia*. Would you not be content with so many several Projects of Faith consonant to Scripture, unless you might thrust the new word *Homoousios* down our throats, and then tear it up again, to make us confess it? Tell us the word, ('twas *Homoiousios*) we are now upon the Guard, or else we shall run you thorow. Would you Anathemize, Banish, Imprison, Execute us, and burn our Books? You shall taste of this Christian Fare, and as you relish it, you shall have more on't provided. And thus it went, *Arrianism* being Triumphant, but the few sincere or stomachful Bishops, adhering constantly, and with a true Christian Magnanimity, especially *Athanasius*, thorow all Sufferings unto their former Confessions; expiated so in some measure, what they had committed in the *Nicene* Council.

*Sozomene*, l. 4. c. 25. First tells us a story of *Eudoxius*, who succeeded *Macedonius*, in the Bishoprick of *Constantinople*; that in the Cathedral of *Sancta Sophia*, being mounted in his Episcopal Throne, the first time that they Assembled for its Dedication, in the very beginning of his Sermon to the People (those things were already come in Fashion) told them: *Patrem impium esse,*

 *Filium*

*Filium autem pium*; at which when they began to bustle, *Pray be quiet*, saith he; I say, *Patrem impium esse, quia Colit neminem, Filiem vero Pium quia colit Patrem*; at which they then Laughed as heartily, as before they were Angry. But this I only note to this purpose, that there were some of the greatest Bishops among the *Homoiousians*, as well as the *Homoousians*, that could not reproach one anothers Simplicity, and that it was not impossible for the *Many*, to be Wiser and more Orthodox than the *Few*, in Divine Matters. That which I cite him for as most Material, is, his Remark upon the Imposition then of contrary Creeds; *Which verily*, saith he, *was plainly the beginning of most great Calamities, for as much as hereupon there followed a Disturbance, not unlike those which we before recited over the whole Empire; and likewise a Persecution equal almost to that of the Heathen Emperors, seized upon all of all Churches. For, although it seemed to some more gentle for what concerns the Torture of the Body, yet to prudent Persons it appeared more bitter and severe, by reason of the Dishonor and Ignominy. For both they who stirred up, and those that were afflicted with this Persecution, were of the Christian Church. And the Grievance therefore was the greater and more ugly, in that the same things which are done among Enemies, were Executed between those of the same Tribe and Profession: But the Holy Law forbids us to carry our selves in that manner, even to those that are Without, and Aliens.* And all this Mischief sprung from making of Creeds, with which the Bishops, as it were at *Tilting*, aim'd to hit one another in the Eye, and throw the opposite Party out of the Saddle. But if it chanced that the weaker side were ready to yield, (for what sort of Men was there that could better Manage, or had their Consciences more at command at that time than the Clergy?) Then the *Arrians* would use a yet longer, thicker, and sharper Lance for the purpose, (for there were never Vacancies sufficient) that they might be sure to run them down, over, and thorow, and do their Business. The Creed of *Ariminum* was now too short for the Design, but, saith the Historian, they affix'd *further Articles like Labels to it, pretending to have made it better, and so sent it thorow the Empire with* Constantius *his Proclamation, that whoever would not Subscribe it, should be banished.* Nay, they would not admit their own beloved *Similis Substantia*, but, to do the Work throughly, the *Arrians* renounc'd their own Creed for Malice, and made it an Article; *Filium Patri tam substantia, quam Voluntate, Dissimilem esse.* But that is a small matter with any of them, provided thereby they may do Service to the Church, that is their Party. So that one (seriously speaking) that were really Orthodox, could not then defend the Truth or himself, but by turning old *Arrian*, if he would impugn the new ones; such was the Subtility. What shall I say more? As the Arts of Glass Coaches and Perriwgs illustrate this Age, so by their Trade of Creed-making, then first Invented, we may esteem the Wisdom of *Constantine*'s, and *Constantius* his Empire. And in a short space, as is usual among Tradesmen, where it appears Gainful, they were so many that set up of the same Profession, that they could scarce live by one another,

*Socr. l. 2. c. 32.* Therefore uses these words: *But now that I have* tandem aliquando, *run through this Labyrinth of so many Creeds, I will gather up their number:* And so reckons Nine Creeds more, besides that of *Nice*, before the death of *Constantius*, (a blessed Number.) And I believe, I could for a need, make them up a Dozen, if Men have a mind to buy them so. And hence it was that *Hilary*, then Bishop of *Poictiers*, represents that state of the Church pleasantly, yet sadly, *Since the* Nicene *Synod*, saith he, *we do nothing but write Creeds. That while we fight about words, whilst we raise Questions about Novelties, while we Quarrel about things doubtful, and about Authors, while we contend in Parties, while there is difficulty in Consent, while we Anathematize one another, there is none now almost that is* Christ's. *What a Change there is in the last years Creed? The first Decree commands, that* Homoousios *should not be mentioned. The next does again Decree and Publish* Homoousios. *The third does by Indulgence excuse the Word* Ousia, *as used by the Fathers in their simplicity. The fourth does not Excuse, but Condemn it. It is come to that at last, that nothing among us, or those before us, can remain Sacred or inviolable.* We *Decree every Year of the Lord, a new Creed concerning God: Nay, every Change of the Moon our Faith is alter'd. We repent of our Decrees, we defend those that repent of them; we Anathemize those that we defended, and while we either condemn other Mens Opinions in our own, or our own Opinions in those of other Men, and bite at one another, we are now all of us torn in pieces.* This Bishop sure was the Author of *the Naked Truth*, and 'twas he that *implicitly condemn'd the whole Catholick Church, both* East *and* West, *for being too presumptuous in her Definitions.*

It is not strange to me, that *Julian*, being but a Reader in the Christian Church, should turn *Pagan*: Especially when I consider that he succeeded Emperor after *Constantius*. For it seems rather unavoidable that a Man of great Wit, as he was, and not having the Grace of God to direct it, and show him the Beauty of Religion, through the Deformity of its Governours and Teachers; but that he must conceive a Loathing and Aversion for it, Nor could he think that he did them any Injustice, when he observed that, beside all their Unchristian Immorality too, they Practised thus, against the Institutive Law of their *Galilean*, the Persecution among themselves for Religion. And well might he add to his other Severities, that sharpness of his Wit, both *Exposing* and *Animadverting* upon them, at another rate than any of the Modern Practitioners with all their Study and Inclination, can ever arrive at. For nothing is more punishable, Contemptible, and truly Ridiculous, than a Christian that walks contrary to his Profession: And by how much any Man stands with more advantage in the Church for Eminency, but disobeys the Laws of *Christ* by that Priviledg, he is thereby, and deserves to be the more Exposed. But *Julian*, the last Heathen Emperor, by whose Cruelty it seemed that God would sensibly Admonish once again the Christian Clergy, and show them by their own Smart, and an Heathen Hand, the nature and odiousness of Persecution, soon died, as is usual for Men of that Imployment, not without a remarkable stroke of God's Judgment.

Yet they, as if they were only sorry that they had lost so much time, upon his death strove as eagerly to redeem it, and forthwith fell in very naturally into their former Animosities. For *Jovianus* being chosen Emperor in *Persia*, and returning Homeward, *Socr. l. 3. c. 20.* the Bishops of each Party, in hopes that theirs should be the Imperial Creed, strait to Horse, and Rode away with Switch and Spur, as if it had been for the Plate, to meet him; and he that had best Heels, made himself cock-sure of winning the Religion. The *Macedonians*, who dividing from the *Arrians*, had set up for a new Heresie concerning the Holy Ghost, (and they were a Squadron of Bishops) Petition'd him that those who held, *Filium Patri dissimilem*, might be turn'd out, and themselves put in their places: Which was very honestly done, and aboveboard. The *Acacians*, that were the refined *Arrians*, but, as the Author saith, *Had a notable faculty of addressing themselves to the Inclination of whatsoever Emperor*, and having good Intelligence that he balanced rather to the *Consubstantials*, presented him with a very fair Insinuating Subscription, of a considerable number of Bishops to the Council of *Nice*. But in the next Emperor's time they will be found to yield little Reverence to their own Subscription. For in matter of a Creed, a Note of their Hand, without expressing the Penalty, could not it seems Bind one of their Order. But all that *Jovianus* said to the *Macedonians*, was; *I hate Contention, but I lovingly imbrace and reverence those who are inclined to Peace and Concord.* To the *Acacians*, who had wisely given these the precedence of Application, to try the truth of their Intelligence, he said no more (*having resolv'd by sweetness and persuasions to quiet all their Controversies.*) but, *That he would not molest any Man whatsoever Creed be follow'd, but those above others he would Cherish and Honor, who should show themselves most forward in bringing the Church to a good Agreement.* He likewise call'd back all those Bishops who had been Banished by *Constantius* and *Julian*, restoring them to their Sees. And he writ a Letter in particular to *Athanastus*, who upon *Julian*'s death, had enter'd again upon that of *Alexandria*, to bid him be of good Courage. *And these things coming to the Ears of all others, did wonderfully assuage the Fierceness of those who were Inflamed with Faction and Contention:* So that, the Court having declared it self of this Mind, the Church was in a short time in all outward appearance peaceably disposed; the Emperor by this Means having wholly repressed all their Violence. *Verily*, concludes the Historian, *the* Roman *Empire had been prosperous and happy, and both the State and the Church* (he puts them too in that Order) *under so good a Prince, must have exceedingly flourished, had not an Immature death taken him away from managing the Government. For after seven Months, being seized with a mortal Obstruction, he dparted this Life.* Did not this Historian, trow you, deserve to be handled, and is it not, *now the Mischief is done, to undo the Charm, become a* Duty, *to* Expose both *him* and *Jovianus? By their ill chosen Principles what would have become of the Prime, and most necessary Articles of Faith? Might not the old Dormant Heresies, all of them safely have Revived?*

But

But that *Mortal Obstruction* of the Bishops, was not by his death (nor is it by their own to be) removed. They were glad he was so soon got out of their way, and God would yet further manifest their intractable Spirit, which not the Persecution of the Heathen Emperor *Julian*, nor the Gentleness of *Jovianus* the Christian, could allay or mitigate by their Afflictions or Prosperity. The Divine *Nemesis* executed Justice upon them, by one anothers Hand: And so hainous a Crime as for a Christian, a Bishop, to Persecute, stood yet need, as the only equal and exemplary Punishment, of being Revenged with a Persecution by Christians, by Bishops. And whoever shall seriously consider all along the Succession of the Emperors, can never have taken that Satisfaction in the most judicious Representations of the Scene, which he may in this worthy Speculation of the great Order and admirable conduct of Wise Providence, through the whole contexture of these Exterior, seeming Accidents, relating to the Ecclesiasticals of Christianity.

For to *Jovianus* succeeded *Valentinian*, who in a short time took his Brother *Valens* to be his Companion in the Empire. These two Brothers, did as the Historian observes, *Socr. l. 4. c. 1.* (alike, and equally take care at the beginning, for the Advantage and Government of the State) but very much disagreed, though both Christians, in matter of Religion: *Valetinianus* the Elder being an *Orthodox*, but *Valens* an *Arrian*, and they used a different Method toward the Christians. For *Valentinian* (who chose the Western part of the Empire, and left the East to his Brother) as he imbraced those of his own Creed, so yet he did not in the least molest the *Arrians*: But *Valens* not only Labor'd to increase the number of the *Arrians*, but Afflicted those of the contrary Opinion with grievous Punishments. And both of 'm, especially *Valens* had Bishops for their purpose. The particulars of that heavy Persecution under *Valens*, any one may further satisfy himself of in the Writers of those Times: And yet it is observable, that within a little space while he pursued the Orthodox Bishops, he gave Liberty to the *Novatians*, (who were of the same Creed, but separated from them, as I have said, upon Discipline, &c.) and caused their Churches, which for a while were shut up, to be opened again at *Constantinople*. To be short, *Valens* (who out-lived his Brother, that died of a natural Death,) himself in a battel against the *Goths*, could not escape neither the fate of a Christian Persecutor. *For the* Goths *having made Application to him, he*, saith Socrates, *not well fore-seeing the Consequence, admitted them to Inhabit in certain places of* Thracia, *pleasing himself that he should by that means, always have an Army ready at hand against whatsoever Enemie; and that those Forrign Guards would strike them with a greater Terror, more by far than the* Militia *of his Subjects. And so, slighting the ancient Veterane* Militia, *which used to consist of Bodies of Men raised proportionably in every Province, and were stout Fellows that would Fight Manfully; instead of them he levied Money, rating the Country at so much for every Souldier.* But these new Inmates of the Emperors soon grew Troublesom, as is customary, and not only infested the Natives in *Thracia*, but Plunder'd even the Suburbs of *Constantinople*, there being no armed Force to repress them: Hereupon the

whole

whole People of the City cried out at a publick Spectacle, where *Valens* was present neglecting this matter, *Give us Arms and we will manage this War our selves.* This extreamly provok'd him, so that he forthwith made an Expedition against the *Goths*: But *Threatned the* Citizens *if he turn'd in safety, to be Reveng'd on them both for those Contumelies, and for what under the Tyrant* Procopius, *they had committed against the Empire, and that he would Raze to the Ground, and Plow up the City. Yet before his departure, out of fear of the Foraign Enemy, he totally ceas'd from persecuting the Orthodox in* Constantinople. *But he was kill'd in the Fight, or Flying into a Village that the* Goths *had set on fire, he was there burnt to ashes:* to the great grief of his Bishops, who, had he been Victorious, might have revived the Persecution. Such was the end of his Impetuous Reign and rash Counsels both as to his Government of State, in matters of Peace and War, and his Manage of the Church by Persecution.

His death brings me to the Succession of *Theodosius* the *Great*, then whom no Christian Emperor did more make it his business to Nurse-up the Church, and to Lull the Bishops, to keep the House in quiet. But neither was it in his power to still their Bawling, and Scratching one another, as far as their Nails (which were yet more tender, but afterwards grew like Tallons) would give them leave. I shall not further vex the History, or the Reader, in recounting the Particulars; taking no delight neither my self in so uncomfortable Relations, or to reflect beyond what is necessary upon the Wolfishness of those which then seemed, and ought to have been, the Christian Pastors, but went on scattering their Flocks, if not devouring; and the Shepherds smiting one another. In his Reign, the second General Council was called, that of *Constantinople*, and the Creed was there made which took its name from the place: The rest of their business, any one that is further curious, may observe in the Writers. But I shall close this with a short touch concerning *Gregory Nazianzen*, then living, than whom also the Christian Church had not in those times (and I question whether in any succeeding) a Bishop that was more a Christian, more a Gentleman, better appointed in all sorts of Learning requisite, seasoned under *Julian*'s Persecution, and exemplary to the highest pitch of true Religion, and Practical Piety. The eminence of these Vertues, and in special of his Humility (the lowliest but the highest of all Christian Qualifications) raised him under *Theodosius*, from the Parish-like Bishoprick of *Nazianzum*, to that of *Constantinople*, where he fill'd his place in that Council. But having taken notice in what manner things were carried in that, as they had been in former Councils, and that some of the Bishops muttered at his promotion; he of his own mind resigned that great Bishoprick, which was never of his desire or seeking, and, though so highly seated in the Emperors Reverence and Favor, so acceptable to the People, and generally to the Clergy, whose unequal Abilities could not pretend or justifie an envy against him; retired back far more content to a Solitary Life to his little *Nazianzum*. And from thence he writes that Letter to his Friend *Procopius*, wherein, p. 814. upon his most recollected and serious reflexion on what had faln within his observa-

tion,

tion, he useth these remarkable words: *I have resolved with my self ( if I may tell you the* Naked *Truth*, ) *never more to come into any assembly of Bishops: for I never saw a good ending any Council, but which rather increased then remedied the mischiefs. Their obstinate Contentions and Ambition are unexpressible.*

It would require too great a Volume to deduce, from the death of *Theodosius*, the particulars that happened in the succeeding Reigns about this matter. But the Reader may reckon, that it was as stated a Quarrel betwixt the *Homoousians*, and the *Homoiousians*, as that between the Houses of *York* and *Lancaster*: And there arose now an Emperor of one Line, and then again of the other. But among all the Bishops, there was not one *Morton*, whose *industrious Brain could or would* ( for some Men always reap by Division) *make up the fatal Breach betwixt* the two Creeds. By this means every Creed was grown up to a Test, and, under that pretence, the dextrous Bishops step by step hooked within their Verge, all the business and Power that could be catched in those Turbulences; where they mudled the Water and Fished after. By this means they stalked on first to a Spiritual kind of Dominion, and from that incroached upon and into the Civil Jurisdiction. A Bishop now grew terrible, and, ( whereas a simple Layman might have frighted the Devil with the first words of the Apostles Creed, and *I defie thee Satan* ) one Creed could not protect him from a Bishop, and it required a much longer, and a double and treble Confession, unless himself would be delivered over to *Satan* by an *Anathema*. But this was only an Ecclesiastical sentence at first, with which they marked out such as sinned against them, and then whoop'd and hollow'd on the Civil Magistrate, to hunt them down for their Spiritual Pleasure. They crept at first by Court Insinuations and Flattery into the Princes favor, till those generous Creatures suffered themselves to be backed and ridden by them, who would take as much of a free Horse as possible: but in Persecution the Clergy as yet, wisely interposed the Magistrate betwixt themselves and the People, not caring so their end were attained, how odious they rendred him: And you may observe that for the most part hitherto, they stood crouching and shot either over the Emperors back, or under his belly. But in process of Time they became bolder and open-fac'd, and Persecuted before the Sun at Mid-day. Bishops grew worse, but Bishopricks every day better and better. There was now no *Eusebius* left to refuse the Bishoprick of *Antiochia*, whom therefore *Constantine* told, *That he deserv'd the Bishoprick of the whole World for that Modesty*. They were not such Fools as *Ammonius Parotes*, I warrant you, in the time of *Theodosius*. *He*, Socr. l. 6. c. 30. *being seised upon by some that would needs make him a Bishop, when he could not perswade them to the contrary, cut off one of his Ears, telling them that now, should he himself desire to be a Bishop, he was by the Law of Priesthood incapable: but when they observed that those things only obliged the* Jewish *Priesthood, and that the Church of* Christ *did not consider whether a Priest were sound or perfect in limb of Body, but only that he were intire in his manners; they return'd to seize on him again: But when he saw them coming, he swore with a solemn Oath, that, if to Consecrate*

*crate him a Bishop they laid violent hands upon him, he would cut out his tongue also; whereupon they, fearing he would do it, desisted.* What should have been the matter, that a man so Learned and Holy, should have such an aversion to be promoted in his own Order; that, rather than yield to be a Compelled or Compelling Bishop, he would inflict upon himself as severe a Martyrdom, as any Persecutor could have done for him? Sure he saw somthing more in the very Constitution, than some do at present. But this indeed was an Example too Rigid, and neither fit to have been done, nor to be imitated, as there was no danger. For far from this they followed the precedent rather of *Damasus*, and *Ursinus*, which last, *Socr. l. 4. c. 24. In* Valentinian's *time, persuaded certain obscure and abject Bishops* (for there were it seems of all sorts and sizes) *to create him Bishop in a Corner, and then* (so early) *he and* Damasus, who was much the better Man: waged War for the Bishoprick of *Rome*, to the great scandal of the *Pagan* Writers, who made Remarks for this and other things upon their Christianity, and to the Bloodshed and Death of a multitude of the Christian People. But this last I mention'd, only as a weak and imperfect Essay in that time, of what it came to in the several Ages after, which I am now speaking of, when the Bishops were given, gave themselves, over to all manner of Vice, Luxury, Pride, Ignorance, Superstition, Covetousness, and Monopolizing of all secular Imployments and Authority. Nothing could escape them: They meddled, troubled themselves and others, with many things, every thing, forgetting that *one, only needful.* Insomuch that I could not avoid wondring often that, among so many Churches that with Paganick Rites, they dedicated to Saint *Mary*, I have met with none to Saint *Martha.* But above all, Imposition and Cruelty became inherent to them, and the power of Persecution was grown so good and desirable a thing, that they thought the Magistrate scarce worthy to be trusted with it longer, and a meer Novice at it, and either wrested it out of his hands, or gently eased him of that and his other burdens of Government. The Sufferings of the Laity were become the Royalties of the Clergy; and, being very careful Christians, the Bishops, that not a word of our Saviours might fall to the Ground, because he had foretold how Men should be Persecuted for his Names sake, they undertook to see it done effectually in their own Provinces, and out of pure zeal of doing him the more Service of this kind, inlarged studiously their Dioceses beyond all proportion. Like *Nostradamus* his Son, that to fulfil his Father's prediction of a City in *France*, that should be Burned; with his own hands set it on fire. All the calamities of the Christian World in those Ages, may be derived from them, while they warm'd themselves at the Flame; and, like Lords of Misrule, kept a perpetual *Christmas.* What in the Bishop's name is the matter? How came it about that Christianity, which approved it self under all Persecutions to the Heathen Emperors, and merited their Favor so far, till at last it regularly succeeded to the Monarchy, should under those of their own Profession be more distressed? Were there some Christians then too, that feared still lest Men should be Christians, and for whom *it was*

Pat Sheet ones

*necessary*

*necessary*, not for the Gospel reason *that there should be Heresies.* Let us collect a little now also in the conclusion what at first was not particulariz'd, how the reason of State and Measure of Government stood under the Roman Emperours, in aspect to them. I omit *Tiberius*, mention'd in the beginning of this Essay. *Trajane*, after having persecuted them, and having used *Pliny* the second in his Province to that purpose, upon his relation that they lived in conformity to all Lawes, but that which forbad their Worship, and in all other things were blameless, and good men, straitly by his Edict commanded that none of them should be farther enquired after. *Hadrian*, in his Edict to *Minutius Fundanus*, Pro-consul of *Asia*, commands him that, *If any accuse the Christians, and can prove it, that they commit any thing against the State, that then he punish them according to the crime: but if any man accuse them, meerly for calumny and vexation, as Christians, then i'faith let him suffer for't, and take you care that he feel the smart of it.* *Antoninus Pius* writ his Edict. very remarkable if there were place here to recite it, to the States of *Asia* assembled at *Ephesus*; wherein he takes notice of his fathers command that, *unless the Christians were found to act any thing against the* Roman *Empire, they should not be molested*, and then commands *that, if any man thereafter shall continue to trouble them*, tanquam tales, *as Christians, for their Worship, in that case he that is the Informer should be exposed to punishment, but the accused should be free and discharged.* I could not but observe that among other things in this Edict, where he is speaking, *It is desirable to them that they may appear, being accused, more willing to dy for their God then to live*, he adds. *It would not be amiss to admonish you concerning the Earthquakes which have, and do now happen, that when you are afflicted at them, you would compare our affairs with theirs. They are thereby so much the more incouraged to a confidence and reliance upon God, but you all the while go on in your ignorance, and neglect both other gods, and the Religion towards the immortal, and banish and persecute them unto death.* Which words of that Emperours, fall in so naturally with what, it seems, was a common observation about Earthquakes, that I cannot but to that purpose take further notice, how also *Gregory Nazianzen*, in Or. 2d. *contra Gentiles*, tells, besides the breakings in of the Sea in several places, and many fires that happened, of the Earthquakes in particular, which he reckons as Symptomes of *Julian's* Persecution. And to this I may add. *Socr. l.* 3. *c.* 10. who in the Reign of *Valens*, that notorious Christian Persecutor, saith, at the same time there was an Earthquake in *Bithynia*, which ruined the City of *Nice*, (that same in which that general Counsel was held under *Constantine*) and a little after there was another. *But although these so happened, the minds of* Valens *and of* Eudoxius, *the Bishop of the* Arrians *were not at all stirred up unto Piety, and a right opinion of Religion:* For *nevertheless they never ceased, made no end of persecuting those who in their Creed dissented from them. Those Earthquakes seemed to be certain indications of tumult in the Church.* All which put together, could not but make me reflect upon the late Earth-

quakes, great by how much more unusual, here in *England*, thorow so many Counties since *Christmas*, at the same time when the Clergy, some of them, were so busy in their Cabals, to promote this (I would give it a modester name then) Persecution, which is now on foot against the Dissenters; at so unseasonable a time, and upon no occasion administred by them, that those who comprehend the reasons, yet cannot but wonder at the wisdome of it. Yet I am not neither one of the most credulous nickers or applyers of natural events to humain transactions; but neither am I so secure as the Learned Dr. *Spencer*, nor can walk along the world without having some eye to the conjunctures of God's admirable Providence. Neither was *Marcus Aurelius* (that I may return to my matter) negligent as to this particular. But he, observing, as *Antoninus* had the Earthquakes, that in an expedition against the *Germans*, and *Sarmatians*: his Army being in despair almost for want of water, the *Melitine* (afterwards from the event called the *Thundring*) Legion, which consisted of Christians, kneel'd down in the very heat of their thirst and fight, praying for rain, which posture the enemyes wondring at, immediately there brake out such a thundring and lightning as together with the Christian valour, routed the adverse Army, but so much rain fell therewith, as refreshed *Aurelius* his Forces that were at the last gasp for thirst, he thenceforward commanded by his Letters; *that upon pain of death none should inform against the Christians*, as *Tertulian* in his Apology for the Christians witnesses. But who would have believed that even *Commodus*, so great a Tyrant otherwise, should have been so favourable as to make a Law, *that the informers against Christians should be punished with Death*? Yet he did, and the Informer against *Apollonius* was by it executed. Much less could a man have thought that, that prodigy of cruelty *Maximine*, and who exercised it so severely upon the Christians, should, as he did, being struck with God's hand, publish when it was too late Edict after Edict, in great favour of the Christians. But above all, nothing could have been less expected then that, after those Heathen Emperours, the first Christian *Constantine* should have been seduced by the Bishops, to be, after them, the first occasion of Persecution, so contrary to his own excellent inclination: 'Twas then that he spake his own mind, when he said, *Eus.* de vitâ *Consti.* 69. *You ought to retain within the bounds of your private thoughts those things, which you cunningly and subtly seek out concerning most frivolous questions.* And then much plainer, c. 67. where he saith so wisely. *You are not ignorant that the Philosophers all of them do agree in the profession of the same Discipline, but do oftentimes differ in some part of the opinions which they dogmatize in; but yet, although they do dissent about the Discipline that each several Sect observeth, they nevertheless reconcile themselves again for the sake of that common Profession to which they have concurred.* But against compulsion in Religious matters so much every where, that it is needless to insert one passage. And he being of this disposition, and universally Famous for his care and countenance of the Christian Religion, *Eusebius* saith

these

these words: *While the people of God did glory and heighten it self in the doing of good things, and all fear from without was taken away, and the Church was fortifi'd as I may say, on all sides by a peaceable and illustrious tranquility, then Envy lying in wait against our prosperity, craftily crept in, and began first to dance in the midst of the company of Bishops:* so goes on, telling the History of *Alexander* and *Arrius*. I have been before large enough in that relation, wherein it appeared that, contrary to that great Emperours pious intention, whereas *Envy began to dance among the Bishops first*, the good *Constantine* brought them the Fiddles. But it appear'd likewise how soon he was weary of the Bal, and toward his latter end, as Princes often do upon too late experience, would have redressed all and returned to his natural temper. Of the other Christian Emperours I likewise discoursed, omitting, that I might insert it in this place, how the great Heathen Philosopher *Themistius*, in his Consular Oration, celebrated *Jovianus* for having given that toleration in Christian Religion, and thereby defeated the *flattering* Bishops, which sort of men, saith he wittily, *do not worship God, but the Imperial Purple.*

It was the same *Themistius* that, only out of an upright natural apprehension of things, made that excellent Oration afterward to *Valens*, which is in Print, exhorting him to cease Persecution: wherein he chances upon, and improves the same notion with *Constantine's*, and tells him: *That he should not wonder at the Dissents in Christian Religion, which were very small, if compared with the multitude and crowd of Opinions among the Gentile Philosophers; for there were at least three hundred differences, and a very great dissention among them there was about their resolutions, unto which each several Sect was as it were necessarily bound up and obliged: and that God seemed to intend more to illustrate his own glory by that diverse and unequal variety of Opinions, to the end every each one might therefore so much the more reverence his Divine Majesty, because it is not possible for any one accurately to know him.* And this had a good effect upon *Valens*, for the mitigating in some measure his severities against his fellow Christians. So that after having cast about, in this Summary again, (whereby it plainly appears that according to natural right and the apprehension of all sober Heathen Governours, Christianity as a Religion, was wholly exempt from the Magistrates jurisdiction or Lawes, farther than any particular person among them immorally transgressed, as others, the common rules of humain society) I cannot but return to the Question with which I begun. What was the matter? How came it about that Christianity, which approved it self under all Persecutions to the Heathen Emperours, and merited their favour so far, till at last it regularly succeeded to the Monarchy, should, under those of their own profession, be more distressed? But the Answer is now much shorter and certainer, and I will adventure boldly to say, the true and single cause then was the Bishops. And they were the cause against reason. For what power had the Emperours by growing Christians, more then those had before them? None. What obligation were Christian

Subjects under to the Magistrate more then before? None. But the Magistrates Christian authority was, what the Apostle describ'd it while Heathen, *not to be a terror to good works, but to evil.* What new Power had the Bishops acquired, whereby they turned every *Pontificate* into a *Caiaphat?* None neither? 2 *Cor.* 10. 8. Had they been Apostles, *The Lord had but given them Authority for edification, not for destruction.* They, of all other, ought to have Preached to the Magistrate, the terrible denunciations in Scripture against usurping upon and persecuting of Christians. They, of all others, ought to have laid before them the horrible Examples of God's ordinary Justice against those that exercised Persecution. But, provided they could be the Swearers of the Prince to do all due Allegiance to the Church, and to preserve the Rights and liberties of the Church, however they came by them, they would give him as much scope as he pleased in matter of Christianity, and would be the first to solicite him to break the Laws of *Christ*, and ply him with hot places of Scripture in order to all manner of Oppression and Persecution in Civils and Spirituals. So that the whole business how this unchristian Tyranny came and could entitle it self among Christians, against the Christian priviledges, was only the case in *Zech.* 13. 6. 7. *And one shall say unto him, what are these wounds in thy hands? then he shall answer, those with which I was wounded in the house of my friends.* Because they were all Christians, they thought forsooth they might make the bolder with them, make bolder with *Christ*, and wound him again in the hands and feet, of his members. Because they were friends they might use them more courtly, and abuse them, against all common civility, in their own house, which is a Protection to Strangers. And all this to the end that a Bishop might sit with the Prince in a *Junto*, to consult wisely how to preserve him from those people that never meant him any harm, and to secure him from the Sedition and Rebellion of men that seek, nor think, any thing more but to follow their own Religious, Christian Worship. It was indeed as ridiculous a thing to the Pagans to see that work, as it was afterwards in *England* to strangers, where Papists and Protestants went both to wrack at the same instant, in the same market, and when *Erasmus* said wittily, *Quid agitur in Angliâ? Consulitur* he might have added though not so elegantly *Comburitur) de Religione.* Because they knew that Christian Worship was free by Christ's institution, they procured the Magistrate to make Laws in it concerning things unnecessary; As the Heathen Persecutor *Julian* introduced some bordering Pagan Ceremonyes, and arguing with themselves in the same manner as he did, *Soz.* l. 5. c. 16. That *if Christians should obey those Lawes they should be able to bring them about to something further which they had designed. But if they would not, then they might proceed against them without any hope of pardon, as breakers of the Laws of the Empire, and represent them as turbulent and dangerous to the Government.* Indeed, whatsoever the Animadverter saith of the Act of Seditious Conventicles here in *England*, as if it were Anvill'd after another of the *Romane* Senate, the Christians of those Ages,

had

had all the fineſt tooles of Perſecution out of *Julian's* Shop, and ſtudied him then as curiouſly as ſome do now *Machiavel*. Theſe Biſhops it was who, becauſe the Rule of *Chriſt* was incompatible with the Power that they aſſumed, and the Vices they practiſed, had no way to render themſelves neceſſary or tolerable to Princes, but by making true piety difficult, by Innovating Laws to revenge themſelves upon it, and by turning Makebates between Prince and People, inſtilling dangers of which themſelves were the Authors. Hence it is that having awakened this jealouſy once in the Magiſtrate againſt Religion, they made both the Secular and the Eccleſiaſtical Government ſo uneaſy to him, that moſt Princes began to look upon their Subjects as their Enemies, and to imagine a reaſon of State different from the Intereſt of their People: and therefore to weaken themſelves by ſeeking unneceſſary & grievous ſupports to their authority. Whereas if men could have refrain'd this cunning, and from thence forcible, governing of Chriſtianity, leaving it to its own ſimplicity, and due Liberty, but cauſing them in all other things to keep the King's and *Chriſt's* peace among themſelves and towards others, all the ill that could have come of it would have been that ſuch kind of Biſhops ſhould have prov'd leſs implemental, but the good that muſt have thence riſen to the Chriſtian Magiſtrate and the Church, then and ever after, would have been inexpreſſible.

But this diſcourſe having run in a manner wholly upon the Impoſition of Creeds, may ſeem not to concern (and I deſire that it may not reflect upon) our Clergy, nor the Controverſies which have ſo unhappyly vex'd our Church, ever ſince the reign of *Edward* the Sixth unto this day. Only, if there might ſomthing be pick'd out of it towards the Compromiſing of thoſe differences (which I have not from any performance of mine the vanity to imagine) it may have uſe as an Argument *a Majori ad Minus*, their diſputes having riſen only from that of Creeds, ours from the Impoſition only of Ceremonies, which are of much inferior conſideration. Faith being neceſſary, but Ceremonies Deſpenſable. Unleſs our Church ſhould lay the ſame weight upon them as the Animadverter has done thorow his whole Studious Chapter on that Subject, and becauſe p. 34. *this is the time of her ſettlement, that there is a Church at the end of every Mile, that the Sovereign Powers ſpread their wings to cover and protect her, that Kings and Queens are her Nurſing Fathers and Nurſing Mothers, that ſhe hath ſtately Cathedrals*, there be ſo many arguments now to make Ceremonies Neceſſary: which may all be anſwered with one Queſtion that they uſe to ask Children. *Where are you proud?* But I ſhould rather hope from the wiſdom and Chriſtianity of the preſent guides of our Chruch, that they will (after an age and more, after ſo long a time almoſt as thoſe Primitive Biſhops I have ſpoke of, yet ſuffered the *Novatian* Biſhops in every Dioceſs) have mercy on the Nation, that hath been upon ſo ſlender a matter as the Ceremonies and Liturgy ſo long, ſo miſerably haraſs'd. That they will have mercy upon the King, whom they know againſt his natural inclination, His Royal Intention, his many Declarations, they have induced to more Severities, then all the Reigns ſince the Conqueſt will

contain

contain if summ'd up together: who may, as *Constantine* among his Private Devotions put up one Collect to the Bishops. *Euseb.* de vitâ *Const.* c. 70. *Date igitur mihi Dies tranquillos & Noctes curarum expertes.* And it runs thus almost altogether *verbatim* in that Historian. *Grant, most merciful Bishop and Priest that I may have calm days, and nights free from care and molestation, that I may live a peaceable life in all Godlyness and honesty for the future by your good agreement; which unless you vouchsafe me, I shall wast away my Reign in perpetual sadness and vexation. For as long as the people of God stands divided by so unjust and pernicious a Contention, how can it be that I can have any ease in my own Spirit. Open therefore by your good agreement the way to me, that I may continue my Expedition towards the East; and grant that I may see both you and all the rest of my people, having laid aside your animosities, rejoycing together, that we may all with one voice give laud and glory, for the Common good agreement and liberty, to God Almighty for ever.* Amen. But if neither the People, nor his Majesty enter into their consideration. I hope it is no unreasonable request that they will be merciful unto themselves, and have some reverence at least for *the Naked Truth* of History, which either in their own times will meet with them, or in the next age overtake them: That they, who are some of them so old that, as Confessors, they were the Scarrs of the former troubles, others of them so young, that they are free from all the Motives of Revenge and Hatred, should yet joyn in reviving the former persecutions upon the pretences, yea even themselves in a turbulent, military, and uncanonical manner execute Laws of their own procuring, and depute their inferior Clergy to be the Informers. I should rather hope to see not only that Controversy so scandalous abolished, but that also upon so good an occasion as the Author of *the Naked Truth* hath administred them, they will inspect their Clergy, and cause many things to be corrected, which are far more ruinous in the Consequence then the dispensing with a Surplice. I shall mention some too confusedly, as they occur to my Pen, at present, reserving much more for better leasure. Methinks it might be of great edification, that those of them who have ample possessions should be in a good sense. *Multas inter opes inopes.* That they would inspect the Canons of the ancient Councils, where are many excellent ones for the regulation of the Clergy. I saw one, looking but among those of the same Council of *Nice*, against any Bishops removing from a less Bishoprick to a greater, nor that any of the Inferior Clergy should leave a less living for a fatter. That is methinks the most Natural use of General or any Councils to make Canons, as it were By-Laws for the ordering of their own Society, but they ought not to take out, much less forge any Patent to invade and prejudice the Community. It were good that the greater Churchmen relyed more upon themselves, and their own direction, not building too much upon stripling Chaplains: that men may not suppose the Master (as one that has a good Horse or a Fleet-hound) attributes to himself the vertues of his Creature. That they inspect the Morals of the Clergy: the Moral Hereticks, do the Church more harm

then

then all the Non-conformists can do, or can wish it. That before they admit men to subscribe the Thirty nine Articles for a Benefice, they try whether they know the meaning. That they would much recommend to them the reading of the Bible. Tis a very good book, and if a man read it carefully, will make him much wiser. That they would advise them to keep the Sabbath: if there were no morality in the day, yet there is a great deal of prudence in the observing it. That they would instruct those that came for Holy Orders and Livings, that it is a terrible vocation they enter upon, but that has indeed the greatest reward. That to gain a Soul is beyond all the acquists of Traffick, and to convert an Atheist more glorious then all the Conquests of the Souldier. That, betaking themselves to this Spiritual Warfare, they ought to disintangle from the World. That they do not ride for a Benefice as if it were for a Fortune or a Mistress, but there is more in it. That they take the Ministry up not as a Trade, and, because they have heard of *Whittington*, in expectation that the Bells may so chime that they come in their turns to be Lord Mayors of *Lambeth*. That they make them understand, as well as they can, what is the Grace of God. That they do not come into the Pulpit too full of Fustian or Logick, a good life is a Clergy man's best Syllogism, and the quaintest Oratory: and till they out-live 'm they will never get the better of the Fanaticks, nor be able to preach with Demonstration of Spirit or with any effect or Authority. That they be Lowly minded, and no Railers.

And particularly, that the Archdeacon of *Canterbury* being in ill humor upon account of his *Ecclesiastical Policy*, may not continue to revenge himself upon the innocent *Walloons* there, by ruining their Church which subsists upon the Ecclesiastical Power of His Majesty and so many of His Royal Predecessors.

But these things require greater Time, and to enumerate all that is amiss, might perhaps be as endless as to number the People: nor are they within the ordinary sphære of my Capacity, and our Exposer will think I have forgot him, I shall take my leave of him for the present, being only troubled to find out a Complement for so civil a Person. It must be thus.

I will not say as *Popilius* said to *Antiochus*, nor as *Demosthenes* said to *Eschines*, nor as the most Learned *P. Ærodius*, or the Jesuite *Gaspar Schottus* said to the Animadverter, nor as *Dolubella* said to *Cicero*, nor as the Christian *Cicero* said to the *English* Parliament, nor as the *Roman* Centurion said to the *Roman* Ensign: but I will say somthing like what *Leonas* (that presided from *Constantius* at the Council at *Seleucia*, when they made an endless Disputing to no purpose) said to them: not, *Abite igitur & in Ecclesia nugas agite*, but, good Mr. Exposer, what do you Loytering like an idle Schollar, and Animadverting here in Town? get you home again, or it were better for you, and Expose and Animadvert, as long as you will, at your own Colledg.

But as to a new Book fresh come out, Intitled, *the Author of the Naked Truth*

*Truth stripp'd Naked* ( to the *Fell*, or to the skin ) that Hieroglyphical Quibble of the *Great Gunn*, on the Title Page, will not excuse Bishop *Gunning*. For his Sermon is still expected.

But to the Judicious and Serious Reader, to whom I wish any thing I have said, may have given no unwelcom entertainment, I shall only so far justify my self, that I thought it no less concerned me to vindicate the Laity from the Impositions that the *Few* would force upon them, then him to defend those Impositions on behalf of the Clergy. And moreover I judged my self most proper for the work, it not being fit that so slight a Pamphlet as his should be answered by any Man of great abilities. For the rest I take *the Naked Truth* to have been part of that effect which Reverend Mr. H*ooker* foretold. *Præf.* to *Eul. Policy*, p. 10. The *time will come when Three words, uttered with Charity and Meekness, shall receive a far more blessed reward, then Three thousand Volumes writen with disdainful sharpness of Wit.* And I shall conclude with him in his close. *I trust in the Almighty that with us Contentions are now at the highest float, and that the day will come ( for what cause is there of Dispair )* when *the Passions of former enmity being allaid, men shall with ten times redoubled tokens of unfainedly reconciled Love, shew themselves each to other the same which* Joseph *and the Brethren of* Joseph *were at the time of their Enterview in* Egypt. And upon this condition, *let my Book also* ( yea my self if it were needful ) *be burnt by the hand of the*, Animadverter.

*F I N I S.*

*Interest will not Lie.*

Or, a View of

# ENGLAND'S True Interest:

In reference to the
- PAPIST,
- ROYALIST,
- PRESBYTERIAN,
- BAPTISED,
- NEUTER,
- ARMY,
- PARLIAMENT,
- City of LONDON.

In refutation of a treasonable Pamphlet, entituled,

*The Interest of England stated.*

Wherein the Author of it pretends to discover a way, how to satisfie all Parties before-mentioned, and provide for the Publick Good, by calling in the Son of the late King, *&c.*

Against whom it is here proved, That it is really the Interest of every Party (except only the *Papist*) to keep him out: And whatever hath been objected by Mr *William Pryn*, or other Malcontents, in order to the restoring of that Family, or against the legality of this Parliament's sitting, is here answer'd by Arguments drawn from Mr *Baxter's* late Book called *A Holy Commonwealth*, for the satisfaction of them of the *Presbyterian* way; and from Writings of the most learned *Royalists*, to convince those of the *Royal Party*.

By *MAR. NEDHAM.*

*London*, Printed by *Tho. Newcomb*, dwelling over-against *Bainards-Castle* in *Thames-street*. 1659.

# *Interest will not lie:*

# Or, A View of *ENGLAND'S* True Interest, *&c.*

## *The Preamble.*

IT is a Maxim among Politicians, That *Interest will not lie*: Which prudential saying hath a twofold sense, the improving whereof is very useful to a man, either in the conduct of his own Affairs, or in discerning the conduct and end of the Affairs and enterprises of other men. One sense of it may be this; That if you can apprehend wherein a man's Interest to any particular Game on foot doth consist, you may surely know, if the man be prudent, whereabout to have him, that is, how to judge of his designe: For, which way soever you foresee his Interest doth in prudence dispose him, that way (provided he be so wise as to understand his own Concernment) he will be sure to go, and so his Interest (provided also, that in your calculation thereof you be not mistaken) *will not lie* to you, it will not deceive you in your judgement concerning the mans Intents and Proceedings.

The other sense of that Maxim is, That if a man state his own Interest aright, and keep close to it, *it wil not lie to him* or deceive him, in the prosecution of his Aims and ends of Good unto himself, nor suffer him to be misled or drawn aside by specious pretences, to serve the ends and purposes of other men.

This being so, and Designs being now generally laid to engage the People a new in blood and confusion, and this fawning Pamphlet having for the same cause been dispersed throughout the Three Nations, it was necessary for the right information of our Countrimen of all Parties, to give them a view of their true Interests, for fear lest by this and the other treasonable Papers which fly up and down, or through the slie insinuations and perswasions of cunning men, any one Party should happen to be seduced from a right understanding of their Interest at such a time as this, and imbarque themselves for the Interest of a Publick Enemy, upon supposition of attaining thereby their own and the Publick welfare; Therefore give me leave to trace and overtake the Deceiver (I mean this Author) in his own Method; in the prosecution whereof I shall endeavor to manifest, That as it is a main Point of Interest among the *Grandee-Cavaliers* both here and beyond sea, by spreading Libels, false Rumors, fair Promises, subtile Arguments of Perswasion, and all other waies imaginable, to rub

mens discontents, and bewitch their senses, that they may not be able to discern their own Concernments; So, on the other side, We who are the People, of all Parties, considering that those *Cavalier-Grandees* are concerned to draw us in (if they can) to do their drudgery in War at the hazard of our Necks; ought to conceive it a principal part of our Interest to understand theirs and not to suffer our selves to be *trepann'd* by fine pretences and devices, to venture our own bloods, and shed the blood of others, for the erecting of their greatness upon our own particular and the general Ruine. – And because this *Author* saith one thing well, *That the real good of the Nation consists not in the private benefit of single men, but the advantage of the Publick, and that it is made up, not by the welfare of any one Party, but of all*; Therefore when I have made it appear, by scanning the Interests and Concernments of all Parties among us, that no one party, no, not the *Royalists* themselves (except only the *Papist*) can hope for any good by the restitution of *Charls Stuart*, but must necessarily partake in the common calamity as well as others, then I suppose the Conclusion will naturally follow: *That it is the Interest of all to keep him out.*

## SECTION I.

### *Of the* Papist, *whom our Author calls by the more splendid name of* Roman Catholick.

HIs words are these. [*'Tis the Interest of the Roman Catholicks to bring in the King; for by that means the heavy paiments now on their estates, with other burthens, will be taken off: And as to the pressures of Penal Laws, they cannot but remember how far from grievous they were in the late Kings time, the Catholicks living here notwithstanding them, in more flourishing condition than those of* France, Italy, *or* Spain *did, under their respective Princes; and would do infinitely more under their natural King, than if any Foreiner should acquire the Power by Conquest: Besides, they generally having adhered to the late King in his Wars, have no reason to distrust a favorable treatment from his Son.*

'Tis well done of our Author to speak out; and what he saith, we will easily grant; for the Papists cannot deny their own Interest so far as not to endevour by all means imaginable to restore the Son, who hath made as fair professions to the Pope as ever the Father did, and no doubt he would

(were

(were he restored) as really perform them. We cannot forget what Transactions passed betwixt his Father and the Court of *Rome*, at the time of his being in *Spain*, and what a Letter of assurance he then wrote to his Holines; nor how both the Father and Grandfather betrayed the Protestan Cause in *Germany*, *France*, and all over the world; and how that to make way for Popery, Superstition was countenanced, Papists preferred to greatest places of Trust, and were in greatest credit at Court, while the best sort of Professors were forced to quit the Nation, and retire into wildernesses in another world: But to encourage Papists, they (as our Author saith) *had all burthens taken away from them, and lived here in a more flourishing condition than those of* France, Italy, *or* Spain, *did in their own countries.* He doth well also to remember us, how close they stuck to the late King in his wars; and we cannot forget that they had reason, considering how close he stuck to them. They know how it came about, that some Hundred thousands of Protestants were by unheard of and most inhumane butcheries offered up in sacrifice to the grand Idol of the Popish Interest in *Ireland*; and all the world knows, the Papists had and openly declared and shewed they had, a Commission for what they did there, and that it was transmitted thither vnder the great Seal of *Scotland*, yea and every one knows or hath heard, who was in person there at the time of its issuing forth, and had custody of the Seal of that Kingdom in his own hands. And after those barbarous Rebels of *Ireland* had in cruelty out-acted all the Monsters of former Ages, my Lord of *Ormond* can tell you, who it was that did as openly own them for what they had done, and sollicited them to send six thousand of those Vilans into *England* against the Parliament, and Supplies into *Scotland*, and impowered him the said *Ormond* to give them all manner of Assurances, save only that he would not yield they should have liberty of making Appeals to *Rome*, because it would have intrenched upon his Regal interest and prerogative; but as for the interest and honor of God and Religion, that he let go, and sent particular Thanks to *Brown Muskerry* and *Plunket*, desperate Rebels) for their good services who had been the chief Actors in that horrid Massacre. And if *Ormond* will not acknowledge these things, 'tis well we have the Letters to produce which were written to him by that Royal hand, and found in his Cabinet taken at the Battel of *Naisby*.

The Papists therefore having had so fair a Creature of the Father, we shal yield likewise (for many reasons) that they have no cause to fear foul dealing from the Son; a Gentleman of as good a nature towards them as the Sire was! For, they ought not to forget, and they of the Scotish Nation cannot chuse but with sorrow remember, what a woful Convert they had of him, when being after his Father's death in the Isle of *Jersey* they invited him out of the very arms (as I may say) of the Irish Rebels, among whom he was then ready to go, having strook up a Bargain with them, and sent his goods beforehand by sea to *Kinsale*, with intent immediatly to have followed them:

them. As for his Religion (if any) it is at best, you know, but a devotion to Prelacy (which was bequeathed to him in Legacy) for, he forfeited all his Coronation Oaths and Protestations to the *Scots* Nation, with all his other pretences of Religion there, before ever he left that Country. What profession he hath since owned abroad, hath (for Reason of State) been kept very close, and yet not so close, but he discovered it, when visiting one of the English Jesuits Colledges in *Flanders*, the shewing him in their Chappel the Effigies of several good Fathers of that house which had been Sainted at *Tyborne*, he pulled his Hat over his eyes, and turned aside to the Wall. But if this be not evident, let us have recourse to reason, and then consider how long he was under the wing of his Mothers Instructions in *France*, and what a Nursery *Flanders* hath been for him since, which is the most Jesuited place in the World; consider also the urgency of his necessities disposing him to imbrace any thing, or take any course to get a Crown, being under the same influence of that wandring Star called *Ragione di Stato*, as was his Grand-father *Henry* the Fourth of *France*, who shifted his Religion to secure a Crown, and chose rather *to hazard his portion in Paradice, than his Palace in Paris* (which some say were his own very words;) but to these considerations take along with you the yong Mans intercourse with, obligation to, dependance upon forein Preists and Papists; his frequent known applications and promises to the Pope by special Agents employed to *Rome* for that purpose, and to the Emperor, as well as the *Spaniard*; his Alliance to, and combination with him and other Popish Princes (especially those of the *Austrian* party) being put altogether into the ballance, are ground enough to believe him sufficiently affected, if not sworn to Popery. —— These things (we say) being considered, we are easily of the same opinion with our Author: That it is absolutely the interest of the *Roman* Catholick party to restore him, and see him setled in that absolute domination over *England*, which was the grand project of the Court, and for the attaining whereof, his Father first laid the foundation of our Civil Wars. Which being evidently the true interest of the Papists in respect to him, we cannot be-lie them, when we say, It is that which they and their forein Friends do make their great business to bring about, and so we know where to have them; on the other side, seeing that in reverence to the principles and practises, both of his Father and Mother, and in respect to the Obligations he hath to the whole Popish party for his Bread, he is concerned to retain them as the best and surest Friends (and the old Friends) of his Family, we do not be-lie him, if we conclude, that no party in *England* can expect any other thing by his restitution, but that they all must be always truckling under the Papist, to the extream hazard of the Reformed Religion professed now with all freedom here among us; so that we should absolutely be-lie our own Interest, and deceive our selves, if we would (which God forbid) give ear to *the Royal Charmer, charm he never so wisely.*

SECT.

# SECT. II.

## *Of the Royalist.*

OUr Authors words are these: [ *The Royalist and English Protestant, besides that his Principles oblige him chearfully to pay his obedience where it is due, and look no further, is likewise by his Interest concerned to be content with such a restitution of the King, as alloweth no private reparations for past sufferings, they thereby acquiring full possession of what remains; and as the settlement of the Nation would make the smallest estate more advantageous than the greatest would be, acquired by violence, which unavoidably would defeat all terms of Union, and involve the Nation in new Wars; so likewise, if the necessary parts of their way of worship be secured, other circumstantial things will be easily settled by a fair and amicable Treaty.* ]

Before we proceed, let us animadvert a little upon particular expressions in this Paragraph By his joyning the word *Royalist and English Protestants*, he intimateth, as if none were good Protestants but Royalists: and truly this is generally the phantasie of that party, who look upon all others with an evil eye, as Hereticks and Schismaticks.

And whereas he saith, *The Royalists principles oblige him chearfully to pay obedience where it is due*, this toucheth upon a new question, intimating that he oweth not obedience to the present power, which doctrine, having been hotly banded heretofore, this is no place to dispute about, and therefore I refer the Reader to another piece, which will shortly come forth, one part whereof will be to confirm the point of Subjection, though the duenes ther of to the present Powers hath been formerly proved, both by reason and by testimonies drawn from the most eminent Penmen of all parties, whereby all Objections (as to our present case) have been abundantly answered.

Another expression is, *That an estate acquired by violence, will unavoidably defeat all terms of Union, and involve the Nation in new Wars.* If so, then by telling the people so, he spoils the design of his Pamphlet which is to raise the Countrey; for, what man will be so mad as to run into arms, by violence to instate *Charls Stuart*? seeing by consequence it would (as our Author foretells) sow everlasting seeds of disunion and civil War among us? It is plain enough to be foreseen, and it concerns us to believe the Gentleman, rather than make the experiment.

Another

Another word is, *Necessary parts of Worship*; these he would have secured, and what the Royalist esteems necessary in matter of worship, we all know, even nothing less than the old Prelatick Hierarchy with all its dependants; and the question then is, Whether in conclusion, the Episcopal Lands and Revenues would not after a short space be required, as the principal *medium* for the maintenance of that worship. In the mean while, he a little after doth as good as tell us, that the old Church Government must be resetled.

The last expression which we take notice of, doth concern the Royalist himself, who is told that in the restitution of the *Stuarts*, *He is not to look for any reparations for past sufferings*; and truly herein he may believe our Author upon his word, without an Oath, or long discourse to convince him: However, because the poor Royalist hopes to reap a great harvest by the Regal Restitution, it will not be amiss to give him a little eye-salve, that he may be able more clearly to discern his own condition.

The Royalists are of two sorts, first, such as adhere to *Charls* out of *necessity*; secondly, such as adhere to him out of *humor*. The former are those, who being hopeless of a return, or of the recovery of their Fortunes by way of reconcilement, are constrained to run any hazard abroad with the head of their party; and therefore would turn every stone to over-turn the present power of the Commonwealth that they may set up themselves. The latter sort of Royalists are such, who though they served heretofore under the Royal Standard, yet through favor of the Parliament have regained possession of their Estates, and equal immunities with the rest of the people save onely that they are not yet thought capable of publick Trusts in great Offices, or to sit in Parliament, but otherwise they enjoy the full benefit of that Oblivion which the Parliament gave, in hope thereby to oblige them. These may (not improperly) be called *humorous Royalists*, because they have onely an obstinate and vainglorious humor for the ground of their behavior, without any possibility of advantage thereby unto themselves, but are ridden by the other sort, to carry on the *High-boy* design of particular persons. These, to restore the single Family of a Prince, cast out by a wonderful hand of providence, seem willing to hazard the ruine of all their own Families, and to serve the ends of certain persons about him (men whose fortunes are desperate) they are ready to fool themselves into a loss of their own, as certainly they will, if *Charls* miscarry in his enterprise, whereas on the other side, if he should carry it with success, they will be then but where they were, they can be but masters of what they have already; for this Trumpet to Rebellion hath already proclaimed it in his Pamphlet, *That they must not look for reparations for past sufferings*, and so though they should help to restore him, yet they must not expect to mend their Fortunes. The *High-Rantors* and *Fugitives* are they that shall be looked on at Court, those *Bell-weathers of Royalty will bear away the Bell of preferment*, whilst the poor *Country Royalists* (both Gentry

Gentry and Yeomen) shall be glad to drudge and plow, to pay the yet unknown taxations which must needs be established to satisfie the *Forlorn Brethren of the Sword*, and the *Grandees* of the party, and finally be entailed upon the whole English posterity, to maintain the pomp and pride of a luxurious Court, and an absolute Tyrannie. Which being considered, it is a wonder to see how they feed themselves with phantsies, who pretend to his restauration, supposing that the *golden Age* must needs return again with him, whereas (alas!) they will be but made use of as the *Cat's paw* was, *to pick the chestnuts out of the fire* for the service of the *Monkey*. This being so, and seeing they have beforehand been told so in print by this *Royal Advocate*, certainly we may conclude, it is the true Interest of the great Body of those, who please themselves with the repute of *Royalists* in this Nation by all means to leave the *High-boys* and *Fugitives* to themselves, and avoid those Insinuations which are contrived by them, and preached by their Clergie, to draw them into Rebellion, and from thence into the net of new Compositions or rather total Confiscations. They cannot but remember, how signally God hath blasted that Family, and all their Insurrections, from time to time! Put case they should be so mad as to stir again yet what can be done by unweildy Bodies of raw men, taken from the streets the Alehouse, the Plough and the Harrow, rude and unacquainted with Military discipline, against a well disciplined Army of old Soldiers? Remember what became of those vast numbers *Anno* 1648. in *Kent* and *Essex*, &c. how quickly they flockt together like sheep, yet when upon the advance of our Soldiery, they saw there was danger of being had to the slaughter, with the same quickness they dispersed themselves, and after a weeks airing found it was their Interest, and the wisest way to return to their Beef and Bacon. And if the Gentlemen Royalists should venture to make another experiment with them, what can they in reason expect in the end, but an execution of the Law upon their persons, and the destruction of their families? Such *broken reeds* as popular Commotions, if ye lean upon them, 'tis a thousand to one but they fail you; consult Histories, and you shall alwaies find it so; whereas if ye mind your true Interest, that will neither fail you, nor deceive you. The Royalists (we know) are persons generally so ingenuous as to understand that every man hath a little Commonwealth within himself, and that the Affairs thereof he is naturally obliged to look unto, by vertue of that duty which he oweth to himself and his neer Relations; and they cannot but know likewise, that if the great Commonwealth or Body politick happen by Providence to be established in a new form otherwise then they think it should be, as it is in such a case but folly to imbroil their Country, and engage all that is dear to them for the old form, which is in it self a mere shadow, and like a shadow gone away; so 'tis but vain for them to scruple a submission or adherence to the new, upon pretence of obligations to the old by Oath, because all *Casuists* who write touching Cases of Conscience, yea, their own Doctor *Sanderson* (a

 most

most learned man ) in his Book *de Juramento*, will tell them, that if they find a Government altered, and another power in possession of it, they, being private men, are bound to submit to the present Powers, because ordained of God ( for such the Apostle hath declared all Powers in being whatsoever to be ) and that the former Government ceasing, which was the object of obedience, the Obligation thereunto must of necessity cease likewise, whatever Mr. *Pryn* prattles to the contrary : For, no man can be concerned in any respect or relation to that which is not ; and so when a thing cannot be done, the Obligation to it must needs be void ( as their *Doctor* saith ) *Ex Impossibilitate Facti*. Tis high time then for them to lay aside discontents and frivolous pretences ; and to observe their true Interest, as persons conscientiously concerned to doe it, in respect to all manner of Relations both private and publick ; This is the way to secure themselves in their possessions, and after they have manifested repentance of pasts Follies, to introduce them into an equal participation of Priviledges with others in this state of Freedom ; which will however render their posterity happy, though the Parents in a pettish humor, should alwaies look on it with an eye of disdain and prejudice : But if at length they would lay aside animosities, and seek peace and ensue it, then the State not being constrained to keep up Forces at so vast a Charge to watch over them in their designes, the publick necessities would soon weare off, and with them the greatest part of our Burthens, and themselves might perhaps live to see that happiness which they would not believe, but might have sooner enjoyed, if they had not been so obstinate against Reason, and the Peace of their native Country.

But if for all this, they shall stand up and say, They cannot be satisfied without Episcopal government : They may talk what they will, yet there being no visible footstep in Scripture of its institution, more than there is of the other waies of Government practised by others, why should wise men contend for that as divine, which is merely prudential? seeing the late King pleaded conscience for his insisting to maintain it, only upon this account, that he was sworn to do so, and we saw he did his utmost for it ; which when he had done, then, seeing the necessity of Affairs required the abolition of it, he in the Isle of *Wight*-Treaty became content it should be abolished ; to let his Friends see, that having done what he could to preserve it, the thing it self was of no such sacred Authority, but that it might be cashiered by Authority when prudence did require it to be done. And therefore our Author likewise, having a point of prudence to dispatch, which is, to hedge in the *Presbyterian* to his *Royall* party, he also makes the divine darling of *Episcopacie* a mere prudential matter, to be dismissed as his Masters occasion shall require, that so the Royal Cause being to be swallowed, it may go gently down with the Presbyter, and not offend his tender stomack. Upon this account, *pag.* 3. he tells his brother-Royalists, *it will be difficult to set up the primitive Government of the Church*

(so

so he calls Episcopacie,) *at least in its full height, because against so great a multitude of eager dissenters, according to probability it will not stand.* Therefore *pag.* 11. he inviteth the *Presbyterians* to an Accommodation, telling them, the differences are *speculative, and that their Contests with the Episcopal Divines are in the opinion of moderate men of either judgment, easily attoned.* Now if the Divines of both parties shall by consent accommodate and complie with each other, (which appears to be one part of the present designe for bringing in *Charls Stuart*) what else do they both thereby but plainly confess, that the Frames they have so long contended for are but political, and liable to alteration as prudence shall direct? Seeing then, that the Royalists obligation to the old State, whether Ecclesiastical or Civil, is wholly defunct, and that the generalitie of them may much sooner marr their own condition, by endevoring to bring *Charls* in, than mend it, and that other things of Church and State are above their sphere (as private men) to meddle with, what remains, but that they look through the Grandees Interest, which is merely to draw them in, and pursue their own Interest only in subserviencie to the Publick; which is not to be done but by preserving the Peace, and that cannot be otherwise than by a cordial uniting with us, to shut all the dores of hope against him that would come in to disturb the Nation, and make all things worse; as I shall sufficiently shew in the ensuing parts of this Discourse.

## SECT. III.

## *Of the Presbyterian.*

OUr Authors words are these: [*It is the Presbyterians Interest to bring in* C. Stuart, *as the only way to preserve himself from ruine at the hands of those lesser Parties that have grown up under him, who utterly oppose all Government in the Church.*]

These are good words; and if we consider the present carriage of the Presbyterian Ministers in *Lancashire*, who are blowing the Trompet to Rebellion in those Northern parts, we may say they are so mad as to believe our Author, that their joining with and for the Interest of *C. Stuart*, is the way to preserve themselves from ruine But because there are many sober and pious men of that partie in these Nations, who as yet stand clear from the imputation of this foul design, therefore lest any should be tainted by the infection of that ill example of their *Lancashire* brethren, to imbarque with the *Royalists*, give me leave to lay before them several Considerations, to manifest, that by such an imbarquement, a certain ruine must ensue to

 their

their way and party, in case that ejected Family should by their means be enabled to return.

First, As to your way of Church-government, it is a thing the Royalists will hiss at after you have served their turns. For our Author himself cannot hold, but in the midst of all his printed Courtships and Complements, he lets slip these words, which (if you please) you may read *Page* 5.

[*The Presbyterians aim of setting up his Discipline hath several inconveniences; for, besides that it's rise must be the overthrow of all other parties, which are more considerable in the Nation than themselves, that rigid Government no way complies with the genius of the Nation, nor the frame of our Municipal Laws; which the late King was well aware of, when he conceded to the setting of it up for three years, being fully satisfied, how effectual an argument the experience of that short time would be, to perswade the Nation to endure so galling and heavy a yoke no longer.*]

If this be the Royalists opinion (as you see it is) how can ye cotton together? What can you of the Presbyterian judgment expect but certain ruine to your way, and your persons by such a clenching and closure with inconsistent principles? Whereas, those that he calls *the lesser parties which have grown up under you*, have hitherto allowed the men of your way as great a freedom as they do enjoy themselves, and have admitted you to an equal participation with others, of that grand priviledge, *Liberty of Conscience*, which (however some of you may flatter your selves) ye can never enjoy under a sort of people, that will never be at rest without a *Ranting Episcopacie*.

Secondly, Consider the animosity naturally inherent in the Royal party, and their Head, against you. They will never leave buzzing in his eares to quicken his memorie, that the Interest of your party was in its infancie founded in *Scotland* upon the ruine of his great Grandmother, continued and improved by the perpetual vexation of his Grandfather, and at length prosecuted to the decapitating of his Father. Be not so weak as to sooth your selves, that you shall fare better than others, because you never opposed this young Gentlemans person: It is ground sufficient for his hatred, that you bandied against his Father, and the Prerogative, to which he conceives himself Heir; and to hate you the more, because the making good of promises to you would be the clipping of that Prerogative. It is the common sence of the Cavaliers, that you prepared his Father for the Block, and are incensed at others because they took from you the honor of the Execution: And in a Fast Sermon preached upon the news of his death before his Son, then at the *Hague*, Dr. *Creigheon* told him, *That the Presbyterians pulled his Father down and held him by the hair, while the Independents cut off his head:* And after him, it was more elegantly expressed by

*Salmasius*

*Salmasius* in his *Defensio Regia*; *Presbyteriani sacrificium ligârunt, Independentes jugulârunt.* Nor will he count your party any whit the less guilty for your hypocritical protesting against the death of his Father, seeing in Sermons printed several years before, you declared him over and over to be *a Man of Blood*; The Scotish Ministers printed it, that he had *shed more in these three Nations, than was shed in the Ten Christian Persecutions*; and upon the same account, Mr. *Love* proclaimed in the pulpit at *Uxbridge Treaty*, That no Peace ought to be had with him. It was your partie that reduced him *(diminutione capitis)* into the condition of a Captive; and the Cavaliers say, You unking'd him, you deprived him of his earthly Crown and kept him languishing, whereas (they say) others were more courteous in sending him to an heavenly. In short, you brought him (as it were) to the foot of the Scaffold, whoever led him up. Now trie the Cavaliers courtesie, if ye please, you that have fought and preached against them; but remember this (though I trust ye shall never have occasion) that when time serves, the Philosophers Maxim will prove good Logick at Court, *Qui vult media ad finem, vult etiam & ipsum finem*; *He that willeth the means conducing to the end, willeth also the end itself.* *Ergo* (will the Courtiers say) seeing the Presbyterians did put such Courses in practise as tended to the Kings ruine, they certainly intended it, and are as deep in it as others. I wish you may understand rather then feel, what Conclusions will be drawn by them against you, from that Act of Justice.

Thirdly consider, that as he hath a most particular Antipathie against your party, as the old enemies of his Family; so, with what promises soever he may sooth you, yet you, of all other men, have least reason to trust him: Had not your party in *Scotland* an experiment, when they entertained him there, how little conscience he made of all his promises, and how (in a trice) he shuffled out your Presbyterian Interest in that Nation, and turn'd up Trump, the Cavalier. But that you may take a compleat view of both his Faith and affection toward you and your party, give me leave to refresh your memories with a little History, to prove him one of whom you can take no hold, by any Oaths, Promises, or Engagements whatsoever.

Take him before he went to *Scotland*, and the first place you have cause to observe him in, was in the Isle of *Jersey*. Being there, the Presbyterians of *Scotland*, by the consent and concurrence of the principal of their party in *England*, made application to him, and it was declared a Treaty should be held at *Breda* betwixt them, which by an Express he signified to the Presbyterians in *Scotland*; nevertheless at the very same time, he privately sent away another Express to *Montrose*, requiring him to go on vigorously with his designed Invasion of *Scotland* against the same Presbyterians, because at the same time likewise he was trucking with the Rebels of *Ireland*, hoping by their friendship to have made his way into *England* without the Presbyterian shackle at his heels. Yea, and that you may see,

how

how hereditarily he hated the Presbyterian Intereſt and partie, he went far higher than ever his Father had done in expreſſions of hatred: For, he continued utterly averſe from Treating in good earneſt with the Presbyterian *Scots* and their friends, as long as he had any the leaſt hopes of effecting his buſineſs by *Ireland*, chuſing rather to have made an open Contract with thoſe barbarous Rebels (into whoſe country he had already transported his goods, and intended himſelf to follow) rather than want executioners of his revenge againſt the godly of all opinions (whom he equally detefted) in *England* and *Scotland*: But at length, perceiving a fairer way paved for him by *Scotland*, he did then (but would never till then) relinquiſh the Iriſh, and ſeemed to cloſe with the Engliſh and Scotiſh Presbyterians in the Treaty concluded at *Breda*. —— Now conſider, that as he never cloſed with them till his Iriſh hopes were blown over, ſo being brought into *Scotland* by pure neceſſitie, he would do nothing there but what the ſame neceſſitie conſtrained him to, as appeared by his refuſing to ſigne the Declaration of Kirk and State, till the Lord *Loudoun* the Chancellor told him plainly in a Letter written to him (which in thoſe daies was printed) that they would abandon and give him over except he ſubſcribed. Hereupon, he began to acknowledge and condole the ſins of his Family, *&c.* and to perſonate all that hypocrytical mockery of Repentance which followed after, and took the *Solemn League and Covenant*, when at the ſame time his Counſels were privately and wholly ſet for the deſtruction of the *Covenant* and all its Abettors. For, no ſooner had he taken up that Viſor, but immediately, the Kirk-partie loſing the Battel at *Dunbar*, he laid it aſide again, and began openly to play his own game, rejoicing at their defeat, and preſently endevored to give them the ſlip, and run away to the Cavalier-partie, then up in the North of *Scotland*; wherein being prevented of his deſigne by force, his next refuge was, *Divide & Impera*, dividing the Preſbyterian partie of *Scots* both in Kirk and State, the moſt conſiderable whereof he overawed, or allured into his partie, ſo that the moſt conſcientious among them were forced to declare againſt his proceedings, and retire in diſcontent, and divers others were caſhiered, both of Kirk, State, and Army, to make room for the moſt notorious Cavaliers and Malignants; whereupon in a ſhort time, it was counted little other than Sedition and Treaſon, to preach up thoſe very Principles that their King had ſworne to in the Covenant and his Coronation Oath; and ſo by this means, immediately the Cavaliers had all that he held in *Scotland* at their own devotion. In theſe lines view his picture and ſee how you like him, concerning whom it was neceſſarie to be thus particular, in giving you his Inſide outward, that thereby it may be ſeen, the Complexion of his Soul is not different from that of his Body, and what confidence is to be placed by you, upon any Terms, in ſuch a one, who can break aſunder the ſtrongeſt Ties of Faith, Oaths, Promiſes and Engagements, as ſo many ſtraws and ruſhes.

Truſt him then, if ye pleaſe, and bring him in if ye dare, that by new Experiments,

periments, to your own sorrow and Confusion, ye may learn, when it is too late, that it was your true Interest as Presbyterians, by all means to keep him out of the Nation. I speak not this to the grave and pious men of that way ( in which there are many such ) but to the *Heady Hot-spurs* ( of which sort there are too many ) ready to imbarque themselves upon mistaken grounds, and run blindfold to destruction

Tis reported, that Conscience is now pleaded again by vertue of the *Covenant*, which they say doth ( together with the *Oath of Allegiance* ) oblige them to the late King and his heirs. I shall not ( because here I affect brevity ) say any thing now concerning the main Question of the Obligation of both, but must refer you to what is said before to the *Royalist* touching this ; but because they will needs talk of the *Covenant* again, and our *Cavalier Author* presseth it also upon them, let me have leave to add one word more, to stop their mouths for ever anent the *Covenant* : It is pure matter of Fact that shall convince them. In the daies of the late Protector *Oliver*, but more industriously and remarkably in the time of the late Protector *Richard*, did the principal men ( both *Clergie* and *Laity* ) of the Presbyterian party, in City and Country make most solemne Addresses, to declare their Subjection, Submission, Allegiance, to the Government of Father and Son, and that they would live and die for it, adding their Prayers for all manner of Benedictions upon them, which is a matter I can affirm of my own knowledge. Now pray you let us reason a little upon this : When ye made those Addresses, either the obligation of the *Covenant* to old *Charls* and his heirs did remain in force at the same time, or it did not ; If it did remain in force, the question is, with what conscience ye could suspend the obligatory power of it, and make so serious professions (using the name of God and so much Scripture phrase) to bind your selves in a Bond of Allegiance to a new Prince and Family ? If it did not remain in force toward *Charls* at that time, then we would faine know, how it, and your other Oaths (as to the obligatory power of them ) could die or take a nap for five or six years, and at the six years end revive, and stand in full force and vertue again for the *Stuarts* against the present Parliament ; sure nothing less then a magical Spel can conjure up that *Covenant* after it hath been so long dead, and make a goblin of it, to fright men out of their wits, and from their duty ; there must needs be some inchantment or mystery in the business and there is no way to unriddle it with the saving of your credit ; for, wise men now plainly see there must be little of Conscience, but much of the Party and Faction in any future pretence or Plea drawn from the *Covenant* for quarreling at this Parliament ; because if you could dispence with it for a closing with the Protector, you may by the same Reason as well do it to close with the present Power (for ought that the *Covenant*, in respect of the *Stuarts* can oblige to the contrary) seeing the Interest of the Protector as absolutely led him to an exclusion of the former Family, as the Interest of this Parliament (and indeed of the whole Nation) doth to

an

an utter abjuration of it for ever. Thus the matter of Fact being clear, and the Inference upon it, I see no excuse, no hole that ye have to shift out at, but one, and that is, by saying that when ye so highly addressed your selves to the last Protector, ye did it in word, but in deed ye reserved your hearts for *C. Stuart*. How can this stand with the reverend reputation of such men as Mr. *Baxter*? who, as the other eminent Ministers addressed personally in a Body, so he in print (in the Epistle Dedicatory to the last Protector before his *Disputations of Church-Government*) concluded himself, after all other Complements, *A faithful Subject of your Highnes, &c.* And yet the same Mr. *Baxter* in his late Book entituled, *A Holy Commonwealth*, hath the confidence to insist upon the *Covenant*, and though therein he pleads not positively for *Charls Stuart*, yet in many places of it we see which way he looks, he doth that which is equivalent thereto: He disowned the pretended Covenant obligation to *Charls*, by addressing himself to *Richard*; but when a third Power comes in play, then the Covenant comes up again for *Charls*. The only evasion then which they and he can have, must be but a miserable one, *viz.* That when they owned the Protector, they did it not really, but only (as a pious fraud) out of some design they had thereby to make way for his Rival, the other Single person; and truly, that would be most miserable hypocrisie, to let the world see they can play fast and loose with Oaths and Covenants, take them up and let them fall, as may best fit their ends and purposes: God forbid they should so debauch the reverence of their Function, as to shake hands with the *Jesuite* before all the people, in the odious principle of *Equivocating and mental Reservation!* But we have cause to expect better things from the generality of that party (both Ministers and people) who being men of piety and prudence, cannot but condemn the practices of such as have shewn themselves extravagant in the present dawnings of a new day of Rebellion, and must needs see, that if it prosper, whatever the pretences of the Ringleaders be at first, (fair and plausible) yet of necessity the issue at last must be this, that the Game will be plaid wholly into the hands of him, who is the Head of your scorne Enemies, from whose fury and revenges you have no way to secure your party, but by keeping him out of the Dominion; which cannot otherwise be done, than by a cordial close with this Parliament, under whom you possess so large immunities and enjoiments; their Authority being the onely visible Fence against the others tyrannie: And if you please to strengthen their hands, you will shorten their work, and enable them speedily to settle a Real State of Freedom to your selves, and others, and transmit the same by a happy succession of Parliaments to posterity.

SECT.

# SECT. IV.

## *Of the Baptised.*

THe words of our Author concerning them, are these, [*As to the Interest of the Baptised Churches, their pretensions of throwing down all other parties not being feizable, it is their Concern to acquiesce in the most moderate Church-Government, which is certainly the Episcopal, &c.*]

For answer to this, Pray you remember onely, how moderate and tame a Government the Episcopal was, and how *gently it dealt with tender consciences*, and men of different judgments, and then consider, what may be expected for the future by you, against whom (of all other parties) the late King and his Prelacy did manifest (when time was) a most implacable enmity, as I shall prove by instances by and by; in the mean time, pray observe here, that while our Author courts you with the one hand, he throws dirt with the other, basely branding you as a sort of people, whose very pretensions are destructive of all other parties: And if the *Royalists* dare thus openly tell you already, to your faces, what monstrous opinion they have concerning you, ye may easily imagine what Quarter ye must look for under them and their Episcopacie.

But that you may more clearly foresee, take notice what our Author saith further concerning you in another place, *page 6.* [*The pretensions of the* Baptised Churches *have these Inconveniences attending them; As first, importing the ruine of all other Professions of Religion.*] This is so odious a scandal, but so common in the mouths of the Cavaliers, that you cannot chuse but imagine beforehand how kindly they will use you. But it's strange, that so wise a Politician as our Author would seem to be, should so far forget himself, and his design, as to betray it. You see in the former Section, he made it his business to court the *Presbyterian* to a compliance with *Episcopacie*, for a settlement, yet presently after saith, *the Rise of their Presbyterie must be the Ruine of all other Parties*; which being cleerly contradictory to what he pretends, he hath a wondrous method of perswading men to a close with his purpose: In like manner, while he is perswading you to come into a settlement with the Cavaliers and the other Parties, his stomack is so high, that it must have vent, to tell you, that no other Party can settle with you, you also will be the Ruine of all other.

Yea, he goeth higher, in the same place, and saith, [*That your Pretensions, if attained, cannot possibly subsist, it being a Maxim in Policie, that*

Religion is the Cement of Government, *without a publick Profession of which, and the maintenance of Learning and Ministry, Atheism and disorder must needs break in* ] So that the Author having scandalized you as incoherent with, and destructive of, all other parties he would also make the world believe you have no foundation to stand upon, intimating, as if by your principles there could be no publick Profession of Religion nor Learning, or Ministry, but onely Atheism and disorder. Yea more than all this, he will have you, by your principles likewise, to be enemies of Government it self, *either in a single person, or a community*; men *that cannot incorporate into a Civil Society of any kinde, but would take away all property of Estates, and found it onely in Grace and Saintship*; *for the exemplification of which*, he referreth his Reader *to the practises in* Germany *by the Anabaptists there*.

Now, admit there should be any sorts of men in these Nations, who agree with you touching the controvertible point of Pædo-baptism; but in other things differ extreamly from you by new extravagant opinions, there is no reason that the extravagancies should be fastned upon all of you that are for the first point and opinion; for it is known that many learned men and others, have been, and are of the same judgment, who touching other particulars are as Orthodox (if I may use the word) as any; besides, Mr. *Cawdrey* saith, *The Scriptures are not clear, that Infant-baptism was an Apostolical practise*; and Bishop *Morton* in his Appeal, *lib* 2. *c*.13. *sect*.3. acknowledgeth there was antient practise for admitting Infants to the Sacrament of the Supper, as well as to Baptism, and it held Six hundred years in the Church, yet in later time it was thought fit to be laid aside. Shall any presume then to fasten an *odium* upon a whole party which abounds with pious men (truly Protestant in the other points) meerly because some others who think as they do concerning Pædo-baptism, do flie out into other Notions? By this rule of proceeding, I will easily condemn, not Popery it self, and Prelacy onely, but other professions of men, whom (to avoid offence) I will not now name, because there is no one party of them but have their Transcendentals, which render them unpleasant to the Civil power, and to dissenting parties, and would, if they might have their way, prove as dangerous as any: But this shall not therefore be an argument against the whole parties themselves, among whom the most are men of sobrietie and gravitie and such we must allow to be the constitution of the baptised partie, which our Author here would kiss and kill, complement and cut the throats of both at an instant he pretends to settle with them, yet at the same time declares in effect, That it is impossible there should be any settlement by them, with securitie to any other partie. But enough of this.

It is no wonder then if *Charls Stuart* the Son who is heir to the revenge, as well as to the partie and principles of the Father, shall endeavor to blast you of the Baptised Judgment before all others; but from thence you may collect

collect what a portion of vengeance against you especially, lies at the bottom of his heart, and the hearts of his party: In the beginning of the Civil War, the blame and envy of it was by the King, in his Declarations, cast upon you as the principal causers; and now, could his Son by fine words allure you to a close with him upon terms (which, considering you as men in your right sences, I count utterly impossible) I might suppose you should be the first that would finde what his intents are concerning his Fathers opposers, did I not fear he would prefer his new Presbyterian friends before you. But hear a little what the old Man said of you in his Papers, which are to be seen in the Book of Collections. In a Declaration of his, published in answer to a Declaration of the Parliament, *for raising all force and power, as well Trained Bands as others, &c.* He chargeth the Parliament, that by their *infinite arts and subtilty, and by that rabble of Brownists, Anabaptists, and other Sectaries, which were ready at a call, they were enabled to carry on their work.* And in his other Declaration, dated *August* 12. he iterateth the same, saying, *The Parliament made their power up to oppose him, by a multitude of Brownists, Anabaptists, and other Sectaries about* London, *who were ready to appear in a body at their command.* And before he ends that long Declaration, he hath another fling *at the odious licence* (so he termeth it) *which the rabble of Brownists, Anabaptists, and other Sectaries took to themselves.* In like manner he brandisheth his fury against those (so called) in another Declaration, which he published after the Battel of *Keinton*. And in his Paper, entituled, *An offer of Pardon to the Rebels* (so he was pleased to call the Parliament) he saith, *Religion and his posterity was threatned to be rooted out, and his life sought after by Anabaptists, Brownists, and Atheists, &c. in Rebellion.* And in his Message to the Lords of his Privy Council in *Scotland*, he fastneth all manner of foul imputations upon the same party of men. The like in his Declaration, *upon occasion of the Ordinance and Declaration of the Lords and Commons, for assessing all such as had not contributed sufficiently, &c.* As also in his Answer to the Petition of the Lord Major, Aldermen, and Commons of the Citie of *London*. And lastly, in his Proclamation directed to the Counties of *Surrey. Kent. Sussex*, and *Hampshire*, wherein he once again reckoneth those whom he calls Anabaptists and Brownists, in the same predicament with Atheists, and the onely persons that threatned to destroy him, and to root up Religion and his posteritie: All which (how false soever it was) may be seen in the aforesaid Book of *Collections*; and the like with much more, in the Book published as his own, entituled, ΕΙΚΩΝ ΒΑΣΙΛΙΚΗ.

These things being so declared by the Father, no matter whether they be true; but if *Charls* be his Son, he is in duty bound to believe him, and then there need not many words to minde you of your Interest and Concernment, which cannot lie to you nor deceive you; but if you keep close to it, and at the remotest distance from that Family, you may promise your selves both Libertie and Safetie; otherwise, I leave to your own judgment, whether (in a Moral or Political sence) it be not utterly impossible to secure it.

# SECT. V.

## *Of the Neuter.*

A Great part of the Nation may be said to be *Neuters*; that is to say, persons not addicted to any one Party, but would fain have Peace, and no Taxes, and are possessed with a phantasie, that there is no way to procure the one, or be rid of the other, but by letting in *Charls Stuart*, and then they are apt to promise themselves good daies, with the enjoyment of Laws and Liberties, which they are ready to think they have lost, if they be put to a charge more than ordinary for the real maintenance of them. For the undeceiving of such, let me spread these following Considerations.

First, That the Parliament have for the maintenance of their Authority, a most considerable Power in their hands: They have their Army consisting still of their old Officers, and the Soldiery trained up in their old most excellent way of military discipline; moreover, they have the Militia formed (or actually forming) in all parts of the Nation, besides the hearts of hundred thousands engaged by Interest to fight (if the matter should be at a pitch) for keeping out the *Stuarts*; and you cannot but remember what Bodies of them appeared in Arms, when this Young man heretofore invaded *England*, and seated himself at *Worcester*, by which means a setled war was at that time happily avoided. Now, if by Insurrections way should be made for him to come in again, and he by that means fix himself in any place of strength, what can the issue of mens going in to him to augment this power be, but a rending of the Nation again by a war of continuance, seeing the Parliament have the Strong holds of the Nation, and several Armies immediately raisable, if occasion require: And if things should come to this pass, 'tis lamentable to consider what would then befall the Country; the Harvest (now ready for the sickle) would be devoured by horse; Free-quarter must unavoidably come on again, and that would be a welcom guest to call upon you in Winter, after you had lost all the Fruits of the Summer: I suppose you have not yet forgotten the teeth of that devouring Monster, and you would have cause to remember it to some purpose, if Foreiners should be poured in again upon you, which we must thank our own Countrimen for, if they prepare the way for their coming, as they already begin very fairly. And if Forein force come in (as who knows what may follow when a war is once begun?) then what can the present pretenders for Liberty with swords in their hands expect, but that *Charls* and his Cavaliers, with the help of Foreiners, will erect their Triumphs upon the ruine of

of all opposite parties (even those of them who now wheel about for him) and the subversion of the Rights and Liberties of the People, under the insupportable yoke of an absolute Monarchy? (for, what will promises signifie when he shall get the power?)

Secondly consider, That after a dreadful War past, you are yet in possession of the Blessings of Peace; and though you taste not the sweets of it so fully as we could wish, because of the Payments now lying upon you, yet be patient and consider, whence do these Payments spring? not from the nature of the Government it self, nor from the Wills of the present Governors, whose Interest it is to have it otherwise, if they knew how, but from pure necessitie; and whence comes that necessitie? *Charls Stuart* and his Cavaliers can tell you, for, they make it their business to create it more and more by framing designs against the Peace and Government of the Commonwealth; and how come they to be able to do this? even by the folly and madness of Malecontented persons and parties, who ever and anon suffer themselves to be drawn in by them: It is this that puts the Parliament upon the necessitie of keeping Forces on foot, and consequently of continuing Taxes to pay Forces, defray Publick Debts, and other necessary incident Expences, without which the Peace, Safetie, and Government of this People cannot be maintained. Therefore if Burthens be continued, blame not your Governors, but such *Boutefeus* as are apt to take fire at the Enemies perswasions, and are now in Arms to set on fire the three Nations. If such as they would be quiet and setled in their mindes, that the Parliament might have leave to settle free from the attempts of rebellious spirits, Necessities would begin to wear off from the face of the Commonwealth; by degrees we might be eased of Grievances and Pressures, and be made sensible of the rich benefits of a State of Freedom; but if men will be hankering after the publick Enemy, and flying out by Insurrections, neither peace nor ease can be expected.

But if *Charls Stuart* (say some) were brought in and setled, then all things would settle too. For Answer to this, though the vanity of expecting a convenient settlement by him, be made clear enough to the parties treated of in the foregoing *Sections*, yet having faln upon a more popular way of arguing, to convince men of a Neutral temper, that are of no party, but all for peace and ease, let me apply my self to them accordingly. Pray you let us reason the Case a little; If ye think ye shall be eased of *Excise*, *Taxes*, *&c.* by letting in him, ye will be miserably mistaken: For, these vast charges will presently ensue; 1. A large expence for maintaining the splendor of a Royal Court, which must be had either by resuming King, Queen and Princes Lands, though some think that cannot be done, the thing in it self not being feisible, because of the incredible confusion it would introduce generally upon Property; or else, if it cannot be had that way, it must be drained perpetually out of the peoples purses. 2. There must be a course taken to finde rewards for Foreiners, if any come in (as it is past

question

question they will, if a war go on again) and if they should not come, yet *Charls* his Followers and Leaders, the yonger Brothers, with the Sons of Fortune, and the Brethren of the Blade, must all be provided for; at that day, those who have been of no side shall be found as great sinners as any, and the City of *London*, who (as the Cavaliers swear) have gained by the Wars, shall be remembred as the Beginner of them; and then it will be too late for the vaporing Companions of the *smoaking Clubs* to say, *I, and I, and I was always (as our neighbors know) a Friend of his Majesty*. 3. Besides the publick Debts of the Nation, which must be paid, the Yong Man hath innumerable vast Debts contracted by himself beyond Sea; those must be paid too, and which way (I pray you) but out of the general Purse? Think ye then, that this is the way to be eased of Excise and Taxes? The necessities would so encrease by *Charls* that they must upon his coming in be trebled to what they are now upon you.

Thirdly consider, That as by his Restitution we shall be far from ease of Burthens, so we must of necessitie be much farther from attaining peace and settlement, because the discontents of all parties, which must be taken in, in order to a settlement, will be raised to a higher pitch of animositie; which is easily concluded from the hints given by our Author, already noted in the former *Sections*. For, he tells us, *Episcopacie* shall be the chief Corner-stone in the Building of the settlement; the Presbyterian Interest (he saith) shall be taken in to carry on the work, and you know they were ever wont to be like two Pellets, one driving out the other; so that it would be a luckie hand that can make them agree now: Well, but admit they could walk in couples and comply, what then will become of the poor Sectaries (as they call them?) they also, being a huge body, ought to be taken in likewise with satisfaction, *viz.* Independents, Baptised, Fifth Monarchy men, *&c.* or else where is your settlement? And how that will be done, God knows, seeing the two first (as they reckon themselves) will be reputed the eldest Sons of our Mother the Church, and though they agree in nothing else, are like to agree in this, that having *brachium seculare*, the Arm of Secular power to use, they will be too straitly lacing the tender Virgin, *Liberty of Conscience*, or else ravish her, and that will stir up all her Friends to the Rescue. Our Author hath told you, that the Royal and Episcopal man looks upon the Presbyterian (as one whose Discipline cannot be setled without the overthrow of all other parties, besides that it suits not (he saith) with the Laws, nor with the *genius* of the Nation; the like harsh sentence he passeth upon those of the *Baptised way*; and the Presbyterian, he thinks as hardly of the Royal Episcoparian, and of the Baptised, as these latter do of both them. There had need be extraordinary skill then in tempering Morter before you can daub or cement all these together; but that being impossible, the issue will be that his Majesties darling, *Episcopacie*, being like to rule the roste, may think it wisdom to hold in a while with *Presbyterie*, to make use of her spleen in persecuting and weak-

ning

ning the other dissenting Parties, and afterward wipe the nose of Presbyterie her self, and at length attempt to clap them all together under Hatches; now what would this be, but to put them to begin the world again, to redeem themselves once more from that yoak of antient Tyrannie, after it had been but newly cast off? But suppose that the *Episcopal Project* may not presently mount so high, yet it will alwaies be Trump where there is a *Stuart* in the Throne (for old *Charls* in his Book strictly enjoyns it); and what can either of these things produce but the same necessity of his keeping Forces on foot to secure the Tyrannie in his own and his Bishops hands, against the rest of the People, as the Parliament is constrained now to doe, for securing *Liberty of Conscience*, and all other Rights and Liberties of the People, against the Return of that Tyrannie? If so (as things would certainly, unavoidably so fall out) surely its evident the same Taxes, and Payments as are now, must be continued under *Charls*, with additions of new ones as yet unheard of, to be entailed upon the generations after us. Things therefore being thus, it is clearly concludible, that the way the Parliament is now in designe upon, *viz.* to secure the Libertie of these Nations in *Spirituals* and *Civils*, and establish Affairs upon that Foundation, which doth really take in the Interest of the whole people (except some who have contracted an unmanly false Interest to themselves, in desiring to be slaves) is the only course whereby men may rationally expect to arive unto a settlement, and consequently open a way for diminishing Taxes; whereas the other way of *Charls Stuart* is so narrow, that it admits the Interest only of some few, a sort of men who will alwaies be practising to domineer, to the dissatisfying and disobliging all other parties, the Consequence whereof will be a continuation of such discontents, as must put the Monarch to stand alwaies upon his guard to preserve his Power, which cannot be done without great Forces ever to be kept on foot, and so the same or greater Taxes ever to be paid, and no way in reason left for a remedie while things stand upon a *Monarchick Episcopal*, or a *Mongrel-Episcopo-Presbyterian* Bottom (call it which ye please.)

## SECT. VI.

## *Of the Army.*

THe great Block in the way of the Cavaliers design, hath alwaies been the Army, and if that could be removed, or debauched, then they would easily compleat it: No wonder then our Author useth so many Arts of Insinuation to attempt the seducing of them from a sence of their own and the publick Interest, to an espousing of *Charls*; which were a miracle indeed,

deed, could it be effected, but certainly not without wonderful Sorcerie, whereas, for ought yet appears in our Author, we cannot take him for a Witch, nor suspect his *Pamphlet* to be guilty of any strong Inchantment. First, he would inflame the Nation against the Soldiery, saying, *Their aim is to govern it by the sword, and keep themselves from being disbanded.* The falshood of this is evident; for, they have restored the Parliament to the Law making part, and for the other part of Government, the execution and distribution of Law, it is as full and free as ever, as every man that frequents the Term can tell you. But he brandishes this discourse of the *sword*, on purpose to dazle mens eyes, that they may not discern that sword of *Charls Stuart* which yet lurks in the Scabbard, but must, if he get in, of necessitie be drawn (as is shewn in the foregoing *Section*) and held over the people, to give Law to all other Laws which concern mens propertie, or their Libertie of Conscience. It is the Armie's or rather the Parliament and peoples sword in the Armie's hand, which secureth all men from the power and revenge of his sword, which were it once in action, would soon cut the throat of all our Liberties.

Next, he strikes upon another string, to try whether that will make any jarring, telling the Army it is *the Parliaments interest to pull them down, and that the raising County Troops and new Militia's, is designed onely to check and curb them.* So here in two lines the Cavalier hath discovered his two notable designs: He knows there is no way for him to pull down both Parliament and Army, but in dividing them by discontents, and making them pull at one another; and he knows also, that the ready way to facilitate the effecting of his main purpose is, to beget a misunderstanding and an animositie betwixt the Army and the Countrey Militia's, that they may jar with each other, and not be cordially united to check and curb that Cavalier design which is now on foot (though in a disguise) and laid for the common ruine both of Parliament and Army, City, and Country.

The Author having projected his plot thus, he proceeds to improve it, and ventureth to tell the Army, *it is their interest to bring in the King*; but why? 1. Because *every Soldier is sensible we are concerned to be under a single person.* It is quickly said without proof; and the Soldiers expect reason before they believe: for (as you say well) they are not like the French or Spanish Infantry, those venal souls that understand nothing besides pay and plunder, but as becomes an English Army fighting for their Rights and Freedoms, have always argued matters before they acted, and still owned a publick spirit; and the meanest of them can tell you, there are several ways of being governed without a single person; and that it concerns them howsoever, as high as their heads to keep out that single person whom God made them Instruments to cast out, and never be insnared either by promises from him, or by discontents among themselves. 2. *Because thereby they cut off the necessity of perpetual war.* Before this in *Page* 4. the Gentleman said, *It is the Armies interest to be always engaged in War, that they*

may

*may keep themselves from disbanding*; and here he tells them tis their Interest to bring in the KING, because that would put an end to War. *Riddle my Riddle*, and reconcile these two Points if you can; but the Author must say any thing to create division and discontent among us; and rather than fail, he will scribble Contradictories, and cares not though he set one part of his Pamphlet a quarrelling with the other, to teach us the wit to avoid his design, and live in unity and amity.

3. *Because without calling in him, they will hazard their Acquisitions. Cujus contrarium verum est*; there is no readier way to hazard them, Crown-Lands being by many of them acquired for their Pay; and if it be possible, a way will be found out by *Charles* for a *Resumption*.

4. *Because it is the way to secure their Pay and Arrears, he being the only person that can (with a free Parliament) raise Contributions and Taxes in a Legal manner.* Believe it if you list, but consider, that first his own Party must be paid and provided for, and then he may be at leisure to pay you with a vengeance. Besides, admit he should mean really to provide you your Arrears too, what an incredible vast Charge would both be to the Nation: what an opportunity would he have to devise new impositions and payments, and when you are paid off, ye shall (ye may be sure) be turned off; then none remaining in Armes but his own pure party, twill be easie to find pretences to continue those Payments, and make Parliaments (which no doubt will then be led in a string in a brave state of Freedome) to establish them by a Law unto posterity: It shall all be done in a *Legal manner*, and the Army, and we, and all shall be paid (I warrant ye) according to Law, (*Club-law, Cavalier-Law, Warren-Law.*)

They have often been attemping to bring Matters to this pass; and therefore give me leave to spread a few more particulars for the consideration of our Friends the Army. First consider, that having often failed by force, they now assail you by Force and Fraud both together; you cannot forget their malice, though now they fawn, and would fain seem to hug you, that they may be able to get within you, and trip up your heels, or grasp you to death. Remember how often by your matchless courage and fidelity, ye have rescued the Commonwealth out of their hands. They have drawn the poor people no less than three several times into open insurrection and rebellion. Besides this, they brought on the *Scots*, to a miserable oppression and devastation of the Land by two several invasions, in all which God enabled you to defeat their expectations and forces; so that besides the quelling of their power and interest in *Scotland*, the hand of the Lord hath gone out so visibly against them in three distinct Wars, that they have been no less than thrice miraculously and completely conquered here at home, and the blood which they sought hath been drawn out of their own sides, to fill up the Cup of the Lord's indignation and fury against themselves and all their Partakers. Though it were possible you could forget their implacable temper, yet for these things they will never forget you.



*Secondly*,

*Secondly*, Take heed of Promises, all ye that have ever been engaged against that Family and Party: Is it not strange to hear that some who have been so active against him openly, should now engage for him under a disguise? What security can they have therein for themselves or the Nation? Oh, but our Author tells us, young *Charles* is a good man, in all respects; *and as to his honesty, no malice hath the impudence to blast it.* Though we could say somewhat to one Part of his honesty, yet we wave it, but in the other part of honesty which concerneth oaths and promises, we might say he hath blasted himself, but that he ought not to seem over-serious about them, lest while he pretends to a Crown, he should lose his credit with the Politicians, that would think him unfit to be a KING. But they need not doubt him, he hath made proof enough of himself in that particular, having most Royally given evidence, that to trust him is the right way to true Repentance: If ye look into my *Third Section*, ye may there see how like a KING he carryed himself in the Trust given him by the *Presbyterians*, when they made him a *White Boy* in *Scotland*, by cloathing him with *the Covenant*, and a *Coronation-oath*, and *Royal Robes* all together.

Thirdly consider, that as you have had the Honour hitherto, to stand firm to the Nations true interest in opposition to that Family; so while they pretend here in print to court you, their great business is at the same time to make you jealous of the Parliament, the Parliament of you, and at once to exasperate all parties of men against you, that being diffident of each other, and discontented; ye may not be in a condition vigorously to unite your Counsels and Forces against the design which they have now in hand for the ruine of all. Make much then of this Parliament; they are the founders of the Nations Interest upon a better *Basis* of Freedome than our Ancestors could ever hope for, and questionless they must needs be most concerned and fittest to finish the Building, seeing it is their own Interest as well as the Publick, and they have most experience in the work. *Charles Stuart* is for the giving of our wise men, and our interested men, a *Rotation* as quick as may be. Therefore certainly it is your interest to stand by the Parliament with your ancient courage and affection; beat down the enemies before you, and so, when you have gained Victory, ye will be in the ready way of getting your Arrears out of the Purses of your Adversaries, which will be the greatest comfort to your selves, and an ease to the People: more words might be used; but you see where your Interest doth lye, and if you follow it strenuously, it *cannot lie*, it will not deceive you, whereas if you swerve but from a tittle of it, your enemies will soon slip into one Advantage or other, to bring trouble and desolation upon the Land, ruine upon your selves and all your Friends.

# SECT. VII.

## *Of the Parliament.*

THe Parliament being the *Butt*, at which the Adversaries shoot all their bitter Arrows of reproach and envy, it will be necessary to be particular in curing the Wounds which have of late been given to their Reputation, because their Being is the grand Bulwark of our security.

But in the first place, to sandalize them our Author saith, *It is the design of the Parliament, to continue themselves in absolute Power by the specious name of a Popular Government, and finally to set up an Oligarchy.*

By this you see. 1. That which the enemy principally fears, is, lest this Parliament should continue over-long; could they but be rid of this Parliament, they presume they should do well enough afterwards, either with or without another, and therefore their Work is (if they knew how) to precipitate the ending of it. But to confute the folly of this Scandal, tis known they have by a special Vote already fixt a time (short enough indeed, considering the greatness of their work, and the opposition like to be against them) beyond which they intend not to sit.

2. As to the other Point of erecting an *Oligarchy* or *Government by some few Persons*, this is as great a scandal as the other, and it were to be wished, that the over-busie talk and Prints of some of our own had not given too much occasion for opening the mouth of the Enemy touching that particular. But how should there be any ground for suspition about an *Oligarchy*? seeing no such thing can be (as by many reasons might be proved) where a supreme Legislative Power is intended to be fixed in an orderly succession of Parliaments, managed by elections rightly qualified and bounded: for which with all convenient speed, a course will be taken by this Parlament.

*Secondly*, our *Author* endeavours to make this no free Parlament, by reason that a great part of its Members remain Secluded. This Argument hath been handled likewise with great fury by Mr. *Pryn*, and now the present Malecontents in Arms make use of it to countenance their Rebellion, and require that either the Secluded Members may be admitted to sit again in this Parliament, or that a New one may be called. So that you see, they and our Cavalier Author do meet in one Point. For Answer to this, I wish Mr. *Pryn*, and the other dissatisfied Gentlemen, would take heed of this way of arguing; for, by it he may chance to condemn himself, and all others of his own judgment for their acting along with the Parliament, first, after the King went away

from *Westminster*, and then, after part of the Members of both Houses withdrew, and sate as a Parliament at *Oxford*, seeing thereby he will justifie the King in what he declared at that time against the Parliament, *viz.* That it was *no free Parliament*, and so that nothing they should do, in the absence of himself and those Members, could be counted valid or Parliamentary, because they had, in countenancing tumults, driven him, and their Follow-members away by force, and so gained the Major Vote of the remaining part of the Parliament: Nevertherless, when the remaining part sate, and continued to Act, the Parliamentary partie made no scruple to Act with them, and Mr. *Prynne* among the rest as highly as any, as also did all those of the Presbyterian Judgment, who, though the Parliament wanted the legal formalitie of the Kings presence, and so great a part of its Members, (who Printed in several Declarations, That a force was upon them;) yet rather than the publick Cause should fall to the ground, they by Sermons, Purses, and all other ways, seconded that remaining part of the Parliament in their actings, acknowledging them a free Parliament, to all intents and purposes, as if every Member had been present. But you will object and say, The Case of this House now sitting, is different from that House who then sate; for, they were deserted by those Members that went to *Oxford*, but these suffered the Army by force to seclude those now commonly called the secluded Members. I answer; that before these Members were secluded, they first secluded and separated themselves from the publick Interest, as those did, who some years before withdrew themselves, and went to *Oxford*; besides, the secluding of them is justifiable against them by *Lex talionis*, the Law of Retaliation; for even they had sometime before secluded that honest partie of the House (of which the Members now sitting are the principal) by raising tumults in the City, and encouraging the Apprentices, who came to the House door, and drave away the said faithful partie, so that the Speaker and they were for safetie forced to go out of Town, and shelter themselves under the protection of the Army: In the mean while, those who now complain of seclusion, reckoning themselves Lords of all, continued sitting, chose a new Speaker, (Mr. *Pelham*) acted all things as a full and free Parliament, and reckoned their Votes and Proceedings as Legal and Authentick, as if all the Members had been present; and would so have proceeded to compass and establish the corrupt Interest contended for against the faithful partie: And Mr. *Prynne*, and all his partie, approved this proceeding, and sufficiently shewed, that they meant to own all as Legal, that should be done while the faithful ones were under a force, had not the design been prevented by the Generals bringing back the *Speaker*, and the Members with him, to their Seats again in the House. What shall we say then? Let me use the words of the Apostle to him, and the rest of his secluded partie, and their Abetters, [*Therefore thou art inexcusable, O man, whosoever thou art that judgest; wherein thou judgest another, thou condemnest thy self; for thou that judgest, doest the same things.*] If you, after a violent seclusion of some, upon a corrupt account, could approve and close with the proceedings of a remaining

ing part as a Parliament, and intende the Nation ſhould do ſo to; why are not we, after a like ſecluſion made of your partie upon a juſt account, and a reſtoring of the faithful partie to be juſtified for acting along with them, and ſubmitting to their Authoritie as a Parliament? And the Nation hath as much reaſon to pay their obedience and acknowledgments thereto, as ye intended they ſhould have done to you. Therefore (whatever other men may ſay) Mr. *Prynne* and his ſecluded party muſt henceforth be ſilent, and for ſhame lay their mouths in the duſt for ever, as to this particular.—— But that we may give a more full anſwer to this ſo conſiderable a Point, and that the world may ſee how far the Houſe which now ſits, is to be juſtified before their ſecluded oppoſites, who make ſo great a clamor to imbroil the Nation: I ſhall a little retrive the proceedings of former days touching that Secluſion, which is become the great Subject of Controverſie now among us.

*First*, I ſhall ſhew, there was a juſt cauſe, and a real neceſſitie, for the doing of it. *Secondly*, How the faithful Members (now the Parliament) behaved themſelves after it was done. *Thirdly*, How it came to paſs, that the ſecluded partie did never ſit more ſince that time, and are ſtill excluded.

1. That there was juſt cauſe, and a real neceſſitie for the doing of it, is evident in theſe particulars: For, after that upon weightie conſiderations, the Houſe had reſolved to make *no more Addreſſes to the King*, this ſecluded party (who then were in play) joyning Councils with the King and his party, caſt about which way to revoke and reverſe thoſe Votes of *Non-Addreſs*, and to bring in the King upon ſuch Terms, the effect whereof, in a ſhort time, would (of neceſſitie) have been a giving up into his hands the whole Cauſe that had been contended for. To this end, they by ſubtile degrees drew all things on fair toward a compliance with the Kings Intereſt, wherein there were ſome honeſt men (even of the Presbyterian partie) who ſeeing it was the way to caſt dirt in the face of their former Engagements, did deſert them. Nevertheleſs, they were engaged now upon new grounds, in oppoſition and hatred of thoſe, both in Parliament and Army, who deſired to remain faithful to the *Cauſe* and *Intereſt* of the Nation; therefore the next ſtep they made in the Houſe, was, to contrive how to ſtrengthen their partie there, and by indirect courſes to gain the Major Vote: For this end, it was the great endeavor of them, and of that Remnant of the Royal, and the Neutral partie, which yet remained in the Houſe, becauſe of the vacancy of Burgeſſes, to fill up the Houſe with *Malignants* or *Neuters*; and for that purpoſe, Writs were ſpecially procured and ſpeeded out for new Elections to fill the vacant places, and they were directed to ſuch places and poor Boroughs in *Cornwal*, *Wales*, *&c.* where the Procurers before-hand knew, that perſons would be choſen fit to ſerve their turns. Thus a Floud of new Burgeſſes were brought into the Houſe, ſome of them men that had been engaged againſt the Parliament, and incapable of Truſt, yet were through the procurement alſo of the aforeſaid partie, admitted and kept in the Houſe; for, when

divers

divers of these were questioned as unduly elected, matters were by others so ordered, that the same new elected persons under question, sitting in the House while their business was in agitation, they easily wrought, that the sence of the Committee concerning the undueness of their Elections was never reported, but held off from the House.

Having thus fitted the House for their turn, they then begin to play *Rex* for the King. They first debate the business of *Ireland*; from thence they recalled the Lord *Liste*, and put the command into the hands of *Inchiquin*, a Native Irishman, one that had first served the King, afterwards revolted from the Parliament, united with the Irish Rebels, and is now a Fugitive with *Charls* beyond Sea. They endeavored to bring in the King upon his Message of the seventh of *May*, 1647. (that is to say, upon his own Terms) and to this end to disband the Army before any peace made or assured. They would have raised a new War, by listing and ingaging many Reformadoes, and other Officers and Soldiers in and about *London*, in *June* and *July*, 1647. To this end they by Tumults drave away the Speaker and faithful Members, chose a new Speaker, passing by their single Authoritie divers Ordinances, and giving large powers to raise a new War, by arming also the Prentices and other persons which had acted that violence upon the House, and this they did professedly before the world, in maintenance and prosecution of that treasonable engagement. Being thus gotten into possession, they recalled the *Votes of Non-Address*, and went down-right the way to bring back the King, without such satisfaction as might secure the Kingdom, Voting that they would treat with him upon such Propositions as himself should make, so that had they had their purpose, the whole Cause Parliamentary, and its faithful friends must have been clearly betrayed into his hands.

But it must not be forgotten, how craftily they went to work for the completing of their design; and it is the more needful to revive the proceedings, because the same spirit appears at work again, in the like method, by those who have now taken Arms, & those who favor the present treasonable undertaking. Their method (I say) and pretences appear one and the same; for those did what they could to irritate and engage the Citie of *London*: In all Counties they had their Emissaries and Agents concurring with those employed by the King, to form new Insurrections (which you know afterwards brake forth all over the Nation,) and to usher in these, the people were stirred up to frame Petitions, all cloathed in fine language, with fair pretences; *viz.* That they might have *a full and free Parliament*; they pretended for *the Liberty of the Subject also, to free them from the oppression of an Army, and to be for the Law of the Land against the arbitrary power of a Faction in Parliament, setting up and supporting themselves above Law by the power of an Army.* They pretended likewise to be much *for the ease of the people; to free them from Taxes and Contributions to an Army, and to be for settlement, that there might be no need of an Army.* They pretended for Religion too against Sectaries; yea, and that no pretence might be wanting, they pretended for the army it self also (as

to

to the body of it) *That all, but a Faction of some Officers, might be satisfied their Arrears.* Pray you now compare these pretences with those published by the present Rebels in *Cheshire*, and the language of those that favor them in other places, and judg whether the spirit of the same corrupt party be not now at work again by new Instruments, who would likewise (if they might have their ways) give up, not onely the present Parliament, but with it the whole Parliamentary interest of the Nation, and all men of all parties, yea, and themselves to be disposed of at the will of the Son (for what can hinder that Sea of boundless tyranny from overflowing, when the breach is once made, and he let in?) just as the other would by bringing on a *Personal Treaty* to conclude with the Father, have yeilded all up to his pleasure. Actors (you see) are now on foot again, disguised and cloathed with the very same pretences; and therefore what can be more clear than that these men are studying to bring the Yong Man upon the stage, to perfect the Tragedy which was plotted so many years ago, in that endeavor for a restitution of his Father? which would assuredly have been compleated in an absolute Tyranny, had not the Army then taken up a noble resolution to prevent it, by secluding that desperate party which ruled at that time in Parliament. So much (though much more might be said) for the justice and necessitie of the *Seclusion*.

2. Let us see how the remaining Members behaved themselves upon this Occasion. They did not, as Mr. *Pryn*, and our Author, and others, have scandalized them, drive away their Fellow-Members, nor encourage the Army to do it (as Mr. *Pryn*, and his fellows had before encouraged the Apprentices to drive away the Speaker, and the best part of the Members) but when the Seclusion was made, the House presently sent out the Serjeant with the Mace to the place called the *Queens Court* (where those Members were then detained) to command their Attendance in the House, but the Guards of Souldiers would not permit them to come. So the Serjeant was sent out a second time and then the Officers would not permit him to pass, which was entred as a Contempt in the *Journal-Book*, they being startled at the sudden force upon the House; and therefore they concluded also, not to proceed in business until their Members should be restored, and in the mean time ordered, That the General be sent to, that the House might know the reason of the Armies so proceeding: Which being done, the General and Council of Officers sending to the House their Reasons which necessitated them to the Action and manifesting therein, That there was no other way to preserve the Rights and Interests of the Nation, which those Members had laboured to destroy: thereupon the House (who of their own knowledge could tell the particulars charged were true) being earnestly importuned by the Army, That they would proceed to save the Nation, and secure the good Cause they had fought for against the King and his Party, chose to sit, (notwithstanding all the difficulties and clouds of envy that were gathering over their heads) and to proceed towards the Nations settlement in such a way as God in his Providence

according

according to his Will, ſhould direct them, rather than deſert their Truſts; not conſulting therein with Fleſh and Blood (which becauſe of the hazard of their own perſonal concernments, might have taken them off) but with a Good Cauſe, and the common Good, which then lay at ſtake, and had been utterly loſt if thoſe Secluded ones might have had their wills, who now again make it their buſineſs, by clamours, to ſet the world on fire about their ears, & care not though themſelvs periſh at laſt in the combuſtion.

3. Let us ſee the Reaſon why it is, that being once Secluded, they have never ſince been admitted, and are ſtill kept out. The Reaſons are evident; for, they were no ſooner Excluded, but they went on Plotting and contriving as a diſtinct Aſſembly, without the Houſe, to carry on their deſign as they did before within. To this purpoſe they joyntly put forth a Declaration, Entituled, *A Solemn Proteſtation* againſt the Houſe and the Army, declaring all void and null that ſhould be done in their abſence; and inflamed Mr. *Pryn* (a neceſſary Tool of the Party, becauſe he can ſay and Print any thing for them, and yet not be in danger of his head) who put forth in his own name, a violent, virulent Proteſtation againſt the Houſe, the Army, their Cauſe, and all Proceedings, and divers other fierce Papers he hath let flie from time to time; ſo did his Party alſo the like, under the Title of *Declarations, &c.* And to this day they have never omitted any occaſion they could lay hold on, to juſtifie themſelves, and revive that deſtructive deſign, for which they were at firſt Secluded; this is enough to ſhew, There was and is reaſon to keep them out of the Houſe ſtill: Unleſs any will imagine it reaſonable they ſhould be re-admitted to take an opportunity, which they can never otherwiſe have, for the finiſhing of that miſchief which they (like a ſort of Madmen) by reſtoring the Ejected Family, would bring not only upon the Parliament and the well-affected, but on all Parties of men; yea, and themſelves in concluſion; as they may ſufficiently perceive, if God gives them hearts to weigh what hath been from reaſon deduced in the former *Sections.* ——But now let us return to our Author again.

He ſaith, *This Parliament is no Parliament, becauſe by Law it is Diſſolved through the Kings Death that Called it.* So ſaith Mr. *Pryn* alſo, and others. Thus when men are over-heated with Prejudice and Paſſion, they know not, or remember not, what they ſay: They affirm, The Parliament dyed together with the King, and ſo can no longer have a Being, yet they keep a clamour to get into the Houſe, and then they will be content it ſhall be a Living Parliament again, although the King be Dead, and ſhall ſerve the turn, and be reckoned a Full, a Free, and a Good Parliament; but (you may ſuppoſe) to no other purpoſe but their own. Why elſe did *William Pryn*, and his fellows, make ſuch a ſtir to get in? And why doth the *Cheſhire* Paper (ſubſcribed *G. Booth*) intimate, That if the Houſe will let in the Old Members again, all ſhall be as well as if it were a new Virgin Parliament? By this the world may plainly ſee, it is not the Publick Intereſt

eſt of the Nation (though they pretend it) but their own which they ſeek. If the ſecluſion of them be taken off, that they may ſit, then it will be as good a Parliament as it was at firſt, or as any new one can be: Speak out then, and ſay, O Houſe of Parliament, ye ſhall reign, and we will be content, provided we may reign with you: And who knows forſooth (if ſuch a bargain could be made) whether they would not upon thoſe terms leave *Charls Stuart* to commence his Reign *Ad Græcas Calendas*, or *Latter-Lammas*? But they have more wit than to believe ſuch a bargain poſſible; therefore not being able to get into the Houſe, their beſt way is to ſay it is no Parliameut, and upon that account keep up a faction to bring in *Charls*, and try whether they can reign with him, by perſwading the Nation they are undone; and neither have, nor can have, any Government without him.

Thus far I have argued this buſineſs *Argumento ad hominem*, that is to ſay, in a way of Argumentation good againſt Mr. *William Prynne*, and the men of his party, *quatenus Prynne* and that party; ſo that they, above all other men, ought to hold their tongues: But becauſe it is neceſſary that both they and the Cavalier Objectors ſhould be confuted, and that others ſhould be ſatisfied, and likewiſe that the mindes of friends ſhould be confirmed, and all mens ſcruples be removed touching the legality and equity of this Parliaments ſitting, I ſhall now deſcend to handle the queſtion *Argumento ad Rem*, that is to ſay, by an Argument to the purpoſe, making good the thing it ſelf (as it now ſtands) againſt the world of Malecontents (of what party ſoever they be) and this I will do not by ſuch principles as may be ſaid to be onely our own, but from ſuch as are owned by ſome of thoſe of the Presbyterian party who appear oppoſite to the Parliament, and by others alſo, Royaliſts of high reputation and judgment in the world.

This leads me to make Reply unto what our Author further ſaith, *viz.* That not onely many of the Members of this Parliament are ſecluded, but they were firſt diſſolved *by reaſon of the death of the King that called them*, ſo that legally they could ſit no longer, and at laſt by the late Protector: *Which diſſolution was acknowledged by as many Members againſt themſelves as ſat in intermediate Parliaments.*" Here you ſee the utmoſt that the Cavaliers, and which Mr. *Prynne* and the other Malecontents do, or can ſay againſt this Parliaments ſitting. For Anſwer whereunto, give me leave to lay down theſe *Prolegomena* or *Previous Poſitions*, which are not points of my own invention, but as well founded upon the judgment of the learned, as agreeable to my own, which perhaps is but weak.

1. The firſt Poſition is drawn from Mr. *Baxters* own words in his late Book, entituled, *A holy Commonwealth*, and I ſuppoſe whatever he ſaith, his Brethren will approve. He, to juſtifie himſelf for his ſiding with the Parliaments Arms againſt thoſe of the King, declareth, That the King by the conſtitution of the Kingdom, had the Title of Soveraign, but not ſo as that the Soveraign Power was wholly in him; for, that according to the con-



ſtitution

ſtitution was divided betwixt him and the Parliament; and ſo p. 46. he ſhewe-eth, how that in this Kingdom the Title of Soveraign given to the King was Honorary, and ought not to be interpreted contrary to the conſtitution of the Kingdom, which allowed him but a part onely of the Soveraignty. So that though the perſons repreſenting the people in Parliament, were, being taken in their perſonal condition each of them but Subjects, yet in reſpect to the publick conſtitution of the Kingdom, they *revera* had one part of that Soveraign Power of Parliament, as the King had another part, and could really claim no more but his part in the Acts of Supremacy. For proof of this, Mr. *Baxter* in *Page* 463, 464, 465, 466. citeth the Kings own Anſwer to the Nineteen Propoſitions, and from thence inferreth at large his Royal acknowledgment of the truth of this aſſertion; therefore I ſuppoſe neither the Cavaliers will contradict this, ſeeing the King acknowledged it, nor the Presbyterians, becauſe not onely Mr. *Baxter* writes this, but becauſe alſo they all engaged in the War upon this principle, for the Parliament againſt the King; and queſtionleſs, a righteous principle of engagement it was.

2. This leads me to a ſecond Poſition, *viz. That in a Kingdom where the Soveraignty is ſo divided, if the King ſhall grow inſolent, and by Arms ſeek to invade that part of the Soveraignty which belongs to the people in Parliament, he may by arms be lawfully oppoſed.* For proof of this, Mr. *Baxter* becauſe he would now be courteous with the Cavaliers and win them, citeth the judgments of two the moſt learned Royaliſts that this later Age hath produced, *viz. Barclay* and *Grotius*; which citations being large, I for brevities ſake omit them; onely one out of *Grotius* give me leave to repeat in Engliſh, becauſe it hath the full ſence of the reſt: It is this, [*If the Authority be divided betwixt a King and the People in Parliament, ſo that the King hath one part of it, the people another, the King offering to encroach upon that part which is none of his, may lawfully be oppoſed by Arms, becauſe he exceeds the bounds of his Authority; And not only ſo, but he may loſe his own part likewiſe by the Law of Arms.*]

3. The third Poſition is *That a King carrying on a War upon ſuch terms againſt the people, to the death and deſtruction of his people while they are contending for their right, remains no longer a King, having diſſolved the conſtitution of the Kingdom, but hath loſt his Kingdom, and becoms an enemy, and a private perſon.* For proof of this againſt the Cavaliers, *Barclay*, the great Champion of Monarchy, in his Book *Contra Monarchomacos*, doth grant it, onely he ſaith, *Vix videtur id accidere poſſe in Rege mentis compote, It ſeems almoſt impoſſible a King ſhould be ſo mad as to proceed on that manner*; and yet we all know who was ſo mad as to do it: And for further proof of it, both againſt Cavaliers and Malecontented Presbyterians together, the ſame Mr. *B.* in *Page* 483. tells us, *That* Grotius *and other learned Politicians conclude, That if a King ſhall thus make himſelf an enemy of the people, engaging in War againſt them, he depoſeth himſelf, and may be uſed by them as an enemy.*

4. The

4. The Fourth Position is, *That the constitution of the Kingdom being by this means dissolved, and the Nation put into a state of War*, being divided into two parties, *these two parties, though really they make but one Nation, yet during the War, they are no longer to be reckoned as one Nation, but as two Nations contending for distinct Rights.* So saith Mr. *Baxters* Royal friend *Grotius* in his Tract *De Legatis.*

5. The Fifth Position is, *That if while the War lasteth, the two parties are to be reputed two Nations, then the Rights and Laws of War do belong unto either party against the other, as absolutely as they can belong unto one Nation against another, when they are at War.* Besides that this is confessed, the Reason is evident, because no War can be managed or regulated, unless *Jura belli*, the Laws of War be admitted for the direction and decision of matters relating to the Warlick occasion and Controversie The state of War hath its known Laws among the Nations, as well as the Civil state of a Kingdom or Commonwealth hath known Laws in its particular Nation, whereby matters of difference are to be ended. This is a confessed point; Why else are so many Books extant touching the Laws of War?

The main point of the Soveraignties being divided heretofore betwixt the King and the Parliament, and acknowledged to be so by the King himself, and the other Positions premised being proved by the Testimonies of such as are reverenced by both *Royalists* and Presbyterians, I trust then, that by building upon Foundations of their own, I shall give both of them satisfaction in the Building, and be able to convince them that there is both Law and Reason for the sitting of this Parliament.

As to the grand Argument which both our Author, Mr. *Pyn*, and others doe use, that according to Law the Parliament was dissolved by the Kings death; Tis true, that it was so provided by Law, that the death of a King dissolved a Parliament; but you are to observe, that this was a Law relating to the Constitution of Parliament in the ordinary Course of its regulation, and respecting only the formality of the Writ, summoning the Parliament to advise with the particular person of the King in whose name the writ was issued forth; aud truly when the old Constitution remained without disturbance, it was reason it should be retained in its ordinary Course; but in an extraordinary case, as that of this Parliament hath been in all the great revolutions from first to last; when the very Constitution Parlamentary it self, as to the nature of the Powers and Rights of the several parties King and people therein concerned, fell under Question, and when the sword was drawn betwixt the parties to decide it, and the King persisted to claim the whole Right of Soveraignty contrary to that antient Constitution, and referred his Claim to the determination of the sword, and thereby according to the equity of our fundamental Laws, forfeited his Kingship, and became a private person, dissolved the Constitution of the Kingdom, introduced another Law, *viz.* the *Law of Arms*, to trie his Cause by, and pleaded it with sword in hand to the very last, is it rea-

ſon in ſuch an extraordinary Caſe of this, that the ſurviving party of that King ſhould ground an Argument upon the formalities and ordinary uſages of a Conſtitution, whenas that Conſtitution it ſelf hath by the King himſelf been diſſolved long agoe? what legall or rational Plea can now be made upon the account of his Regal capacity, who, by proceeding contrary to the very Law and nature of the Conſtitution upon which he ſtood, juſtly loſt all the Benefit of it, and became a private perſon, and having made himſelf an enemy to the people, depoſed himſelf (as Mr. *Baxter* tels you out of *Grotius*) and therefore might be uſed as an enemy? with what face (I ſay) can any man after all this talk of Law in relation to him, who had not only violated all Law in the Branches, but pluckt up the very root of it in deſtroying the Parlamentary eſtabliſhment of the Kingdom, as much as in him lay, and would refer himſelf to no Law but (as I ſaid before) the Law of warr? Let the impartial part of the world then, yea, and our Adverſaries themſelves, from their own very doctrines here cited, be Judges.

The conſideration of theſe particulars may ſerve ſufficiently to clear

1. The juſtice of ſecluding thoſe Members, who in endevouring to bring the King (after all) to the Throne again, made themſelves Criminals, becauſe they would by treacherie have betraied the whole Soveraignty, contrary to the Fundamental Law of the Conſtitution, into his hands; which Secluſion is to be juſtified, not only by the Law of Neceſſity (as they pleaded that acted it) but by the Law of the Land, which might have called them to account for their lives, and alſo by the Law of Nations, which in ſuch caſe as this alloweth the victorious part of the People to create a new Law for another Conſtitution of Government.

2. This ſhews the ſufficiencie of that Authority which brought the late King to Juſtice. According to the *Royal* and *Presbyterian* doctrins, he made himſelf *a private perſon*, as well as a publick Enemy; therefore having ſhed ſo much blood and done ſo many miſchiefs deſerving death, he might legally, being a private man, be put to his Trial according to Law, for leſſer Crimes, as well as for that tranſcendent Crime of diſſolving the Fundamental Conſtitution of the Kingdom, by warring for the whole Soveraignty in himſelf.

3. This ſheweth (as is hinted before) the Legality of the remaining Parliaments ſitting to form a new Government; for, though they were but a part of the Parliament heretofore, yet being the only ones that remained faithful to the Peoples Quarrel againſt their Enemy the King, and the former Government having been (as the forecited Authors confeſs) diſſolved by the King himſelf, certainly the Law of God, the Law of Nature, and the Law of the Land intending there ſhould be ſome Government, and the *Law of War* (which the King himſelf brought in) having tranſmitted the Soveraign Power into their hands for the People, they by all manner of Laws are avowed to be the Supreme Authority and Parliament of *England*,

*and*, and therefore legally qualified to sit, to secure and settle a new Fundamental Law of Government (such as may be most convenient) for the Nation. Which being once done, it becomes as valid *de Jure*, (that is to say, as Legal) as the former form of Government ever was.

But because you shall not depend upon my single Inference, you shall have one or two more Testimonies from Mr. *Baxter's* friend *Grotius*. He saith, if the Prevailing party had no other Law but the Law of Necessity, it might serve well enough to justifie such a Proceeding; *Necessitas summa reducit res ad merum Jus Naturæ, Grot. de Jure Belli, l. 2. cap. 6.* And in his *Prolegomena* he saith, *In bello Civili, scripta quidem Jura, &c. In a Civil war, written Laws, that is, the established Laws of a Nation, are of no force, but those only which are not written, that is, which are agreeable to the Dictates of Nature, or the Law and Custom of Nations, and then that only is to be admitted Law which shall be setled by the Prevailing party: Jus dicitur esse id quod validiori placuit, ut intelligamus sine suo carere Jus, nisi vires ministras habeat*; the English whereof is, *That only which it pleaseth the stronger party to ordain, is said to be Law, since it cannot accomplish the end of a Law, except it be attended by Force to constrain obedience.* And as to the particular Case of the *secluded Members*, he hath one saying which hits our purpose right: *Si qui jure suo uti non possunt, eorum jus accrescit præsentibus, l. 2. c. 5.* His busines in that part of the Chapter is, to discourse about the Major Vote in Senates or grand Assemblies, and concludes, That in case the greater number be absent, or if there be any cause that they may not use their Right there, then *the whole Right accrueth to them that are present or remain sitting.* What cause there was for the secluding of these Members, I think you have sufficiently seen in the beginning of this Section; They had joyned issue in Interest and design with the Royal party and the King, who (according to what hath been already conceded) was a *publick Enemy*: So also did the House of Lords, who likewise lost all Right that they could pretend to, by compliance with the same Interest and design. For, seeing by the Equity of all Laws, Accessaries are as punishable as the Principal in a Crime, therefore by the Law of War (it being a Law of their own introducing, and no other Law remaining to be Judge in the Case) both They and the secluded Members, for adhering to the Conquered party, even after the Victory, might have been proceeded against in capital manner, but were favorably as well as justly dealt with, in being deprived only of their Interest in the House, whenas their heads might have been required; and so the whole Supreme Authority descended lawfully to those Members that now remain.

But here some may interpose, and say, We imagined and expected that the Laws of the Land should be maintained, and Free Parliaments, but this doctrine talks of the longest sword and a Prevailing party, maintaining that the strongest must carry it; which is the way to lay a ground for, and to encourage disorders and confusions, so that they which can get uppermost

by

by force, are still to be justified by the same Rule. This language, I know, is frequently in the mouths of the undiscerning sort, yea and of some too who think themselves very wise.

That I may make some Return to this sort of people, and instruct them well, they must learn first to distinguish between Force used without good cause, and an use of Force upon a just cause or occasion; Also betwixt the exercise of force by such as have a Right of war, and by those who have it not; Also, betwixt the Nation in a State of Warr, and the Nation in a State of Peace; Lastly, betwixt the Laws which are fundamental to the Form or Constitution it self of a Government, and the Laws Municipal, which concern the Rights, Liberties and Priviledges of a People under the same Government.

I. Seeing that to all Sword-engagements a good Cause is requisite, then none can hereafter take example or occasion from this rational discourse, to have recourse to the sword, and afterward to improve it as this Parliament did, unless they shall be able to ground the undertaking, as they did, upon righteous principles, which have been acknowledged such (as you read before) even by *Royalists* and *Presbyterians* themselves, nor unless they shall have the same just reasons to make use of the *Law of Warr* (which in such Case becomes the Law of all Nations) to proceed to a final Arbitration of the Quarrell, after that the Adversaries themselves have admitted it, and rendred the ending of the Contest, both impracticable and impossible by any *Law of the Nation*.

II. Those who intend to use the Sword, or the *Law of Warr*, cannot lawfully doe it, unless they can rightly claim *Jus Belli*, and have a Right to that Law, as the Parliament had, when the King grasping at the whole Soveraignty, they were necessitated to defend that part of it which by the National Constitution belonged unto themselves; as hath already been confessed by both sorts of Adversaries.

III. Consider, this can afford no matter of Argument for Rebellions and Insurrections; for if in such a contest of War as this was in *England*, the Parliament had a right to War, the King having occasioned the Nation to be in a state of War, it doth not therefore follow, that in the state of peace, private persons, or any number of persons less qualified than a Parliament, should presume to do what a Parliament might do, either in, or out of a state of War; or that a part of a Parliament should hereafter take upon them to make War, and exclude their Fellow Members and then exercise the whole Supremacy, without and against the consent of those Members, unless the great *Platonick year* shall revolve and revive the like Causes, Occasions, and Circumstances of Acting, and the same Treachery also in Fellow-Members for betraying the Supreme power into the hands of some third party, or single person. In the like extraordinary Case, the like proceeding may lawfully be again, but not otherwise; for, when after a Civil War, a Government is once again established in peace, all men and

powers

powers are to steer their course of acting by the ordinary Laws and Rules of the Constitution.

IV. As touching the great Objection about our Laws, consider, that though the old *Fundamental* which respecteth the former Form or Constitution of Government, be altered, yet the other ancient Laws *Municipal*, which concern our Rights, Liberties, *P*riviledges, and *P*roperties, do remain entire unto the generality of the Nation (and they might be more sensible of the truth of this, did not the designs of disturbers hinder the compleat enjoyment) or else will shortly be setled entire in that state of Freedom which the *P*arliament is once again strugling for against the common enemy. It is brutish therefore, to clamor and cry out, that the Laws of the Land are not maintained, when as onely the Law of that form of Government is abolished, together with the *P*rerogative of the King, *P*riviledge of *P*eers, and the like, which were but the excrescencies of Arbitrary power, which had (in a great measure) over-grown, not onely the *Laws Municipal*, concerning our Rights, Liberties and *P*roperties, but exceeded also by usurpation, the bounds of that very Law of the Kingdoms Constitution, upon which King and *P*eers themselves had a standing, and were to stand. To sum up all in a word, the people have, or (if they would be pleased to settle) may and will more sensibly have their old Laws to be governed by, onely all the harm done is, That for the former Constitution or Form of Government, they have in their reach (and partly in possession) a better, *viz.* A Fundamental Constitutional Law of Freedom, lawfully purchased by this *Parliament*, and by them ready to be settled unto us, and our Children after us.

There remain two Objections more used by our Author, and Mr. *Prynne*, and other Malecontents, *First*, *That this Parliament was actually dissolved by the Protector.* No such matter, *Ultra Posse non est Esse*, he had no power to do it, therefore it could not be done by him. But you will say, We saw he had power that actually enabled him to effect the dissolution.

To this I Answer, A *Dissolution* it could not be, but (as now it is called) it is rightly termed onely *An Interruption* of its sitting; for, in matter of power by Law, the Lawyers know well enough, it is a sure Maxim, *Id solum possum quod jure possum*, *i. e.* That a man can do nothing that is valid, but onely what he doth according to Law. Now then, if the *Protectors* Act of turning out the *P*arliament were a valid Dissolution, it must have been so by some Law; and that Law must be either some Law of the Nation that enabled him to do it, or else it must be the Law of War. As to the former, it is evident he had no Law of the Nation to justifie the Action; and so, if any Law, it is that of War which must make it good. Now that he could not do it by the Law of War, is evident likewise, because his Military capacity was derived from the *P*arliament, they (who had the whole Right of War in themselves) having given him his Commission to Militate for them

(that

(that is to say, for the people represented by them) and so he could not properly or lawfully Militate or use a Right of War against them, who had no lawful power but what he derived from them; whereby it being evident he could make no Legal Dissolution of them, *Ergo*, By Law (notwithstanding him) the Parliament remains in being, and the Soldiery having withdrawn the force that was over it, it followeth without straining, That having never been lawfully dissolved, they remain legally the same Parliament they were before

*Secondly*, But there is a further Objection yet to be dispatched, which is, *That many of the Members of this House having sat intermediate Parliaments called by the Protector, have thereby acknowledged this House was dissolved by him.*

1. The Answer to this is naturally consecutive to the former, *viz.* that seeing the Parliament was still in Being, being only suspended for a time from the exercise of the supreme power, then all that was done in pursuance thereupon in reference to the exercise of supremacie, must in Law be void and null, and the intervening space of time be reputed as a great *Chasma*, a præternatural vacuity or dead Interval, wherein all the Acts of supremacie, and matters relatiug thereto, that were used, became legally defunct as soon as they were done, coming into the world still-born; and so those Intervening Assemblies of the people, not having had the legal Force and vertue of Parliaments, they are now properly called Conventions for distinction sake. Besides as they were nothing in Law of themselves (being creatures of another extraction) so he who created them by his own Power, presently uncreated them to their first nothing, because as he was a man of high courage and great spirit, he could not endure to see the work of his own hands rise up and dispute (as he conceived) against him

2. As to the sitting of some Members of the present Parliament in those intermediate Conventions, They did it, not as owning them for legal Parliaments, but sat only in respect to the Interest of the people, who Originally and Fundamentally alwaies had and have a Right to meet to consult for common Good; and if being under a Force, they be hindred that they cannot doe it as they ought and as they would, yet it alwaies concerns them to doe it as they can, and as they find Opportunity; upon this Account some of the Members did sit in those Conventions, with intent to have made use of those Opportunities God did put into their hands for the Publick, yet without any further respect to the Power assumed to call them, than a mere appearance: For, in the first Convention, they presently fell to claiming their Right in the behalf of the people, and so they did in all the following Conventions; for which cause seclusions were used against them. But some will say, if they did not own the Power, and those to be Parliaments, why did they complain so much of their being then secluded, as an Infringement of the Peoples Right in Parliament? The Answer of this

is neer of kind to the former; their Complaint concerning breach of priviledg, was not grounded upon supposition of any Right or priviledge of sitting derived unto them from the Protectors writ of summons (for, they were alwaies so farr from acknowledging him, that they kept on foot a *Continuall Claim*, and thereupon opposed him to the utmost of their Power) but their Complaint of violation was grounded only upon that general Right inherent in the people, which is, if they cannot meet in a regular way, then (as I said before) to doe it as they can, and as they find opportunity for asserting their own Rights; and so upon this Account it is, that being forced away from the meeting, they might well complaine; that complaining must be construed to be an effect of the sence they had of the injury done to that general Right of the Peoples meeting, rather than a sign of any acknowledgment of the *Protectors* power, or of those Meetings to be Parliaments.

Lastly, What if some Members of the present Parliament had acknowledged, or did acknowledge the power, summoning them to meet, and those meetings to be Parliaments? yet that could be no prejudice to the whole Body of this Parliament now sitting, because a Body of Men remaining all in equal power and right, cannot be concluded by particular Acts done by some of their own number without consent of the rest; yea, if all of them at once had sat in any one of those Meetings, yet sitting there but as an integral part of a Meeting, and not as a distinct Assembly, nor as the same entire House of Parliament that they were before their Interruption; therefore nothing of this nature which they or any of them have done in other Conventions, since their Interruption, can be said to be an Act done in their Free-State Parliamentary capacity, because that belongs onely to their whole House and so the sitting and acting of some part of them, cannot be interpreted *Tantamount* to a voluntary Dissolution of this their Supream Assembly.

This being done, I might now fall upon the Adversaries other Objections from the *Oaths of Allegiance and Supremacie* and the *Covenant* and by Inferences drawn from their own principles here cited in this Section, confute all their pretences grounded upon those Oaths, &c. But because I have been already very much larger then at first I intended, let this one general Inference serve the turn, *viz.* That the Constitution of the Kingdom being extinct through the Kings own default, in relation to which only (as Mr. *Baxter* saith at the latter end of the same Book) we were by our several Obligations concerned to have respect to him while he kept within his Bounds; and a new Constitution of Government being now lawfully introduced (as hath been proved,) then (as may be collected out of the Royal Doctor *Sanderson's* Book *De Juramento*) *the Alteration being carried to such a height, that neither the same person nor things are in being, which I swore to maintain, the former Oaths are at an end, and the Obligation ceaseth.* And that this may be confirmed by one Witness more, take in *Grotius* also,

 who

Who *lib.2. de Jur. bell. cap.13.* saith, *An oath binds no longer, if the quality or condition of him to whom I sware, be altered; As for example, if he that was a Magistrate cease to be a Magistrate*; as he must needs do (say I) who layeth claim to an old form of Government, after it and his own pretension is lawfully extinguished, and another lawfully introduced in its place: which is the thing already sufficiently proved by the preceding parts of this Section; and so all former Obligations to the late King and his Heirs become, upon that account, utterly void.

## SECT. VIII.

## *Of the City of* London.

LOndon, the *Metropolis* and Imperial Chamber of *England!* she hath always been zealous and famous for the maintenance of Religion and Liberty; and if we look but twenty years backward, and consider what vast sums of money she hath disbursed upon that account; how liberal she hath been of her own Blood in marching forth, and what bodies of men she hath sent abroad; how diligent and active, how resolute and constant she hath stood, in asserting the Cause-Parliamentary, through various revolutions, to this present season, against the late King and his party; and how victorious (by Gods own arm of Salvation) she hath been on the behalf of the Commonwealth, I may without flattery say, the Records of no City this day in *Europe* can in so short a time shew more Triumphs of Honor, or greater Trophies of Renown than she; and all these won from that Malignant and implacable party, who, whatever they may pretend, (both head and tail of them) do for these things most perfectly remember you, and look not on this or that party of men among you, but eye and hate your City *quatenus London*; *London*, that first beat them out of their Estates, and then took them into their own hands either upon Morgage-money lent, or upon Purchase-money paid, to enable them to pay their Compositions to the State; *London*, that began the War, as the King said, and threatned them for it in his Declarations; but though in this I am able to acquit them, yet the Cavaliers, in reverence to their old Master will believe no body but him. They could not be so often tipling from time to time in your City, but you must needs have heard (when the Wine was in) all these things (with Curses to boot) belched out concerning you. Which being so, take heed least fits of the Spleen transport any part of you beyond your selves, to give an ear to them that with fair words (working upon discontent) do seek to ensnare you. Can *London* City think to thrive, while his Son shall sit upon the Throne, whose Father over and over declared it to be the beginner of the War?

Look into his Papers and Declarations in the *Book of Collections*, how he charget'

chargeth your City all along to be the place from whence the tumults sprang, which (he saith) forced him to go away from *Whitehal*, because while he was there, he was in *Danger of his Life* (if we way beleeve him) and that out of the City the *Five Members were guarded with Multitudes of armed men, and Ammunition, in a hostile and warlike manner to* Westminster; *And how that near a hundred Lighters and long Boats were set out by water, laden with Sacres, Murdering-pieces, and other Ammunition, dressed up with Mast-clothes, and Streamers, as ready for Fight*, and (saith the Declaration) *they by water passed by our Windows at* Whitehal, *and scornfully asked, what was become of Us* (to wit the King) *and whether we were gone?* Also, in another Declaration, he sets forth, how the City and their Lord Mayor *sent forth their Myrmidons to assault and terrifie the Members of both Houses whose Opinions they liked not.* In another Declaraion he proclaimeth, that such of his Subjects *as were dutiful and faithful to him, and labored for Peace, were reviled, injured and murthered even by the Magistrates of THAT CITY, or by their directions*; In other Declarations he said to this effect, that if *they repented not then, they ought to look for no Favor*; therein intimating, that a Revenge was due from him unto the City, if they proceeded any further. *Page.* 772. of that Book he signifieth, that the *pride and power of the city was the means made use of to undo the Kingdom.* And in his Letter to the City of *London*, dated from *York*, he tells them that if they did not then complie with him, he was resolved to proceed (when he should be able) *against the several Companies of the City (as opposers of his Authority) in the most exemplary way, AND QUESTION THE CHARTER OF THE CITY.* If these things were threatned when the *Curst Cow had short Horns*, what then may ye expect from his Son, and that party, if they (through the folly of any of you) should gaine power into their hands?

Secondly, If not for your own sakes, yet for Religions sake, take heed what ye do. Ye have been (I know) a Religious zealous people, and upon that account ye were hated in the days of the Court; take heed that none of you be blinded by mistaken Zeal, as well as passion, to run upon your own ruine; read over the *First, Second and Third Sections* once again, and look before you leap seeing your Religion stands upon a precipice as well as your selves, if the yong man get in, who is heir to the principles as well as the pretensions of his family: And what a friend that Family hath been to Religion, and its Professors is worthy of your most serious consideration. If we view them in their *English* Extraction, the Book of Martyrs will tell you how the Sluces of Blood were opened by King *Henry* and his Daughter *Mary*. If we look on the *Scotish* side, it is sad to consider, how much blood was spilt by her of the House of *Lorraine*, who was our King *James* his Grandmother She being gone, her Daughter (King *James* his Mother *Mary*, a fierce Papist) succeeded, who after she had massacred her own Husband (the Father of *James*) by poison, Gun-powder, and halter, for the love she

bare to *Davie* and Earl *Bothwel* (her Adulterers) persecuted all of the *Reformed Religion*, endeavored to poison *James* her own Son, shed blood likewise by raising Civil War at home against her Protestant Subjects, and conspired with forein Papists to destroy Queen *Elizabeth*: For all which God found her out, and gave her a due reward by the loss of her head in *Fotheringay* Castle. The next was King *JAMES*, who wrote his *Beati Pacifici* in blood too: For, to say nothing of the death of *Overbury*, which blood he took upon himself by pardoning the Murtherers, nor of that of *Raleigh* (meerly to serve a turn of State) it is well known his son *Henry* came to an untimely death; and though it be not directly known by what hand he was taken away, yet (as a late Historian observes) there was a strange connivence, and little mourning at Court after it was done. To these may be added (not unjustly) the Blood of the poor Protestants in *Germany*, which must be laid upon the score of that Family; for, had K. *James* performed the duty of a good Protestant, or a loving Father, he might (if he had pleased) have presently stopt the Issue that ran there 30 years together. I might insist likewise upon his son the late Kings betraying the Protestant Cause also in *Germany*, and throughout *France*, especially at *Rochel*, where, under a fained pretence of assisting the Protestants with ships, &c. he gave order to his shipping to serve on the contrary side, to the utter ruine of that Cause and Party in *France*, and the loss of many gallant English-men's lives by him exposed to destruction; for, when *Buckingham* was questioned for it in Parliament, the King himself, to signifie to all the world, that what his Favorite had done was by his own approbation, stept between the Duke and the Parliament, and so took the guilt of all upon himself: All which most treacherous Actions towards them of our Religion abroad, were in those daies, and have been ever since, resented by all the Protestants throughout *Europe*, and the present exclusion of that Family is lookt on now by the most pious of the Nations round about, as a just recompence (which they have long expected) to fall from the hand of God upon the Family, for the Treachery of their Fathers toward his Church and people. But that which exceeds all comparison, is their guilt in reference to the barbarous Massacre in *Ireland*. No more of this, but that it cannot be imagined, any Religious man who hath heard of these things, should imbarque himself with such a Family, the guilt whereof hath hitherto sunk all the partakers. I might likewise add the Negotiations of the Young man (that now is) with the Pope by his Agents at *Rome*, (Copies whereof I have by me in Italian, Latine, and French, and shall in due time publish them.)

Thirdly, if Religion cannot move ye, what thinke ye of your Liberties, and the Nations Liberties? Promises are but Baits that may draw you to the Net. The Chronicles will tell you, that when K. *John* had granted *Magna Charta* and *Charta Forestæ*, because he could not help it, and 25 persons were chosen as Trustees for the people in the Government, yet the

the King after a ſhort time, worm'd them out of all power, and undid all that he had done before, and was revenged at laſt upon them all. The like miſery fell out by truſting *Henry* the Third, who having warred with his people, they got the better one while, and he another, and theſe viciſſitudes were frequent betwixt them; and all that the people gained by truſting him was the better learning of this Leſſon, *Put no confidence in Princes*; for at every turn, no ſooner did he by ſubtilty get the Power, but he fell heavy upon thoſe that had oppoſed him, eſpecially the *Londoners*, whoſe Charter he called in, and all his daies after made them examples of his vengeance; the like he did to the other Corporations. So *Richard* the ſecond, becau e the *Londoners* had oppoſed him, as ſoon as he got opportunity, he cuſrtailed their priviledges, and placed continuall marks of his diſpleaſure upon them. I need not inſtance, how neer *Edward* the Firſt was to have burned the City upon the ſame account, after he had plagued it over and over, becauſe I would not be tedious in particulariſing theſe, or in citing other Inſtances out of our own ſtories; which every one may read at leiſure.

Fourthly, admit that *Charls* himſelf would be (of his own inclination) better than his Predeceſſors, yet his party are hungry, and will not be ſatisfied: And he having occaſion to uſe them, muſt not denie them their pleaſure, but muſt (above all things) keep his own party in heart, elſe they will not be firm to him, and ſo he may be expoſed to danger from all other parties, whom it will be his Intereſt to hold under, that they may never be in condition again to lift him out of the ſaddle. No doubt but he and they will remember his Fathers words in a particular manner, [ *The pride and power of the City of London.* ]

Fifthly, as to the pretended Title of this young man, pray you what is it? It will be found upon ſearch, like all the reſt of the Titles founded upon uſurpation, one after another, ſince *the Conqueſt*. If we look up to *Henry* the Seventh, its original, there will be little cauſe to admire it; for, he only deſcended from a Baſtard of *John* of *Gaunt*, who, though ligitimated for Common Inheritances, yet was expreſly excluded by Law from Succeſſion to the Crown: And as for his Wives Title, you know he never thought that worth the uſing; and yet from this ſpurious ſlip of the *Lancaſtrian* Root it was, that King *James* derived his Claim, and that but collaterally or at Second Hand, being (in effect) a meer Stranger in blood to the Engliſh; whereupon we may juſtly wonder, what Policy guided this Nation in thoſe days, when it ſo ſtrangely bowed down its Neck to the Yoak of a Stranger. But, admit this Title had been without Flaws in its derivation, yet this Man's Fathers Treaſons and his own (as is proved inthe former Section) have moſt deſervedly cauſed the cutting off the Entaile. Beſides, it is evident, what a Governor for you this Pretender would prove, who ſuckt in his Fathers Principles with his Mothers milk, hath been bred up under the Wings of Prelacie and Popery, and as he ſuck't both breſts heretofore, ſo he hangs upon them both at this very day; One who from the begin-

ning

ning was engaged against the Cause of the Commonwealth, and your City, and who hath the same Counsellers his Father had (besides a more intimate acquaintance acquired beyond Sea with the Jesuits) to remember him both of the old Designe, and the ways to effect it; one who hath been bedabled in the Blood of *England*, *Scotland* and *Ireland*, and hath both his Father's and his own Scores to clear out of your Purses, and hath long made it his Business to cajole and cheat all parties, in hope thereby to get in upon us, with a desperate Rabble at his heels, to execute his Revenges. What shall we say then of such men, that now make shipwrack of their own Principles, to seek to let him in, and would be opening sluces of blood out of their Countrimen and nearest Relations, for the Interest of their own and the publick Enemy?

Lastly, as to what concerns your *Trade*, its easie to guess what will become of that, when it shall be counted *Reason of State* to keep you poor and low. For the inference is ready at hand for him; *viz.* That if the Father complained of *Pride and Power* in you, and hath recorded that from thence proceeded the first Causes of his ruine, then the son is concerned to pull down your pride, (if I may use the Royal phrase) and hold a strong hand over you. And how do you think Trade cân thrive upon his restitution? when (as you may read in the third, fourth and fifth Sections) there will be a necessity of trebling Taxes, and perpetuating of them past remedie, to maintaine another kind of Army than we have now, to tame dissenting Parties, and to keep the Nation in an asinine posture of submission to bear all burthens that shall be laid either upon the Estate or the Conscience, by the Lords of the Court, and the *Lordanes* of Episcopacie. As Trade therefore is the particular Interest of your City, so be wary, that the want of it at present do not irritate you to fall out with the publick Interest of your Country; but remember, that it being once setled, Trade and all other Concernments will soon flourish again; and that the way to settlement must be (as our Author well said) by giving satisfaction to all parties, which (as I have before manifested from his own words) cannot be expected from C *Stuart* and his party, but may and will be easily had from the way of a free Commonwealth; so that all we have to doe is, to stick close to the Parliament, that they may be enabled to establish it, and employ our utmost to keep him out, because otherwise war will follow, and that will inevitably bring on a destruction of Trade, with the ruine of Religion, Liberty, and your Renowned City; All which may prosper, if ye please: 'Tis you that have given all this *Pail of good Milk*; and what a thing would it be, that any of you should aim to *kick it down in the dirt!*

*—— En quò discordia Cives*
*Perducet miseros! ——*

*Westminster*, Aug. 12. } 1659.

FINIS.

A

# SERMON

Preached before the

# KING,

MARCH 13. 166$\frac{6}{7}$.

BY

*Edward Stillingfleet*, B. D. Chaplain in Ordinary to his Majesty.

Printed by His Majesties especial Command.

*LONDON*,
Printed by *Robert White*, for *Henry Mortlock*, and are to be sold at his Shop at the Sign of the White Hart in *Westminster* Hall.
1667.

PROVERBS 14. 9.

*Fools make a mock at Sin.*

---

WHEN *God* by his infinite Wiſdom had contrived, and by a power and goodneſs, as infinite as his Wiſdom, had perfected the creation of the viſible world, there ſeemed to be nothing wanting to the glory of it, but a creature endued with reaſon and underſtanding, which might comprehend the deſign of his wiſdom, enjoy the benefits of his goodneſs, and employ it ſelf in the celebration of his power. The Beings purely intellectuall were too highly raiſed by their own order and creation, to be the *Lords* of this inferiour world: and thoſe whoſe natures could reach no higher than the objects of ſenſe, were not

capable of diſcovering the glorious perfections of the great Creator: and therefore could not be the fit *Inſtruments* of his praiſe and ſervice. But a conjunction of both theſe together was thought neceſſary to make up ſuch a ſort of beings, which might at once command this lower world, and be the ſervants of him who made it. Not as though this great fabrick of the world were meerly raiſed for man to pleaſe his fancy in the contemplation of it, or to exerciſe his dominion over the creatures deſigned for his uſe and ſervice; but that by frequent reflections on the author of his being, and the effects of his power and goodneſs, he might be brought to the greateſt love and admiration of him. So that the moſt naturall part of *Religion* lyes in the gratefull acknowledgments we owe to that excellent and ſupreme Being, who hath ſhewed ſo particular a kindneſs to man in the creation and Government of the world. Which was ſo great and unexpreſsible, that ſome have thought, it was not ſo much pride and affectation of a greater height, as envy at the felicity and power of mankind, which was the occaſion of the fall of the *Apoſtate Spirits*. But whether or no the ſtate of man were occaſion enough for the envy

envy of the *Spirits* above; we are ſure the kindneſs of Heaven was ſo great in it, as could not but lay an indiſpenſable obligation on all mankind to perpetuall gratitude and obedience. For it is as eaſie to ſuppoſe, that affronts and injuries are the moſt ſuitable returns for the moſt obliging favours; that the firſt duty of a *Child* ſhould be to deſtroy his Parents; that to be thankful for kindneſſes received, were to commit the unpardonable ſin; as that man ſhould receive his being and all the bleſsings which attend it from *God*, and not be bound to the moſt univerſall obedience to him.

And as the reflection on the author of his being, leads him to the acknowledgement of his duty towards *God*, ſo the conſideration of the deſign of it, will more eaſily acquaint him with the nature of that duty which is expected from him. Had man been deſigned only to act a ſhort part here in the world, all that had been required of him, had been only to expreſs his thankfulneſs to *God* for his being, and the comforts of it; the uſing all means for the due preſervation of himſelf; the doing nothing beneath the dignity of humane nature, nothing injurious to thoſe who were of the ſame nature with himſelf; but

 ſince

ſince he is deſigned for greater and nobler ends, and his preſent ſtate, is but a ſtate of tryall, in order to future happineſs and miſery; the reaſon of good and evill is not to be taken meerly from his preſent, but from the reſpect, which things have to that eternall ſtate he is deſigned for. From whence it follows, that the differences of good and evill are rooted in the nature of our beings, and are the neceſſary conſequents of our relation to *God*, and each other, and our expectations of a future life. And therefore according to theſe meaſures, the eſtimation of men in the world hath been while they did preſerve any veneration for *God* or *themſelves*. Wiſdom and folly was not meaſured ſo much by the ſubtilty and curioſity of mens ſpeculations, by the fineſs of their thoughts, or the depth of their deſigns, as by their endeavours to uphold the dignity of mankind; by their piety and devotion towards *God*; by their ſobriety and due Government of their actions; by the equality and juſtice, the charity and kindneſs of their dealings to one another. Wiſdom was but another name for goodneſs, and folly for ſin: then it was a mans glory to be religious; and to be profane and vitious, was to be baſe and mean: then there were no *Gods*

wor-

worſhipped becauſe they were bad, nor any men diſgraced becauſe they were good. Then there were no *Temples* erected to the meaneſt paſsions of humane nature, nor men became *Idolaters* to their own infirmities. Then to be betrayed into ſin, was accounted weakneſs; to contrive it, diſhonour and baſeneſs; to juſtifie and defend it, infamy and reproach; to make a mock at it, a mark of the higheſt folly and incorrigibleneſs. So the Wiſe Man in the words of the Text aſſures us, that they are *Fools*, and thoſe of the higheſt rank and degree of folly, *who make a mock at ſin.*

It is well for us in the Age we live in, that we have the judgement of former ages to appeal to, and of thoſe perſons in them whoſe reputation for wiſdom is yet unqueſtionable. For otherwiſe we might be born down by that ſpightfull enemy to all vertue and goodneſs, the impudence of ſuch, who it is hard to ſay whether they ſhew it more in committing ſin, or in defending it. Men whoſe manners are ſo bad, that ſcarce any thing can be imagined worſe, unleſs it be the wit they uſe to excuſe them with. Such who take the meaſure of mans perfections downwards, and the nearer they approach to beaſts, the more they think themſelves to act like

men.

men. No wonder then, if among ſuch as theſe the differences of good and evil be laughed at, and no ſin be thought ſo unpardonable, as the thinking that there is any at all. Nay the utmoſt they will allow in the deſcription of Sin, is, that it is a thing that ſome live by declaiming againſt, and others cannot live without the practice of.

But is the *Chair of Scorners* at laſt proved the only chair of Infallibility? Muſt thoſe be the ſtandard of mankind, who ſeem to have little left of humane nature, but laughter and the ſhape of men? Do they think that we are all become ſuch fools to take ſcoffs for arguments, and raillery for demonſtrations? He knows nothing at all of goodneſs, that knows not that it is much more eaſie to laugh at it, than to practiſe it; and it were worth the while *to make a mock at ſin*, if the doing ſo would make nothing of it. But the nature of things does not vary with the humours of men; ſin becomes not at all the leſs dangerous becauſe men have ſo little Wit to think it ſo; nor *Religion* the leſs excellent and advantageous to the world, becauſe the greateſt enemies of that are ſo much to themſelves too, that they have learnt to deſpiſe it. But although that ſcorns to be defended by ſuch

weapons

weapons whereby her enemies aſſault her, (nothing more unbecoming the *Majeſty* of *Religion*, than to make it ſelf cheap, by making others laugh) yet if they can but obtain ſo much of themſelves to attend with patience to what is ſerious, there may be yet a poſsibility of perſwading them, that no *fools* are ſo great as thoſe who laugh themſelves into miſery, and none ſo certainly do ſo, as thoſe *who make a mock at ſin.*

But if our authority be too mean and contemptible to be relyed on, in a matter wherein they think us ſo much concern'd (and ſo I hope we are to prevent the ruine of mens ſouls) we dare with confidence appeal to the generall ſenſe of mankind in the matter of our preſent debate. Let them name but any one perſon in all the monuments of former ages, to whom but the bare ſuſpicion of Vice was not a diminution to an eſteem that might otherwiſe have been great in the world. And if the bare ſuſpicion would do ſo much among even the more rude and barbarous Nations, what would open and profeſſed wickedneſs do among the more knowing and civill? Humane nature retains an abhorrency of ſin, ſo far that it is impoſsible for men to have the ſame eſteem of thoſe who are given over

to all manner of wickedneſs, though otherwiſe of great ſharpneſs of Wit, and of ſuch whoſe naturall abilities may not exceed the other, but yet do govern their actions according to the ſtrict rules of *Religion* and *Vertue*. And the generall ſenſe of mankind cannot be by any thing better known, than by an univerſall conſent of men, as to the wayes whereby they expreſs their value and eſteem of others. What they all agree on as the beſt character of a perſon worthy to be loved and honoured, we may well think is the moſt agreeable to humane nature; and what is univerſally thought a diſparagement to the higheſt accompliſhments, ought to be looked on as the diſgrace and imperfection of it. Did ever any yet, though never ſo wicked and profane themſelvs, ſeriouſly commend another perſon for his rudeneſs and debaucheries? Was any mans luſt or intemperance ever reckoned among the Titles of his honour? Who ever yet raiſed *Trophies* to his vices, or thought to perpetuate his memory by the glory of them? Where was it ever known, that ſobriety and temperance, juſtice and charity were thought the marks of reproach and infamy? Who ever ſuffered in their reputation by being thought to be really good? Nay, it is ſo far

from

from it, that the most wicked persons do inwardly esteem them whether they will or no. By which we see, that even in this lapsed and degenerate condition of mankind, it is only goodness which gains true honour and esteem, and nothing doth so effectually blast a growing reputation, as wickedness and vice.

But if it be thus with the generality of men, who were never yet thought to have too much partiality towards goodness, we may much more easily find it among those, who have had a better ground for the reputation of their wisdom, than the meer vogue of the people. He who was pronounced by the *Heathen Oracle*, to be the wisest among the *Greeks*, was the person who brought down Philosophy from the obscure and uncertain speculations of nature, and in all his discourses recommended vertue as the truest wisdom. And he among the *Iews*, whose *soul was as large as the sand on the Sea shore, whose wisdom outwent that of all the persons of his own or future ages*, writes a Book on purpose to perswade men, that there is no reall wisdom, but to fear God and keep his commandments: that sin is the greatest folly, and the meaner apprehensions men have of it, the more they are infatuated by the temptations to it. But as

1 Kings 4. 29, 30, 31.

 there

there are degrees of ſinning, ſo there are of folly in it. Some ſin with a bluſhing countenance, and a trembling conſcience; they ſin, but yet they are afraid to ſin: they ſin, but in the act of it they condemn themſelves for what they do; they ſin, but with confuſion in their faces, with horrour in their minds, and an earthquake in their conſciences: though the condition of ſuch perſons be dangerous, and their unquietneſs ſhews the greatneſs of their folly, yet becauſe theſe twitches of conſcience argue there are ſome quick touches left of the ſenſe of good and evil, their caſe is not deſperate, nor their condition incurable: But there are others who deſpiſe theſe as the reproach of the *School* of *Wickedneſs*, becauſe they are not yet attained to thoſe heights of impiety which they glory in: ſuch who have ſubdued their conſciences much eaſier than others do their ſins; who have almoſt worn out all the impreſsions of the *work of the Law written in their hearts*; who not only make a practice, but a boaſt of ſin, and defend it with as much greedineſs as they commit it; theſe are the men, whoſe folly is manifeſt to all men but themſelves; and ſurely ſince theſe are the men, whom *Solomon* in the words of the *Text* deſcribes,

(1.) By

(1.) By their character, as *Fools*, and,

(2.) By the instance of their folly, *in making a mock at sin*; We may have not only the liberty to use, but to prove, that name of reproach to be due unto them; and (2.) To shew the reasonablenesse of fastning it upon them, because they *make a mock at sin.*

But before I come more closely to pursue that, it will be necessary to consider another sense of these words caused by the ambiguity of the *Hebrew* Verb, which sometimes signifies to deride and scorn, sometimes to plead for, and excuse a thing with all the arts of *Rhetorick* (thence the word for *Rhetorick* is derived from the Verb here used) according to which sense, it notes all the plausible pretences and subtle extenuations which wicked men use in defence of their evil actions. For as if men intended to make some recompence for the folly they betray in the acts of sin by the wit they employ in the pleading for them, there is nothing they shew more industry and care in, than in endeavouring to baffle their own consciences, and please themselves in their folly, till death and eternall flames awaken them. That we may not therefore seem to beg all wicked men for *Fools*, till we have heard what they have to say for themselves, we

ſhall firſt examine the reaſonableneſs of their faireſt Plea's for their evil actions, before we make good the particular impeachment of *folly* againſt them. There are three wayes eſpecially whereby they ſeek to juſtifie themſelves; by laying the blame of all their evil actions, either upon the fatall neceſſity of all events, the unavoidable frailty of humane nature, or the impoſsibility of keeping the Laws of Heaven. But that none of theſe will ſerve to excuſe them from the juſt imputation of *folly*, is our preſent buſineſs to diſcover.

1. *The fatall neceſsity of all humane actions.* Thoſe who upon any other terms are unwilling enough to own either *God* or *Providence*, yet if they can but make theſe ſerve their turn to juſtifie their ſins by, their quarrell againſt them then ceaſeth, as being much more willing that *God* ſhould bear the blame of their ſins, than themſelvs. But yet the very fears of a *Deity* ſuggeſt ſo many dreadfull thoughts of his *Majeſty*, *Iuſtice*, and *Power*, that they are very well contented to have him wholly left out; and then to ſuppoſe Man to be a meer Engine, that is neceſſarily moved by ſuch a train and ſeries of cauſes, that there is no action how bad ſoever that is done by him, which it was any more poſsible for him not to have done, than for

the

the fire not to burn when it pleases. If this be true, farewell all the differences of good and evil in mens actions; farewell all expectations of future rewards and punishments; *Religion* becomes but a meer name, and righteousness but an art to live by. But it is with this, as it is with the other arguments they use against *Religion*; there is something within, which checks and controlls them in what they say: and that inward remorse of conscience, which such men sometimes feel in their evil actions (when conscience is forced to recoil by the foulness of them) doth effectually confute their own *hypothesis*; and makes them not believe those actions to be necessary, for which they suffer so much in themselves because they knew they did them freely. Or is it as fatall for man to believe himself free when he is not so, as it is for him to act when his choice is determined? but what *series* of causes is there that doth so necessarily impose upon the common sense of all mankind? It seems very strange, that man should have so little sense of his own interest to be still necessitated to the worst of actions, and yet torment himself with the thoughts that he did them freely. Or is it only the *freedome of action*, and not *of choice*, that men have an experience of

within

within themſelves? But ſurely, however men may ſubtilly diſpute of the difference between theſe two, no man would ever believe himſelf to be free in what he does, unleſs he firſt thought himſelf to be ſo, in what he determines? And if we ſuppoſe man to have as great a *freedom of choice* in all his evil actions (which is the liberty we are now ſpeaking of) as any perſons aſſert or contend for, we cannot ſuppoſe that he ſhould have a greater experience of it, than now he hath. So that either it is impoſsible for man to know when his choice is free; or if it may be known, the conſtant experience of all evil men in the world will teſtifie, that it is ſo now. Is it poſsible for the moſt intemperate perſon to believe, when the moſt pleaſing temptations to luſt or gluttony are preſented to him, that no conſiderations whatever could reſtrain his appetite, or keep him from the ſatisfaction of his brutiſh inclinations? Will not the ſudden, though groundleſs, apprehenſion of poyſon in the Cup, make the Drunkards heart to ake, and hand to tremble, and to let fall the ſuppoſed fatall mixture in the midſt of all his jollity and exceſs? How often have perſons who have deſigned the greateſt miſchief to the lives and fortunes of

others,

others, when all opportunities have fallen out beyond their expectation for accomplishing their ends, through some sudden thoughts which have surprized them, almost in the very act, been diverted from their intended purposes? Did ever any yet imagine that the charms of beauty and allurements of lust were so irresistible, that if men knew before hand they should surely dye in the embraces of an adulterous bed, they could not yet withstand the temptations to it? If then some considerations, which are quite of another nature from all the objects which are presented to him, may quite hinder the force and efficacy of them upon the mind of man (as we see in *Ioseph*'s resisting the importunate Caresses of his Mistris) what reason can there be to imagine that man is a meer *machine* moved only as outward objects determine him? And if the considerations of present fear and danger may divert men from the practice of evil actions, shall not the far more weighty considerations of eternity have, at least an equall, if not a far greater power and efficacy upon mens minds, to keep them from everlasting misery? Is an immortall soul and the eternal happiness of it so mean a thing in our esteem and value, that we will not deny our selves those

 sen-

ſenſuall pleaſures for the ſake of that, which we would renounce for ſome preſent danger? Are the flames of another world ſuch painted fires, that they deſerve only to be laughed at, and not ſeriouſly conſidered by us? Fond man! art thou only free to ruine and deſtroy thy ſelf? a ſtrange fatality indeed, when nothing but what is mean and triviall ſhall determine thy choice! when matters of the higheſt moment are therefore leſs regarded, becauſe they are ſuch. Haſt thou no other plea for thy ſelf, but that thy ſins were fatal? thou haſt no reaſon then to believe but that thy miſery ſhall be ſo too. But if thou owneſt a *God* and *Providence*, aſſure thy ſelf that juſtice and righteouſneſs are not meer *Titles* of *his Honour*, but the reall properties of his nature. And he who hath appointed the rewards and puniſhments of the great day, will then call the ſinner to account, not only for all his other ſins, but for offering to lay the imputation of them upon himſelf. For if the greateſt abhorrency of mens evil wayes, the rigour of his Laws, the ſeverity of his judgements, the exactneſs of his juſtice, the greateſt care uſed to reclaim men from their ſins, and the higheſt aſſurance, that he is not the cauſe of their ruine, may be any vindication of the holineſs of

God

*God* now, and his juſtice in the life to come; we have the greateſt reaſon to lay the blame of all our evil actions upon our ſelves, as to attribute the glory of all our good unto himſelf alone.

2. *The frailty of humane nature*: thoſe who find themſelves to be free enough to do their ſouls miſchief, and yet continue ſtill in the doing of it, find nothing more ready to plead for themſelves, than the unhappineſs of mans compoſition, and the degenerate ſtate of the world. If *God* had deſigned (they are ready to ſay) that man ſhould lead a life free from ſin, why did he confine the ſoul of man to a body ſo apt to taint and pollute it? But who art thou O man, that thus findeſt fault with thy Maker? Was not his kindneſs the greater, in not only giving thee a ſoul capable of enjoying himſelf, but ſuch an habitation for it here, which by the curioſity of its contrivance, the number and uſefulneſs of its parts, might be a perpetual and domeſtick teſtimony of the wiſdom of its *Maker*? Was not ſuch a conjunction of ſoul and body neceſſary for the exerciſe of that dominion which *God* deſigned man for, over the creatures endued only with ſenſe and motion? And if we ſuppoſe this life to be a ſtate of tryall in order to a better, (as in

all reaſon we ought to do) what can be imagined more proper to ſuch a ſtate, than to have the ſoul conſtantly employed in the government of thoſe ſenſuall inclinations which ariſe from the body? In the doing of which, the proper exerciſe of that vertue conſiſts, which is made the condition of future happineſs. Had it not been for ſuch a compoſition, the difference could never have been ſeen between good and bad men; *i. e.* between thoſe who maintain the Empire of reaſon, aſſiſted by the motives of *Religion*, over all the inferiour faculties, and ſuch who dethrone their ſouls and make them ſlaves to every luſt that will command them. And if men willingly ſubject themſelves to that which they were born to rule, they have none to blame but themſelves for it. Neither is it any excuſe at all, that this, through the degeneracy of mankind, is grown the common cuſtome of the world; unleſs that be in it ſelf ſo great a Tyrant, that there is no reſiſting the power of it. If *God* had commanded us to comply with all the cuſtoms of the world, and at the ſame time to be *ſober, righteous, and good*, we muſt have lived in another age than we live in, to have excuſed theſe two commands from a palpable contradiction. But inſtead of this, he hath

fore-

*God* now, and his juſtice in the life to come; we have the greateſt reaſon to lay the blame of all our evil actions upon our ſelves, as to attribute the glory of all our good unto himſelf alone.

2. *The frailty of humane nature*: thoſe who find themſelves to be free enough to do their ſouls miſchief, and yet continue ſtill in the doing of it, find nothing more ready to plead for themſelves, than the unhappineſs of mans compoſition, and the degenerate ſtate of the world. If *God* had deſigned (they are ready to ſay) that man ſhould lead a life free from ſin, why did he confine the ſoul of man to a body ſo apt to taint and pollute it? But who art thou O man, that thus findeſt fault with thy Maker? Was not his kindneſs the greater, in not only giving thee a ſoul capable of enjoying himſelf, but ſuch an habitation for it here, which by the curioſity of its contrivance, the number and uſefulneſs of its parts, might be a perpetual and domeſtick teſtimony of the wiſdom of its *Maker*? Was not ſuch a conjunction of ſoul and body neceſſary for the exerciſe of that dominion which *God* deſigned man for, over the creatures endued only with ſenſe and motion? And if we ſuppoſe this life to be a ſtate of tryall in order to a better, (as in

with the fashions of the world. So that when men are perswaded, either through fear, or too great easiness to disuse that strict eye which they had before to their actions, it oft times falls out with them, as it did with the Souldier in the *Roman History*, who blinded his eye so long in the time of the Civil Wars, that when he would have used it again, he could not. And when custom hath by degrees taken away the sense of sin from their consciences, they grow as hard as *Herodotus* tells us the heads of the old *Egyptians* were by the heat of the Sun, that nothing would ever enter them. If men will with *Nebuchadnezzar* herd with the beasts of the field, no wonder if their reason departs from them, and by degrees they grow as savage as the company they keep. So powerfull a thing is custome to debauch mankind, and so easily do the greatest vices by degrees obtain admission into the souls of men, under pretence of being retainers to the common *infirmities* of humane nature. Which is a *phrase*, through the power of self-flattery, and mens ignorance in the nature of morall actions, made to be of so large and comprehensive a sense that the most wilfull violations of the *Laws* of Heaven, and such which the *Scripture* tells us do exclude from the *Kingdom* of

it,

forewarned us of the danger of being led aſide by the ſoft, and eaſie compliances of the world; and if we are ſenſible of our own infirmities, (as we have all reaſon to be) he hath offered us the aſſiſtance of his *Grace* & of that *Spirit* of his, *which is greater than the Spirit that is in the world.* 1 Joh. 4. 4. He hath promiſed us thoſe weapons whereby we may withſtand the *torrent* of wickedneſs in the world, with far greater ſucceſs than the old *Gauls* were wont to do the inundations of their countrey, whoſe cuſtome was to be drowned with their arms in their hands. But it will be the greater folly in us to be ſo, becauſe we have not only ſufficient means of reſiſtance, but we underſtand the danger before hand. If we once forſake the ſtrict rules of religion and goodneſs, and are ready to yield our ſelves to whatever hath got retainers enough to ſet up for a cuſtome, we may know where we begin, but we cannot where we ſhall make an end. For every freſh aſſault makes the breach wider, at which more enemies may come in ſtill; ſo that when we find our ſelves under their power, we are contented for our own eaſe to call them *Friends*. Which is the unhappy conſequence of too eaſie yielding at firſt, till at laſt the greateſt ſlavery to ſin be accounted but good humour, and a gentle compliance

possible? Is it for men to *live soberly, righteously*
Tit. 2. 12. *and godly in this world*? for that was the end of Christian Religion to perswade men to do so: but who thinks it impossible to avoid the occasions of intemperance, not to defraud, or injure his neighbours, or to pay that reverence and sincere devotion to *God* which we owe unto him? *Is it to do as we would be done by*? yet that hath been judged by strangers to the *Christian Religion* a most exact measure of humane conversation; Is it *to maintain an universall kindness and good will to men*? that indeed is the great excellency of our Religion, that it so strictly requires it; but if this be impossible, farewell all *good nature* in the world; and I suppose few will own this charge, left theirs be suspected. Is it *to be patient under sufferings, moderate in our desires, circumspect in our actions, contented in all conditions*? yet these are things which those have pretended to who never owned *Christianity*, and therefore surely they never thought them impossible. Is it *to be charitable to the poor, compassionate to those in misery*? is it *to be frequent in prayer, to love God above all things, to forgive our enemies as we hope God will forgive us, to believe the Gospel, and be ready to suffer for the sake of Christ*? There are very few among us but will say they do all these things already,

dy, and therefore ſurely they do not think them impoſsible. The like anſwer I might give to all the other precepts of the *Goſpel* till we come to the *denying ungodlineſs and worldly luſts*, and as to theſe too, if we charge men with them, they either deny their committing them, and then ſay they have kept the command; or if they confeſs it, they promiſe amendment for the future; but in neither reſpect can they be ſaid to think the command impoſsible. Thus we ſee their own mouths will condemn them when they charge *God* with laying impoſsible *Laws* on mankind. But then if we enquire further into the judgements of thoſe who it may be never concerned themſelves ſo much about the precepts of *Chriſtian Religion*, as to try whether they had any power to obſerve them or not; nay, if we yield them more (than, it may be, they are willing to enquire after, though they ought to do it) *viz.* that without the *aſsiſtance of divine grace*, they can never do it: yet ſuch is the unlimited nature of divine goodneſs and the exceeding riches of Gods Grace, that (knowing the weakneſs and degeneracy of humane nature when he gave theſe commands to men) he makes a large and free offer of aſsiſtance to all thoſe who are ſo ſenſible of their own infirmity as to beg it of him. And can men then ſay the command is impoſsible when he hath promiſed an aſsiſtance ſutable to the nature of the duty & the infirmities of men? If it be acknow-

ledged that ſome of the duties of *Chriſtianity* are very difficult to us now; let us conſider by what means he hath ſweetned the performance of them. Will not the propoſal of ſo excellent a reward, make us ſwallow ſome more than ordinary hardſhips that we might enjoy it? Hath he not made uſe of the moſt obliging motives to perſwade us to the practice of what he requires, by the infinite diſcovery of his own love, the death of his Son, and the promiſe of his Spirit? And what then is wanting, but only ſetting our ſelves to the ſerious obedience of them, to make his commands not only not impoſsible, but eaſie to us? But our grand fault is, we make impoſsibilities our ſelves, where we find none, and then we complain of them: we are firſt reſolved not to practiſe the commands, and then nothing more eaſie than to find fault with them: we firſt paſs ſentence, and then examine evidences; firſt condemn, and then enquire into the merits of the cauſe. Yet ſurely none of theſe things can be accounted impoſsible, which have been done by all thoſe who have been ſincere and hearty Chriſtians; and *God* forbid, we ſhould think all guilty of hypocriſie, who have profeſſed the *Chriſtian Religion* from the beginning of it to this day. Nay more than ſo, they have not only done them, but profeſſed to have that joy and ſatisfaction of mind in the doing of them, which they would not exchange for all the pleaſures

and

and delights of the world. These were the men, who not only were patient, but rejoyced in sufferings; who accounted it their honour and glory to endure any thing for the sake of so excellent a religion; who were so assured of a future happiness by it, that they valued Martyrdoms above Crowns and Scepters. But God be thanked, we may hope to come to Heaven on easier terms than these, or else many others might never come thither, besides those who think to make this a pretence for their sin, that now when with encouragement and honour we may practise our Religion, the commands of it are thought impossible by them. Thus we have made good the general charge here implyed against wicked men, in that they are called *Fools*, by examining the most plausible pretences they bring for themselves.

I now come to the particular impeachment of their folly, because *they make a mock at sin.* And that I shall prove especially by two things: 1. Because this argues *the highest degree of wickedness.* 2. Because it betrayes the *greatest weakness of judgement and want of consideration.*

1. Because it argues *the highest degree of wickedness.* If to sin be folly, to make a mock at it is little short of madness. It is such a height of impiety, that few but those who are of very profligate consciences can attain to, without a long custom in sinning. For conscience is at first modest, and starts

 and

and boggles at the appearance of a great wickedneſs, till it be uſed to it & grown familiar with it. It is no ſuch eaſie matter for a man to get the maſtery of his conſcience; a great deal of force and violence muſt be uſed to ones ſelf before he does it. The natural impreſsions of good and evil, the fears of a *Deity*, and the apprehenſions of a future ſtate are ſuch curbs and checks in a ſinners way, that he muſt firſt ſin himſelf beyond all feeling of theſe, before he can attain to the *ſeat* of the *ſcorners*. And we may juſtly wonder how any ſhould ever come thither, when they muſt break through all that is ingenuous and modeſt, all that is vertuous and good, all that is tender and apprehenſive in humane nature, before they can arrive at it. They muſt firſt deny a *God*, and deſpiſe an immortal ſoul, they muſt conquer their own reaſon, and cancell the *Law written in their hearts*, they muſt hate all that is ſerious, and yet ſoberly believe themſelves to be no better *than the beaſts that periſh*, before men can come to make a *ſcoff at religion*, and *a mock at ſin*.

And who now could ever imagine that in a Nation profeſsing *Chriſtianity*, among a people whoſe *genius* enclines them to civility and religion, yea among thoſe who have the greateſt advantages of behaviour and education, and who are to give the *Laws* of *civility* to the reſt of the Nation, there ſhould any be found who ſhould deride religion, make ſport with their own profaneneſs

fanenes, and make so light of nothing, as being damned? I come not here to accuse any, and least of all those who shew so much regard of *religion* as to be present in the places devoted to sacred purposes; but if there be any such here, whose consciences accuse themselves, for any degrees of so great impiety; I beseech them by all that is dear and precious to them, by all that is sacred and serious, by the *vows* of their *Baptism*, and their *participation* of the *holy Eucharist*, by all the kindness of Heaven which they either enjoy or hope for, by the death and sufferings of the *Son* of *God*, that they would now consider how great folly and wickedness they betray in it, and what the dreadfull consequence of it will be, if they do not timely repent of it. If it were a doubt (as I hope it is not among any here) whether the matters of *religion* be true or no, they are surely things which ought to be seriously thought and spoken of. It is certainly no jesting matter to affront a *God* of infinite *Majesty* and *power*, (and he judges every wilfull sinner to do so) nor can any one in his wits think it a thing not to be regarded, whether he be eternally happy or miserable. Methinks then among persons of civility and honour, above all others, *Religion* might at least be treated with the respect and reverence due to the concernments of it; that it be not made the sport of entertainments, nor the common subject of *Playes* and *Comedies*. For is

there nothing to trifle with, but *God* and his *service*? Is wit grown so *schismatical* & *sacrilegious*, that it can please it self with nothing but *holy ground*? Are profaness & wit grown such inseparable companions, that none shall be allowed to pretend to the one, but such as dare be highly guilty of the other? Far be it from those who have but the name of *Christians*, either to do these things themselves, or to be pleased with them that do them: especially in such times as ours of late have been, when *God* hath used so many wayes to make us serious if any thing would ever do it. If men had only slighted *God* and *religion*, and *made a mock at sin*, when they had grown wanton through the abundance of peace and plenty, and saw no severities of *Gods justice* used upon such who did it; yet the fault had been so great, as might have done enough to have interrupted their peace and destroyed that *plenty*, which made them out of the greatness of their pride and wantonness to kick against Heaven: but to do it in despight of all *Gods* judgements, to *laugh in his face* when *his rod is upon our backs*, when neither Pestilence nor Fire can make us more afraid of him, exceedingly aggravates the impiety, and makes it more unpardonable. When like the old *Germans* *we dance among naked swords*, when men shall defie and reproach Heaven in the midst of a Cities ruines, and over the Graves of those whom the arrows of the *Almighty* have heaped together,

what

what can be thought of ſuch, but that nothing will make them ſerious, but eternal miſery? And are they ſo ſure there is no ſuch thing to be feared, that they never think of it, but when by their execrable oaths they call upon *God* to *damn them*, for fear he ſhould not do it time enough for them? Thus while men abuſe his patience, and provoke his juſtice, while they trample upon his kindneſs, and ſlight his ſeverities, while they deſpiſe his Laws and mock at the breaches of them, what can be added more to their impiety? or what can be expected by ſuch who are guilty of it, but that *God* ſhould quickly diſcover their mighty folly by letting them ſee how much they have deceived themſelves, ſince *God will not be mocked*, but *becauſe of theſe things the wrath of God will moſt certainly come upon the children of diſobedience.* Which leads to the ſecond thing wherein this folly is ſeen. Gal. 6. 7. Eph. 5. 6.

2. Which is in *the weakneſs of judgement and want of conſideration*, which this betrayes in men. *Folly* is the great unſteadineſs of the mind in the thoughts of what is good and fitting to be done. It were happy for many in the world, if none ſhould ſuffer in their reputation for want of wiſdom, but ſuch whom nature or ſome violent diſtemper have wholly deprived of the uſe of their reaſon and underſtandings: But wiſdom does not lye in the rambling imaginations of mens minds (for *fools* may think of the ſame things which wiſe men

practiſe)

practiſe) but in a due conſideration and choice of things which are moſt agreeable to the end they deſign, ſuppoſing the end in the firſt place to be worthy a wiſe mans choice; for I cannot yet ſee why the end may not be choſen as well as the means, when there are many ſtand in competition for our choice, and men firſt deliberate, and then determine which is the fitteſt to be purſued. But when the actions of men diſcover, that either they underſtand or regard not the moſt excellent end of their beings, or do thoſe things which directly croſs and thwart their own deſigns, or elſe purſue thoſe which are mean and ignoble in themſelves, we need not any further evidence of their folly, than theſe things diſcover.

Now that thoſe who *make a mock at ſin* are guilty of all theſe, will appear; if we conſider whom they provoke by doing ſo, whom they moſt injure, and upon what reaſonable conſiderations they are moved to what they do.

1. *Whom they provoke by their making a mock at ſin*; Suppoſing that there is a *Governour* of the world, who hath eſtabliſhed *Laws* for us to be guided by, we may eaſily underſtand, whoſe honour and authority is reflected on, when the violations of his *Laws* are made nothing of. For ſurely if they had a juſt eſteem of his *power* and *Soveraignty*, they never durſt make ſo bold with him, as all thoſe do who not only commit ſin themſelves, but laugh

at

at the ſcrupuloſity of thoſe who dare not. When *Dionyſius* changed *Apollos* Cloak, and took off the *Golden Beard* of *Æſculapius*, with thoſe ſolemn jeers of the unſuitableneſs of the one to the Son of a beardleſs Father; and the much greater convenienſy of a cheaper garment to the other; it was a ſign he ſtood not much in awe of the ſeverity of their looks, nor had any dread at all of the greatneſs of their power. But although there be ſo infinite a diſproportion between the artificial *Deities* of the *Heathens*, and the *Majeſty* of him who made and governs the whole world; yet as little reverence to his power and authority is ſhewed by all ſuch who dare affront him with ſuch a mighty confidence, and bid the greateſt defiance to his *Laws* by ſcoffing at them. What is there, the *Soveraigns* and *Princes* of the earth do more juſtly reſent, and expreſs the higheſt indignation againſt, than to have their *Laws* deſpiſed, their perſons affronted, and their authority contemned? And can we then imagine, that a *God* of infinite *power* and *Majeſty*, the honour of whoſe *Laws* is as dear to him as his own is, ſhould ſit ſtill unconcerned, when ſo many indignities are continually offered them, and never take any notice at all of them? It is true, his patience is not to be meaſured by our fretfull and peeviſh natures, (and it is happy for us all that it is not) he knows the ſinner can never eſcape his power, and therefore bears the longer

 with

with him: but yet his lenity is alwayes joyned with his wiſdom and juſtice, and the time is coming when patience it ſelf ſhall be no more. Is it not then the higheſt madneſs and folly to provoke one whoſe power is infinitely greater than our own is, and from the ſeverity of whoſe wrath we cannot ſecure our ſelves one minute of an hour? How knoweſt thou, O vain man, but that in the midſt of all thy mirth and jollity, while thou art boaſting of thy ſins, and thinkeſt thou canſt never fill up faſt enough the meaſure of thy iniquities, a ſudden fit of an *Apoplexy*, or the breaking of an *Apoſteme*, or any of the innumerable inſtruments of death, may diſpatch thee hence, and conſign thee into the hands of divine juſtice? And wherewithall then wilt thou be able to diſpute with *God*? Wilt thou then charge his Providence with folly, and his Laws with unreaſonableneſs? when his greatneſs ſhall affright thee, his *Majeſty* aſtoniſh thee, his *power* diſarm thee, and his juſtice proceed againſt thee: when notwithſtanding all thy *bravado's* here, thy own conſcience ſhall be not only thy accuſer and witneſs, but thy judge and executioner too: when it ſhall *revenge* it ſelf upon thee for all the rapes and violences thou haſt committed upon it here: when horror and confuſion ſhall be thy portion, and the unſpeakable anguiſh of a racked and tormented mind ſhall too late convince thee of thy folly in *making a mock* at

that

that which ſtings with an everlaſting venom. Art thou then reſolved to put all theſe things to the adventure, and live as ſecurely as if the *terrors* of the *Almighty* were but the dreams of men awake, or the fancies of weak and diſtempered brains? But I had rather believe that in the heat and fury of thy luſts thou wouldſt ſeem to others to think ſo, than thou either doeſt or canſt perſwade thy ſelf to ſuch unreaſonable folly. Is it not then far better to conſult the tranquillity of thy mind here, and the eternal happineſs of it hereafter, by a ſerious repentance and ſpeedy amendment of thy life, than to expoſe thy ſelf for the ſake of thy ſenſual pleaſures to the fury of that *God* whoſe juſtice is infinite, and power irreſiſtible? Shall not *the apprehenſion of his excellency make thee* now *afraid of him*? Never then *make* any *mock at ſin* more, unleſs thou art able *to contend with the Almighty*, or *to dwell with everlaſting burnings*.

2. The folly of it is ſeen in conſidering *whom the injury redounds to* by mens making themſelves ſo pleaſant with their ſins. Do they think by their rude attempts to dethrone the *Majeſty* of Heaven, or by ſtanding at the greateſt defiance, to make him willing to come to terms of compoſition with them? Do they hope to ſlip beyond the bounds of his power, by falling into nothing when they dye, or to ſue out *prohibitions* in the Court of Heaven, to hinder the effects of *Iuſtice* there? Do they

design to out-wit infinite Wisdom, or to find such flaws in *Gods* government of the world, that he shall be contented to let them go unpunished? All which imaginations are alike vain and foolish, and only shew how easily wickedness baffles the reason of mankind, and makes them rather hope or wish for the most impossible things, than believe they shall ever be punished for their impieties. If the *Apostate Spirits* can by reason of their present restraint and expectation of future punishments be as pleasant in beholding the *follies* of men as they are malicious to suggest them, it may be one of the greatest diversions of their misery, to see how active and witty men are in contriving their own ruine. To see with what greediness they catch at every bait that is offered them, and when they are swallowing the most deadly *poyson*, what arts they use to perswade themselves that it is a healthful potion. No doubt, nothing can more gratifie them than to see men sport themselves into their own destruction, and go down so pleasantly to Hell: when eternal flames become the first awakeners, and then men begin to be wise, when it is too late to be so: when nothing but insupportable torments can convince them that *God* was in earnest with them, that he would not alwayes bear the affronts of evil men, and that those who derided the miseries of another life, shall have leisure enough to repent their folly, when their repentance shall only increase

creaſe their ſorrow without hopes of pardon by it.

3. But if there were any preſent felicity, or any conſiderable advantage to be gained by this *mocking at ſin*, and undervaluing Religion, there would ſeem to be ſome kind of pretence, though nothing of true reaſon for it. Yet that which heightens this folly to the higheſt degree in the laſt place is, that there can be no imaginable conſideration thought on which might look like a *plauſible temptation* to it. The covetous man, when he hath defrauded his neighbour, and uſed all kinds of arts to compaſs an eſtate, hath the fulneſs of his baggs to anſwer for him; and whatever they may do in another world, he is ſure they will do much in this. The voluptuous man, hath the ſtrong propenſities of his nature, the force of temptation which lyes in the charms of beauty, to excuſe his unlawfull pleaſures by. The ambitious man, hath the greatneſs of his mind, the advantage of authority, the examples of thoſe who have been great before him, and the envy of thoſe who condemn him, to plead for the heights he aims at. But what is it which the perſon who deſpiſes Religion, and laughs at every thing that is ſerious, propoſes to himſelf as the reaſon of what he does? But alas! this were to ſuppoſe him to be much more ſerious than he is, if he did propound any thing to himſelf as the ground of his actions. But it may be

a great kindness to others, though none to himself; I cannot imagine any, unless it may be, to make them thankfull they are not arrived to that height of folly; or out of perfect good nature, least they should take him to be wiser than he is. The *Psalmists fool* despises him as much as he does Religion: for he only *saith it in his heart there is no God*; but this though he dares not think there is none, yet shews him not near so much outward respect & reverence as the other does. Even the *Atheist* himself thinks him a *Fool*, & the greatest of all other, who believes a *God*, and yet affronts him and trifles with him. And although the *Atheist*'s *Folly* be unaccountable, in resisting the clearest evidence of reason, yet so far he is to be commended for what he sayes, that if there be such a thing as *Religion* men ought to be serious in it. So that of all hands the *scoffer at Religion* is looked on as one forsaken of that little reason, which might serve to uphold a slender reputation of being above *the beasts that perish*: nay, therein his condition is worse than theirs, that as they understand not *Religion*, they shall never be punished for despising it: which such a person can never secure himself from, considering the *power*, the *justice*, the *severity* of that *God*, whom he hath so highly provoked. *God* grant, that the apprehension of this danger may make us so serious in the profession and practice of our Religion, that we may not by slighting that, and

*mocking*

*mocking at ſin*, provoke him *to laugh at our calamities, and mock when our fear comes*; but that by beholding the ſincerity of our repentance, and the heartineſs of our devotion to him, he may *turn his anger away from us, and rejoyce over us to do us good.*

---

*FINIS.*

---

The Christians Victory over Death.

# A SERMON AT THE Funeral of the Most Honourable GEORGE Duke of ALBEMARLE, &c. In the Collegiate Church of S. *Peter's* *WESTMINSTER*, On the xxx^th of *April*, M.DC.LXX.

BY

*SETH* Lord Bishop of SARUM.

Preached and Published by his Majesties special Command.

*LONDON*,
Printed for *James Collins* at the *Kings-head* in in *Westminster-hall*, M.DC.LXX.

WARD, Seth

# The Christians Victory over Death.

## I. Cor. XV. 57.

*But thanks be to God, who giveth us the Victory, through our Lord Jesus Christ.*

WHosoever he was who first said of *Wisdom* (or Philosophy) that it is *Contemplatio Mortis*, hath recommended a *considerable document* to the *World*.

Not that the continual Poring and meditating upon *Death* (precisely and nakedly considered) is a matter so much becoming a Philosopher. But because the *true Theory* of the *consequents* of *Death*, is not only the most *excellent*, but also the most *concerning part* of *humane Knowledge*.

It is that Theory, which *influences* the *Actions* of all *living men*; which *steers* their *courses*, and gives *rules* and *measures* to them in *all* their *concernments*.

As, for instance.

The true *determination* of the *Question* betwixt the *Christian Theory* and *others* (especially that of *Epicurus*) concerning the *state after Death* (the *Mortality* or *Immortality* of the *Soul*, the *Account* and *Judgment* after *Death*, the *Resurrection* of the *Body*, and the *Rewards* of *Eternity*): will decide the Questions of τὸ καλὸν & τὸ πρέπον, *Good* or *Evil*, *Prudent* or *Imprudent*, *Brave* or *Contemptible* in the *Lives* or *Actions* of Men.

If *Death* have *Dominion* over the *Whole* man, and if it be an *Extinction* of the *Soul* as well as a *Corruption* and *Dissolution* of the *Body*; If there be no *Rewards* or *Punishments* to follow, and could we be sure of all this; *Then* to *deny* our present *Affections* and *Appetites*, or to put our selves upon *hazardous* and *difficult designs*, upon the *Contemplation* of *something* to betide us *after death*, is very *Imprudent*, *Foolish* and *Ignoble*.

If on the other side, the *end* of this *mortal* life be the *beginning* of *another* state, a state of *happiness* or *misery*, to be dispensed *according* to the Christian *Theory*; Then to prefer things *light* and *Temporal*, before those which are *weighty* and *eternal*, is *Beastly*, *sottish*, and *Contemptible*. It is the *business* of our most Learned Apostle, here in this Chapter, *under* the Comprehensive title of the *question* concerning the *Resurrection*, to *compare* and to *examine* the *Christian* and *Epicurean* Theories,

Theories, in reference to the State of the *vitâ functi.*

The *Corinthian* (Epicurean) *Philosophy* had begun like a *Cancer*, to eat out the Doctrine of the *Resurrection*, and here he labours earnestly to retrive it.

He proves the *truth* of the *Christian Doctrine*, and (because *veritas est una*) in so doing he shews the *falshood* of the *Epicurean Hypothesis.*

From the *Resurrection* of *Christ* he infers the truth of the *General Doctrine* of the Resurrection; and for the truth of *Christs Resurrection*, he appeals to more then 500 Witnesses.

He shews the many *Absurdities* of *Epicurizing* under a *Profession* of *Christianity*; and answers that fond *Objection* about the *manner* of the *Resurrection*, and the *body* that shall arise.

He weighs the Physical and Theorical opinions, and the practical Corollaries of them.

The *Natural Philosophy* of *one* Opinion is, *That We shall die to morrow* (toti moriemur) Of the *other, That we must all live for ever.*

Of these Opinions, *One* tends to *corrupt* good manners; the *other* to *Rectifie* and ennoble them; *one* inclines and leads men to the work of the *Beast* in man; the *other*, to the *Work* of the *Lord.*

The *Logick* of *One* is this, *Let us eat and drink, for to morrow we shall die*; The *Inference* of the

*other* is this, *Let us be stedfast, unmoveable, alwaies abounding in the work of the Lord, forasmuch as we know, that our Labour is not in vain in the Lord.*

The *Epicurean Imposture, by* the assistance of a *violent Lust,* an ungovernable rage, *Actuated* and Heightned *by provocation*, or *inflamed* by the *spirit of Wine*; may *furnish* out a *Hector* to a *Duel*; and prompt him on to die as a fool dieth. But, the *foundation* of *Great* and *Heroical Performances*, the just and *rational*, the *Considerate* and *Sedate*, the *Constant, perpetual*, and *uniform contempt* of *Death* in all the shapes thereof, is *only* derived from the *Christian Principle.* This inspires *passive valour* into the hearts of men, and *furnishes* invincible *Martyrs* for the *Stake*; This excites *Active Courage,* and *Equippes* and furnishes *Heroical Souldiers* and *Generals* for the Field.

To *this* the *World* is *indebted* for the Glorious *Example* of *this* day; and to this we are *indebted* for this *Triumphal* ἐπίνικιον of the Text; *O Death! where is thy sting? O Grave! Where is thy Victory? The sting of Death is sin, the strength of sin is the Law: But thanks be to God, that giveth us the Victory, through Jesus Christ our Lord.*

The words of my Text resolve into two General parts.

1. A Proposition or Christian Principle, *God through Christ giveth us the victory over death.*

2. An

2. An inference to Christian practice.

1. In reference to God, *Thanks be to God.*

2. In reference to our selves, *Let us be stedfast, unmoveable.*

As for the *Inference*, I shall only be permitted to *Conclude* with it, and am forced to be *very contracted* in my Observations.

The *Proposition* may be considered two ways.

1. *Objectivè* and in *Thesi*, and so it lays down the general Case of Believers, as it stands (τῇ φύσει) in the *truth of nature*, and so it gives us this *universal* Theorem or *Observation*, viz.

*Every true Christian is through our Lord Christ victorious over Death.* Or, *God through Christ gives to every Christian the Victory over Death.*

2. *Subjectivè* and in *Hypothesi*, as it bears a part in St. *Pauls Triumphant* ἐπινίκιον, and then it affords us this *more restrained* and *particular* Observation, *viz.*

*Through Christ it is given to some Believers, even here in this Life, to attain to a setled contempt of Death, enabling them to triumph over it.*

Of these two Observations very briefly.

1. *Christ* has procured to every *true Christian* or *Believer* the *Victory over Death.* Now the *Assertion* of the *truth* of this *proposition*, the *Explication* and particular *tractation* of the *Causes*, and the *Deduction*, and *enforcement* of the *Consequences*

of it in reference to *God* and *Man*, is so *Apparently* the *entire Argument* of the *Gospel*, that it is needless, among Christians, to insist on the proof of the Observation: Briefly; the Gospel hath delivered to us both the ὅτι and the διότι of it.

First for the Ὅτι.

If either (according to the Doctrine of *Epicurus*) *we suppose Death* to *dissolve* the *Soul*, as well as to *corrupt* the *Body* of a man;

Or *if* the *Soul* of a man shall *survive*, and *Death* shall immediately *enter* it into *a state* of *infelicity* to be *filled* up, and *eternized* by *a miserable Resurrection* under the *stinging* of a *worm that dies not*, and the *tormenting* rage of a *Fire* that *never shall be quenched*. In *either of these Cases* (in the figurative language of the Scripture, which speaks of death as of a person) It *may be* properly *affirmed*, That *Death* is too *hard* for such a man, that it *gets* the *victory* and *holds* the *Dominion* over him. But if on the *other* side, the *State* of a man be *advanced* and *bettered* by his *Dissolution*; So that upon *good Consideration*, it be *desirable* to him to be *Dissolved*. *If* when *Death* shall have *done* its *utmost*, the *Essential* part of *man*, The *Man* that is *in Man*, shall be *surviving*, surviving in *joy* unspeakable; to be *compleated* in a *Glorious Resurrection*, to be *continued* and increased to all *Eternity*. Then *he* who doth *not perish* by the hand of Death, nor is *thrown* by it into a

state

ſtate of *infelicity*, but *paſſes* through *death* into *endleſs Life*; *this man* is properly *victorious* over Death.

Now *this* is the *effect* and *ſummary* of the *Goſpel*, to this every part of it, one way or other, doth relate, it every where *aſſures* us, that *this* is the *condition* of *every true* believer, *Whoſoever believeth in him, ſhall not periſh*, i. e. ſhall not ceaſe to be (much leſs do worſe) *but have everlaſting Life*; *viz.* he hath the victory over Death. Joh. 3. 16.

2. Again for the Δίδν. The *whole ſeries* of this *affair* is *per omnia Cauſarum genera*, from the *firſt occaſion* of the *difference*, to the *laſt performance* of the *Victory*, abundantly delivered in the Goſpel.

This tells us, that by the *Law ſin* entered into the world, and *death* by *ſin*, (*i. e.* death temporal and death eternal.) So that the *ſting* of death is *ſin* (or the Conſequent of ſin) and the *ſtrength* of *ſin* is the *Law*. It tells us, that *death reigned* over *all*; in as much as *all men* had *ſinned*. That by the *Law* no *fleſh could* be juſtified, though it was (in its nature) *holy*, *juſt*, and *good*; Yet it was become the *miniſtry of condemnation*. Rom. 5. 12. Ibid. Rom. 3. 20.

That to take away the *ſtrength of ſin* (which is the Law) God ſent his Son *made under* the *Law*, to redeem them that were *under the Law*; that to *diſarm death* by taking away the *ſting* thereof, [a] He who knew *no ſin* was *made* *ſin*; Gal. 4. 4, 5. [a] 1 Cor. 5. 21.

b Rev.6. 14. *sin*; b That *sin* might *not reign* in us, and *death* might *no more* have the *Dominion* over us; That
c Rom. 6. 14. we might *not* c *be under* the Law, but *under Grace*, d *He humbled* himself to *Death*, even
d Col. 2. 14.
e Phil. 2. 8. the *Death* of the *Cross*. e *There*, He, (his own
f 1 Pet. 2. 24. self) bare our *sins* in his own body; f *There* he abolished in his flesh the *Law* of Command-
g Ephes. 2. 15, 16. ments, slaying the enmity thereof; g *There*, He
h Col. 2. 14. blotted out the h hand-writing, and took it out of the way, nailing it to his Cross.

i Heb. 2. 14. i There he *died*, that by his death he might destroy him, that had the *power* of *death*, even the *Devil*.

k Col. 2. 15. k There he *spoyled Principalities* and powers, ἐδειγμάτισεν ἐν αὐτῷ, *ostentavit eos*, triumphing over them in it.

Thus Christ, the *Captain* of our *Salvation*, obtained the *Victory* over *death* and *hell*, *Obtained* it for *himself*, and for *all* his *faithful Souldiers* and *followers*; Thus all of them have *certitudinem objecti*, *Every true believer is victorious over death in truth*, and in *rei veritate*.

But every one hath not in this life *certitudinem subjecti*; This is *not* a *general Interest*, to which men are *entitled* by *Christianity*, but a *special Grace* and *privilege*, dispensed according to the *peculiar prerogative* of Gods Will and Pleasure.

Though *Christianity*, and a *just power* of Contemning

temning Death may be *reciprocal*, yet *Christianity* and the *actual exercise* of the contempt of Death, do not by necessity evince one another. There are *Children* of *light* which *walk* in *darkness*, working out their Salvation with perpetual fears and tremblings.

There are (on the other side) some, that having *no* charity, are yet so far transported as to *give* their *Bodys* to be *burned*. There is *a way* that seemeth *right* unto a man, when but the *end* thereof are the *paths* of death. So that the second Observation is *limited*, and *particular*: viz. *Through Christ it is given to some Believers to attain in this life, to a setled contempt of death*, and *enabling them to triumph over it*: *This* was the Case of St. *Paul* in the Text, and the Case of many others, *He giveth us the Victory*, saith St. *Paul*.

To *clear* this Observation, I ought to shew how Christians come to obtain this priviledge, διὰ χριστοῦ (by and through Christ.)

To perform this *fully*, it would be requisite to lay before you the Doctrines of the *merits of Christ*, and of the *Grace of God*, and of the *Application* of *them* by *Believers*. But being restrained by the occasion, I shall only endeavour to shew, that *Christ* (and He indeed alone) hath given *his followers* such a *System* of *principles*, as is *apt* and able to bring them to a *Rational Contempt* of *Death*. Now this he hath done,

1.By the *Theory* which he hath *left the world* concerning the *State* of the *Vitâ functi* (or Deceased.)

2 By the *assurance* which he hath *given* the world of the *truth* of that *Theory*.

No other Theory (supposing it to be true) is in its nature *able* and *apt* to bring men to this *heroick state*. *No other dissenting Theory is* or *can* be true. *Annihilation* and *misery Nature* abhorrs, and the *only* ground of a *rational* Contempt of *death*, is a *just* expectation to *advance* and *better* a mans estate by dying.

This *expectation* arises only from a *good Conscience*; To reduce a man to a *good habit* of *Conscience*, nothing is *powerful* enough beside the *powers* of the *World*, to *come* to a right understanding, and a deep Consideration of the *Personal rewards* and punishments of the world to come.

Now the *Theory* of such *personal rewards* and *punishments*, was first of all *clearly* delivered to the world by our Lord *Jesus Christ*: For,

1. He it is that hath *cleared* the *personal* capacity of the *rewards* of the world to come.

2. He it is who hath *delivered plainly* and *clearly* the *Administration* of the Rewards themselves.

1. Christ has cleared the *Capacity* of *personal rewards*; and this he hath done by his Doctrine concerning 1. the *Immortality of the Soul*, and 2. of the *Resurrection* of the body.

First,

First, for the Immortality of the Soul.

Although the *simple Apprehension* of spiritual Beings; The judging things contrary to the representation of sense (as in the distance and magnitude of the Sun, Moon, and Stars) The *forming universal Propositions.* The *Reasoning* and *Reflecting* power of men. The *struggling* betwixt the *Sensual* and *Intellectual* part of man.

The *Lashes* of Conscience, in *Wicked men,* alwaies forecasting grievous things.

Although, *these* and many other *indications* of Nature do evince, that there is in *living* men something *incorporeal* and *immortal.*

And *although beside* and *above these* Indications, there are many passages in the *Law* and the *Prophets*, from whence the *immortality* of the *Soul may* be Concluded, (in Consequence whereof, Both *before* and *during* the time of Christ, *All* the Sects of the *Jews*, except the *Sadduces*; And (I think) *All* the *Philosophers*, except *Epicurus*, did *declare* for the *Doctrine* of an *Immortality.*)

*Yet* it is truly said of Christ, that he did ζωὴν καὶ ἀφθαρσίαν φαιδρύνειν; that he *cleared* or brought to *light* the Doctrine of Immortality.

The *Opinions* which *ruled* the World *before* him (both of the *Philosophers* and of the *Rabbins*) were *not only false* but *pernicious*; They still *made Death* the *King* of *Terrours*, and *were so far* from *Establishing*, that they *overthrew* the *Ca-*

*pacity* of *Personal* Rewards and Punishments after Death.

*These* are the *Consequences* of all those *Hypotheses* which either *destroy* the *substance* of the *Soul* with *Epicurus*; Or the *individual permanency* of the Soul with the *Platonists*, the *Peripateticks* and the *Stoick*. Or which assert the *Metempsychosis* of Souls, passing from *men* to *Beasts*, or *men* with the *Pythagoreans* and *many* of the *Jews*. And *these* were the Imaginations which had *possessed* the *World before* the Ministry of Christ.

If the Soul were a *Crasis* or *Harmony*, a *Modus* or *Motion* of the Body, it would then be *dissolved* in *Death*, it *would cease to be or sleep* in the *lifeless Atoms* whereof the Body was composed.

But *He* hath taught us, that *men* may *Kill* the *Body*, and *not* be able to *hurt* the *Soul*; from whence it follows, that the *Soul* is a *distinct* and *permanent subsistence*.

If the *Immortal part* in man were a *Delibation* of the *God-head*; or *Intellectus agens*, or the *Soul* of the *world*, and *upon Death* were back again *refunded* into them; the *Individual nature* would be *destroyed*; But *He* hath taught us, that *this* is still *preserved*, that the Souls of *Abraham*, *Isaac*, and *Jacob*, are *distinctly* preserved in the hand of God.

If Souls did *transmigrate* from *men* to *beasts*, or from one *man* to *another*, who *could* be rewarded?

*Pythagoras*,

*Pythagoras*, or *Euphorbus*? He hath instructed us, that the Soul doth not shift and flit from one body into another, but in their departure, when they go hence, they pass into *Everlasting Habitations*.

Lastly, *He* hath informed the *World*, that *not only* the *souls* of the *Righteous*, but of the *Wicked* also, are *Immortal*. That as the soul of *Lazarus*, so also the soul of *Dives*, was *permanent* and *existent* after Death.

That Christ hath *cleared* the Doctrine of *Immortality*, and (in respect of the soul) the *capacity* of personal Rewards.

2. Moreover, to *fill up* and *compleat* the *capacity* of the *whole person*, and so render it intire, He hath delivered to the World the *Doctrine* of the *Resurrection* of the Body; namely, that the *time* is coming when *Death* shall be *finally swallowed* up in *Victory*.

That *He himself* shall then descend from Heaven with a shout; with the voice of the *Arch-Angel*, with the trump of God, and the Dead shall rise. 1 Thess. 4. 16.

That the dead in Christ shall rise first.

That what is sown in *Corruption*, shall be raised in *Incorruption*.

That *all men* shall rise with their own bodys, both Just and unjust; that the hour is coming that *all* that are in the Grave, shall hear the voice and come forth. Act. 24. 15. Joh. 5. 28.

That the *Sea* shall give up the Dead which
Apoc.20.14. are in it; And *Death* and Ἅιδης shall deliver up the dead which are in them.

Joh.5 29. That those that have done good, shall go into the Resurrection of Life; and those that have done evil, shall go into the Resurrection of Condemnation.

Thus hath our Lord Christ *cleared* the principal foundation of a Generous Contempt of death, by bringing to Light the Capacity of Personal Rewards in the World to come.

But, 2. He hath clearly delivered the whole method and Administration of Rewards themselves, *Inchoate* and *particular* in our decease. 2 *Universal*, *Consummate* in the great day of Retribution, at the time of the general *Resurrection*.

In the *Gospel* we are taught, that *immediately* upon our *dissolution*, the Souls of the *Righteous* enter into a *state* of *happiness*, and the souls of the wicked into a state of *Infelicity*.

For the former, to be dissolved is to be with Christ; for the latter, to die is to become miserable.

Isa. 3. 10. Say to the Righteous, it shall be well with him ἄρτιον, *they dye* in the Lord, *they* rest from their Labours, *their works* follow them.

Say to the Wicked, it shall be ill with him; the Other is comforted, but he shall be tormented; *Lazarus* dyed, and immediately was *carryed* by

*Angels*

*Angels* into *Abrahams Bosome*; The *rich* man *dyed* and was *buried*, and presently we find him in *Hell*, in *Torments*.

But the *great* and *final distribution* of *Rewards*, the Circumstances and intire *Oeconomy* of the *General* Judgment, as it is delivered *only*, so it is delivered *punctually*, and *exactly*, in and by the Gospel.

This tells us,

That God hath appointed a *Day*, wherein he will Judge the World. That *Christ* is ordained of God, to be *Judge* both of Quick and Dead. Apoc.10.41.

That he shall come *in the* Clouds, and *every Eye* shall *see* him. That the powers of Heaven shall be shaken, and then shall appear the *sign* of the *Son* of *man* in Heaven, and they shall see him coming in the Clouds with power and great glory. Apoc. 1. 7. Mat. 24.30.

That he shall *send his* Angels, with a great sound of a trumpet, and they *shall gather* together the *Elect* from the *four* Winds, from one end of Heaven to the other. Ibid. 31.

That he shall *sit* upon the *Throne* of his Glory. Mat. 25.31.

That all *Nations* shall be gathered before him; We must *all* appear before his Judgment Seat, to answer for the *things* done in the body, whether they be *good* or *evil*.

That he shall *separate* the one from the other, as the *Shepherd* divideth the *sheep* from the *Goats*. Ibid. 32.

That

Apoc.20.12. That the *Books* shall be *opened*, and the *dead* shall be Judged out of those things which are *written* in the Books.

1 Cor. 4.5. That *every secret* thing shall be brought to *light*, the *secret Counsels* of the Heart, the *hidden works* of *Darkness*, shall be *revealed*, and he shall *Render* to *every* one *according* to his Deeds.

That *this* sentence shall be *pronounced*, upon the *blessed*, Come *ye blessed* of my *Father*, &c.

And this upon the Cursed, *Go ye Cursed*, &c.

Finally, that upon the *sentence* given, the *righteous* shall *enter* into *joy* unspeakable and *full* of *Glory*; And the *Wicked* shall pass into a state of *everlasting torment*, where shall be weeping, and wailing, and gnashing of teeth.

These are those *powers* of the *world* to *come*, whereof the Apostle speaks. As there are *movimenta mechanica* (mechanical powers) whereby the *motion* of *bodies* is *excited* and *regulated*; So *Rewards* and *Punishments* are *movimenta spiritualia*, those spiritual powers, which excite and regulate the motions of the Soul; and that which gives to these their utmost force and moment, is this Consideration, That they are to be Eternal.

This Consideration is *able* effectually to *affright* men from *base* and *ignoble actions*, and to inspire them with *noble* and *heroical designs*, to raise them above

above all worldly things, and *bring* them to a *Rational contempt* of Death; *And* this is that *Theory* which *Christ* hath delivered concerning the ſtate of the *Vitâ functi.*

But Secondly, Chriſt hath *not only delivered*, but he hath alſo *aſſured* the world of the *truth* of this *Theory.*

He confirmed the *truth* of this *Doctrine*, the *Divinity* of his *precepts*, the *certainty* of his *Rewards*, and *puniſhments* of the world to come, the *infallible performance* of his *promiſes*, and his *threatnings.*

Not by giving the world a *ſet* and *ſeries* of *imaginary principles* of vain *Philoſophy*, and Science falſly ſo called, engendring ſtrifes and everlaſting diſputations.

Not by *bare Aſſertions*, and *confident Repetitions* only, as did the *Epicureans* of *old*; And as is the *manner* of ſome in *our* daies, who have taken up their principles *amongſt* our ſelves

Not by *Phantaſtical obſcure Ratiocinations*, concerning *Numbers*, *Vehicles*, Αὐτοκίνησις, Ἐντελέχεια, or the like; But by *evidences plain* and *convincing*, by *proofs ſenſible* and *experimental*, particularly *accommodate* to the eviction of the *truth* of the *matter* in *queſtion*, and to the *conviction* of all mankind; By *raiſing Lazarus* and others from the *dead*, he at once gave an *experiment* of the *immortality* of the *Soul*, and of the *Reſurrection* of

the *body*, of the *capacity* of eternal Rewards and punishments.

Of all his *doctrines* he gave *infallible*, *sensible*, *undeniable* proof; by the *purity* of his *precepts*; The *Sanctity* of his *Life*, The *Testimony* and witness of his *Death*.

By *fulfilling* all the *prophesies* concerning him, By his *predictions* and his *miracles*, By a thousand *several instances* of *supernatural wisdom* and *power*, By his *glorious Resurrection*, his *Visible* Ascension. By *sending* down the *Holy Ghost* on the Apostles: By *enabling* his *Disciples* and his followers to *work signs* and *wonders* (in one word) by innumerable Arguments.

Thus the *Captain of our* Salvation, the *Author* and *Finisher* of our *Faith*, hath cleared the foundation and *principle* of *Heroic* Actions, in exhibiting to the World, the *grounds* and *causes* of a just, and rational contempt of death.

AND now *blessed* be his *Holy Name*, who by his Grace, applying those *principles* to the *hearts* of the *Professors* of *Christianity*, is *pleased* in all *Ages* to *raise* up *Christian Heroes* for a *Testimony* to the energy of his *eternal Gospel*. And in *particular*, *Blessed* be his Name, who in our *time* and in *our Nation*, hath *been pleased* to *raise* up that *Great* and *most Honourable Person*, the *Illustrious* **GEORGE Duke of ALBEMARLE**,

that

that *Great* and most *eminent* and most uniform *despiser* of *Death*; That *Glorious* performer of *Heroic Actions*. Concerning whom I am obliged (though very briefly and scantly) to speak His *Country* the source of many Gallant men, His *Extraction* from a generous, ancient, eminent Family; His *early Addiction* to *Arms*, the *School* wherein he was trained; the *degrees* by which he ascended, His *youthful essays*, His *virile performances* both at *Sea* and *Land*; in Foreign *Countrys*, in *England*, *Ireland*, *Scotland*, (All memorable, and such as will be great in Story) shall *not detain* you.

The *little* which I intend to speak, shall take its *Epocha* from *that* time, when *God* was pleased to *raise* him up to be our *Deliverer*, to *call* him *forth* and *show* him openly upon the *Theater* of the *World*; making him a spectacle to Angels and to men.

Since *this* time, if we shall *well consider* him, in *every Circumstance*, I conceive I may, without *flattery* or *partiality* pronounce;

1. That a *greater Action* hath not been performed, then that of the *Restauration*.

2. That a greater Person *then He* concerning whom we are *speaking*, hath *not* been *produced* in *many Generations*; And these are the two things which I shall propose to your Observation. To enter into the *places* of *Rhetorick*, and to expatiate in a

*formal Panegyrick*, were to *violate* your *patience*, and *offend* the *manes* of him, to whom we perform this *parentation*.

He was a man *Great* of *Performance*, *little* of Speech, no lover of waſt words, or fine compoſed Orations, but a great Affecter of what was *ſhort* and *plain*, *eaſie* and *inaffected*.

In compliance with this *Character* of him, I ſhall *briefly* and *plainly* intreat you to conſider, That for a man to exert an *Heroical* performance, two things are requiſite.

1. There muſt be the exerciſe of *Vertue*, (*Prudence*, *Fortitude*, *Juſtice*, *Temperance*, and their *ſubordinate vertues*) in an eminent manner: And 2. There muſt be θεῖόν τι, ſomething divine and extraordinary.

An *eminent opportunity*, an *Object Arduous* and *Honourable*; And a *Succeſs* that may have in it an evidence of *ſomething ſupernatural*.

Conſider how *all* theſe *Circumſtances* were *combined* and *conſtellate* in that marvellous *work* of the *Reſtauration*.

2. Moreover, ſeeing that *Honor eſt in honorante*, and lies in the *Apprehenſion* of *Spectators*, who alwaies have *one* eye on the *proſperity*, as well as *another* upon the *merit* of a perſon; And who do not give a final Judgment, *ante obitum ſupremaque funera*. Therefore to eſtimate the greatneſs of *this Perſon*, I ſhall intreat you to con-

ſider,

ſider, 2. The *perſeverance* of *his vertue*, 3. The *Felicity wherewith* it was *attended*.

1. For the Glory of the Reſtauration.

The *greateſt* advantage of Honour (with God and Man) which can befall a *Military Perſon*, is not to ſlay his thouſands, or his millions, but to be made a *Repairer* of the *Breaches* of his *Country*, and a Reſtorer of paths to dwell in: For this there muſt be *Opportunity* (if there be no breaches, there can be no *repairer*,) For this, God gave him Opportunity.

How great, alas! were the Breaches, how gaping, how deſperate were the Wounds of theſe ſinful, miſerable Nations? Hell had broke looſe upon us, and Confuſion had obtained and held a Dominion of 20 years.

The Flower of our *Nobility*, *Gentry*, &c. cut off by the Sword of the Rebellious; How were the mighty fallen! I may not ſtand to make a *gradation* of our miſeries, ---*Quanquam animus meminiſſe horret*--- Yet I muſt repeat it, the *King* and the *Prieſt* (the beſt of Kings, a moſt excellent Prelate) fell under the Swords, rather under the Axes of an *impious Rebellion*. The *Sun* was turned into *Darkneſs*, the *Moon* into *bloud*, the *Stars thrown* from their *Orbs*. Our *Religion* aboliſhed, our *Foundations* overturned, our *Laws* abrogated. The *Government* of *Church* and *State diſſolved*, the *Governours Baniſhed*, impriſoned, murdered.

Instead of *Religion*, *Atheism*, and *Infidelity*, *Fanatick Rage* and *wild* Enthusiasm: Instead of *Liberty* and *property*, the voice of *Sequestrations* and *Plunders*, *Decimations*, *Transportation*, *Imprisonment*, were heard in the Land.

Lam. 2. 9. Our *Kings* and our *Princes* were among the *Gentiles*, the *Law* was no more, the *Prophets received* no Vision from the Lord.

How *often* did his Majesty *attempt* a Restitution! *How often* was he *disappointed*! He came to his *own*, but his *Own received* him not, they said *This is the Heir*, Come let us *Kill him*, and the *Inheritance* shall be ours.

God permitted them to *fill* up the *measure* of their *Iniquities*, to *baffle* every *attempt* for a *Restitution*. He suffered them to ride over our heads, Tinkers, and Coblers, and Draymen, *&c.* to become Lords over his Inheritance.

And now behold a *Wonder* of *Providence* and *mercy*, "Behold, we said our bones are dry, our "hope is gone, we are clean cut off.

When *presently* and *unexpectedly*, the *Glory* of the Lord *appeared* for our Deliverance.

*Re, summa stante tegulâ*, Θεὸς ἀπὸ μηχανῆς.

As it was with *Gideon*, *Jephtah*, *Samson*, and other *Heroes* of old, the *Spirit* of the *Lord* came upon *this great Captain*.

It prompted him to an *heroical* design, it filled him with *Prudence*, *Fortitude*, *Justice*, *Temper*, and

and *sobriety*, to an *heroical* degree. Immediately he was not disobedient to the Heavenly motion, but he forthwith proceeded to the performance of Action able to *justifie* the belief of a *Divine Assistance*.

By a *deep Prudence* and an *impregnable Taciturnity*, he confounded the wisdom of the wise, and he put to shame the pretended Spirit of the fanatical Enthusiasts.

He *hampered* the *Crafty* in their *own snare*, in the net which they laid for others privily, was their foot taken.

Such was his *Courage*, that though an host of men were prepared against him, yet he did not fear. *Audite posteri*! if my voice would reach it, I would speak to the Generations which are to come.

By his *Courage* and his *Prudence*, *Himself* (at first *alone* in the Design) without any *Confidents* or *Correspondents*, being then in an *unsure conquered Country*; *friendless*, *monileſs*, *unarmed*, and *unprovided*. Taking to him the *help* of a *few cold Streamers*, in the *Compass* of a *few weeks*, without the expence of *one drop* of *blood*, He scattered the *invincible Armies* and *Armadoes* of the *Rebellious*, which had so long *subjugated these* Nations, and made themselves *terrible* to their neighbours.

He *reduced* into *Obedience* all the *Cities*, *Towns*, *Castles*, *Forts*, *Armies*, *Navies*, *Magazines*, of *England*,

*land, Scotland, Ireland*, and our *Foreign Plantations.*

He *broke* the *Heart* of *Rebellion*, tore up the *roots* of *Anarchical Tyranny*, and of *Fanatical Usurpation.*

By *Temperance, Vigilance,* and *strenuous Activity*, God blessing his endeavours, he brought *all things* into his *power.* And when he had them there, *when* these *Nations trembled* under *ambiguous Expectations*, and the *wondring world* were *gazing* and *conjecturing* which way the *moment* of his *prodigious fortune* would incline him; He *chose* the way of *Conscience* and *Religion.* The *fatuous* glaring *Lustre* of a *prosperous Usurpation* could not seduce him. But *imbracing* the *well-weighed* dictates of a *sober, solid, Christian understanding*, he sacrificed all his acquisitions to Honour and Justice, plainly *Heroical* and *Divine.*

He restored to *every Man* his *own*; to the *King* he restored the *Throne* of his *Royal Predecessors*; to the *Nobles* their *Honours* and *ancient Priviledges*, (tribute to whom tribute, fear to whom fear, honour to whom honour belonged.) To the *whole Nation* he restored their *Religion*, their *Laws*, their *Liberties*, their *Properties*, (And to some of the Regicides he repaid their due.) *Thus* was God pleased by the *ministry of his* hand (at a time and in a *manner unexpected*, by a *surprize* of grace and bounty) to *turn* our *Captivity*

*vity* as the Rivers in the South, to *fill* our mouths with *laughter*, and our tongues with *joy*.

O that men would therefore praise the Lord for his Goodness, and (by their Gratitude and Obedience) *declare* the wonders of this Heroical transaction, *Surely here was* Θεῖόν τι, This was the Lords *doing*, and it will be *marvellous* in all *succeeding* Generations; *He* it was that *sent* Redemption to his people by the hand of *this Great Leader*, as of old he did to *Israel* by the hand of *Moses*. Concerning this whole Transaction I shall only say, it *cannot* be *parallel'd* out of the *Rolls* and *Records* of the *Generations* which are *past*, and it *will be remembred* and *admired* in the *Generations* which are to *come*. This was the State of that Glorious Action.

2. In the next place, *towards* an estimate of his person, be *pleased* briefly to *reflect* upon his *Demeanour afterwards*; consider how all his *foll wing Actions* were *answerable* to this grand *leading performance*, and *were* in their kind Great and *Heroical*.

Did ever any *person* (*after* so *great* an *Action*) *exceed* him in the *temper* and *sobriety* of his *mind*, or in the *Dutifulness*, *usefulness*, the *strenuous labour*, the *Constancy* and *final perseverance* of *all* his following performances? After that (by the *mercies of God*) the *publick* affairs were composed, and by the *Bounty* of his Gracious and *Grateful Soveraign*, His *own* private Affairs were setled.

Did He *use any Insolencies? Offer at any Extravagancies? Attempt any Exorbitancies? Side* with any *Factions? Make* any *Intrigues? Cherish* any *Resentments?* Nay, but *entirely* and *absolutely*, (without any the least *reserve*,) He *devoted* himself to the *service* of his *King* and *Country*, and to the *support* and *preservation* of those *Great Interests* of *Church* and *State*, which *God* by his Ministry *had Restored.*

*Riches and Honour* did not corrupt and *soften* him to *Ease* and *Luxury*; They did not *abate*, but *animate* and *inflame* his *Courage* and his *Industry.*

He did not *say*, "*Soul take thine ease, thou hast* "*goods laid up for many years, eat, drink, and be merry.*"

He did not say, *Let others* labour, and let *others fight*, *Let me* enjoy my self a little before I go hence, *&c.* But on the other side, If *ever any* living *man* did *studiously decline* employments, because they were *easie*; and *offer* himself to others, *because* of their *Difficulties*; embracing with a *greedy magnanimity* the very labour and *Danger* of them, certainly *He was* that *person.* To omit the industrious execution of his *other* Offices, wherein no man could exceed him the vigilant and laborious performance of his *place* of *General*, which obliged him to *Constant* and *perpetual care of all* his Majesties Forces. And so a *vigilant eye* over *all* the Nation (and the like.) *When* God was pleased to send upon the

the *Cities* of *London* and *Westminster* that *tremendous* Plague, and *every* one by an eager flight *withdrew* themselves from the *danger*, how earnestly did he petition that he might stay at *Westminster*! *There* he staid, and by the exceeding *hazzard* and indefatigable *labours* of his *person*, and by a *pious, timely, prudent erogation* of his *Charity*, he was a *succour* and *support* to a languishing Nation, a dying people. 1665.

When the *War* grew to an excess of fierceness, how *promptly* and *desirously* did he *prefer* himself to the *Engagement*! I need not stand upon this Argument, *Non ignota loquor*. This was his *disposition*, this was his *practice*, such was his *Constant behaviour* to the last. *No man* ever *exceeded him* in the *perseverance* of his merit.

3. To compleat the *estimate* of his *person*, It remains that we speak a word of his *Felicity*.

1. The *experience* that he had of it in *this* Life.
2. The *Hope* of his Injoyment of it in the other.

1. As for his *temporal felicities* (received at the hand of God) they may be reduced to *three orders*, 1. Personal. 2. Domestical or Oeconomical. 3. Popular, or Political.

1. That *great* things might be done by him, God was pleased to bestow upon him great *Endowments*; Many and great *Deliverances*, Great and *Glorious successes*.

Notwithstanding the *undervalue* of some who think themselves *the Wits*, *Non est magnus cui non Fuit ille magnus.*

God had bestowed upon him, A *large understanding*, A *deep judgment*, A *capacious* and a *Retentive memory*, An *admirable faculty* of *dispatch* of *business*, A strong *compacted* Body, A *solid mind*, not apt to be *elevated* or *depressed*; An *invincible Courage*, A *sedate* and *uniform contempt* of *Death*. Each of these *hard* to be *equalled*, *all together never* to be *exceeded*.

To *reserve* him for *honourable* and *great performances*, he *bestowed* upon him a *thousand* eminent, and great *deliverances*; I believe there is *hardly any man* living, who had been *more often* or more *dangerously ingaged*, yet (I have often heard him say that) he was *never considerably hurt*, *or wounded*, God covered his head in the day of Battel, and in time of danger *he* whelmed him under the hollow of his hand.

St. *Paul* gives the *Corinthians* a Catalogue of the Perils from which God had delivered him. He fil'd up and vastly exceeded the Catalogue of St. *Paul*.
2 Cor. 11. 26. From perils of *Robbers*, from perils from his own *Country-men*, from perils among *Strangers*, from perils in the *City*, from perils in the *Field*, from perils in the *Sea*, from perils among *false Brethren*, from perils by the *plague*, from perils by *war*, from perils of *Assassination* —— from perils innumerable

numerable, the Lord delivered him.

To set upon him his *own* stamp and *signature* of *Honour*, God *blessed* his *Counsels*, and gave a wonderful *success* to his endeavours. *No age* can equal that success of the *Restauration*; He *never* fell into any *Great Disaster* in his profession (which is the common fate of great Commanders) And even where the *issue* of the *whole* matter hath not been *very prosperous*, God hath ordered *his part* so, that he hath come off with *immortal* Honour and *Reputation*. *Such was his personal felicity.*

Moreover, God blessed him in his *œconomical* Relations, He was certainly the best *Husband* in the world, and he received the requital of *faithfulness* and *love*, they *twain* were loving in their Lives, and in their *Deaths* they were not *divided*.

*He* was the *best Father* in the world, and God was pleased to bless him with *a Son* of *eminent abilities*, of *body and mind*, fitted for the *support* of his *Honour*, and the *continuance* of his Name and *Family*.

He lived to see him *entred* into the service of his Country, (as *Hanno* entred *Hannibal*, against the *Romans*, so) he entred him in the Loyal Antifanatical House of Commons. He lived to see him *disposed* of in a very *Honourable marriage*, *seasoned* by himself in the principles of *Vertue*, and *Religion*, *Honour* and deep *Loyalty*, *Disposed* to *follow* him in the ways of Honour which himself had *traced*, and in *Gods*

due time to *become* a *support* and *ornament* of his Country.

Lastly, *God* blessed his *endeavours* with *honour* and *acceptance* of *men*, of *all* that are *good* and *honest* in the Land, from the King that sitteth upon the Throne, to the meanest Beggar in the street.

The Souldiers looked upon him as their Father, and were ready and ambitious to live and die with him. The *body* of the *people loved* and *honoured* him, nay (God forgive them) they *believ'd* and *trusted* in him. They thought he could do *all things*, (as *Martha* said unto Christ, Lord if thou hadst been here, our Brother *Lazarus* had not dyed) how oft hath it been said by common people, If the *General* had been here the *City* had *not been burned?*

Jo. 11. 21.

He was the *Favorite* of the Parliament, the *Dearling* of *both Houses*, they confided in him, they loved and revered him. And his Love was Reciprocal. His *Heart* was upon them for their *Religion and Loyalty*, he *mourned* for their divisions; exceedingly *laboured* the *uniting* of both Houses, and the *Continuance* of *this* Parliament.

But *incomparably* beyond all his *other* worldly *felicities*, was the *constant, uninterrupted, Ardent Affection* of His *Soveraign Lord* and *Master*. *He* conferred upon him *Riches*, and *Honours*. He *Cherished* him in His *Royal Bosome*. He *pursu'd* him

him with *perpetual Ardors* without *Intermission* or *abatement*. No *shadow* of *Suspicion*, no *Cloud* of *Jealousie*, no *Qualm* of *Satiety* arose, from the *first Moment* of his *Services*, to the *last* moment of his *Life*.

Nay, his *Love* to him is *stronger* then Death, His *Affection* follows him *after death*, in a *paternal tenderness* towards his *Son*. In the *glorious Parentation* of this Day; What can a pious Prince do *more* then to *deliver* his *remains* to be *deposited* in the *Sepulture* of the *Kings of England*, and his *Renown* to be preserved in the *memorials* of *all* Posterity?

These are some *few* Instances of the *favour* God shewed to this Great Person in *this World*. It is true, that all *worldly* felicities in this life are *not* to be *valued without* the *hopes* of his *felicity* in *Heaven*; I shall speak therefore one word of that, and so Conclude.

2. Here indeed we are *in loco lubrico*, concerned to be reserved and Wary; *What shall we* say? or *what shall* we not say?

We know the hard *Censures* of *Fanatical, factious disappointed envious* persons; But I *know likewise*, that *we have not* so *learned* Christ.

In all that I have spoken, or shall speak concerning him, I would not be understood to pretend, that he was *exempt* from humane *failings*, and *Infirmities*, *Quisque suos patimur manes*; But his *vertues* were *great* and *eminent*, his merits

known

known to all the world. Surely he had *no* failings comparable to the *envy* and *ingratitude* of his detractors. Moreover we have a *gratious God*, a *merciful* Redeemer, an *High* Priest *sensible* of our *Infirmities*; And we have reason to believe that his *Infirmities* were washed away by the blood of *Jesus*.

What we have *seen* and *heard*, we *may* be admitted to *speak*, and *I* have had the honour to be (in some measure) a *Witness* of his Conversation.

For the last 7 years (at least) of his Life, I had the honour and happiness of a free Conversation with him. Towards his latter daies (especially since his *bodily Infirmity* began to prevail upon him) My addresses were more frequent then before.

When I had opportunity, I waited on him in the Country; When I perceived the approaches of Death, I attended him carefully and often.

I was with him in his *Agonies*, I assisted in his *last* Christian Offices; *I heard his last words*, and his dying Groan. *Uti Imperatorem decuit*, I saw him *dye erect* in his *Chair*. And *lastly*, I had the honour to *close* his *Eyes*.

This I speak, *not* to *boast* of the *particular honour* which he was pleased to do *me* (his *Conversation* was *universally* such, towards all mankind, *humble*, *easie*, and *familiar*; I am perswaded that *hardly any*

*man*

did *ever* exceed him in this part of the greatness of his mind, he was ἀνὴρ πεῤάγων, the *self same person* in every *position*, never *depressed*, never *elated* by his *fortune*) but I mention these particulars only *ad faciendam fidem*.

In *reference* to the Duties of the *second* Table, *His performances* were so *eminent* in *all relations*, that the mention of them is needless.

Tell me, all ye that would detract from his honour, was he not an Incomparable *Subject*, *Husband*, *Father*, *Friend*, *Citizen*, *Commander*?

I shall only speak a word in reference to the first Table.

His Religion did not indeed consist in *talking*, *canting*, *boasting*, (of priviledges or atteinments) *censuring*, or *disobedience*. But it was *solid*, *real*, and *substantial*; And it had these marks.

Through *all* the Varieties of his life, he adhered constantly to the *true* reformed *Protestant Profession*, and was a Lover of the *Doctrine*, *Discipline* and *Government* of the *Church of England*.

He was a great *detester* of *Sacriledge*; he hath often told me with *Joy* and *Resolution*, that he *never had* or *would* have in the Compass of his *Estate*, *any part* that had *ever been devoted* to pious Uses.

He was *constant in attendance* on *Religious Duties* (*Prayers*, *Sermons*, &c.) and would not *depart*

hence without the *Viaticum Christianorum*, the *Communion* of the Body and Blood of his Redeemer, which he received with all the *Testimonies* of *Penitence*, *Devotion*, and *Comfort*.

He *discovered alwaies* an *awful reverence* towards the *Majesty of God*, and an abhorrence towards the *Profanation* of his Name.

As for the *truth* of the *Graces* of a *Christian Spirit*; the surest time to judge of them is the time *of trial*; the *time* of the *greatest trial*, is the time of *Sickness* and the *approaches of death*; And in reference to these, I am perswaded that,

If *self-denial* and *resignation* to the *Will* of *God*; If *patience* and *meekness*, and a *deep humiliation* under the mighty hand of God.

If a *promptness to die* and a *desire* to be *dissolved*.

If a *Conscience satisfied* and *rejoycing*, in the *discharge* of *duty* towards *God* and *Man*.

If *Faith in Christ* and a *comfortable hope* of *Salvation*.

If *freedom* from *terrors* and *scruples*, to which even *good* men are *liable*.

If *all* these (*sealed* with a clear and *perfect understanding* to the *last moment*, and with a *gentle*, *placid* and *decorous* Exit) are any *grounds* whereby to judge of a *Christians* estate in *reference* to the *World* to *come*, then the *World* hath reason to be perswaded of the *happy Condition* of this Great person.

As

As he was not an ordinary person: So his trial was not the ordinary trial of men, it was not in outward matters, *but in his body*; his *plague* was the *plague of the heart*, without a metaphor: I saw his *heart* opened, and upon sight of what was *there*, it was generally concluded, that *there* was the *Seat* of the *Distemper whereof* he died.

His visitation was *tedious* and long, in 12 *months* space he very seldom *slept*, or *took any* rest within his bed, but suffered all that while an *internal painful strangulation.*

He *bore all* this with an *Heroic patience* and *meekness without murmuring*, or *complaining*; As a lamb that is dumb, so opened he not his mouth.

He would *not indeed hasten* his release, but he *rejoyced* when he *saw* it coming; about *three* days before his death he foretold the time of it *plain enough*, with *joy* and *Satisfaction*; *Two daies* before it, he told me, "That no man in *England* (that "was his word) was more *willing* or more *desirous* "to *die* then himself. That he had *discharged* his *Con*-"*science* to *God*, His *King*, His *Country*. That he "hoped he had left his *Son* setled in a good Con-"dition, and that God had a blessing for him; And "he hoped that *he* (himself) had made his Salva-"tion sure.

The *evening before* his *Death* he said *several times*, that that *day* had been *better* than any of his *former*, and that the *next day he should be better then he had been in all his Life*.

From whence we all concluded, that the *next day would* be the *day of his* departure, which happened accordingly; for about nine of the Clock in the *next* morning (soon after he had been *recommended* to God in the *Prayers* and *Offices* of the *Church*) he fell into a short agony of the duration of about two or three *minutes*, he gave one *inward Groan*, and a little subsiding in his Chair, he *gently* and *placidly yielded* up the *Ghost*.

This was the Exit of this *Illustrious person*; when his *heart* and *strength failed*, *God* was the *strength* of his *heart*, and we have reason to *hope* and to *believe*, that he is his portion for ever.

That his *eminent* contempt of death (so remarkable to all the world) was drawn from the *Christian Principles*. So that he Sang within himself St. *Paul's* Epinikion, "*O Death, &c.* Wherefore I conclude with St. *Paul's* Inference,

*Let us give* thanks to God who giveth us the *Victory*, *Let us give* thanks to *God* who hath *given* us the great *Example* of *this day*, Let us run with patience the race that is set before us, looking up to Jesus the author and finisher of our Faith, *Let us be stedfast, unmoveable, alwaies abounding in the Work of the Lord, forasmuch as we know that our Labour is not in vain in the Lord.*

*ERRATA.*

Page 9. line 10. dele *when*. l. 13. read *2dly, Through*. p. 10. l. 15. r. *World to come*, a. l. 18. r. *the true Theory concerning*. p. 12. l. 7. r. *Stoics*. p. 13. l. 11. for *That*. r. *Thus*. l. 29. r. *his voice*. p. 14. l. 8, 9. r. *the principle and foundation*. p. 17. l. 8. r. *his Doctrine*. l. 9 r. *the Rewards*. p. 19. l. 14 dele *wolf* before *uniform*. p. 23. l. 4. r. *Adieu*.

about 5 Bill of exchange

# The Principles of Faith, presented by Mr. *Tho. Goodwin*, Mr. *Nye*, Mr. *Sydrach Simson*, and other Ministers, to the Committee of Parliament for Religion, by way of explanation to the Proposals for propagating of the Gospel.

FIrst, That the holy Scripture is that rule of knowing God, and living unto him, which who so doth not beleeve, but betakes himself to any other way of discovering truth, and the minde of God instead thereof, cannot be saved.

2 *Thess.* 2. 10, 11, 12. Because they received not the love of the *Truth, that they might be saved*; and for this cause God shall send them strong delusions, that they should beleeve a Lye; *that they all might be damned, who beleeve not the truth*, but had pleasure in unrighteousness, vers. 13. But we are bound to give thanks alway to God for you, Brethren, beloved of the Lord, because God hath from the beginning *chosen you to Salvation*, through sanctification of the Spirit, *and belief of the truth*, vers. 14. whereunto he *called you by our Gospel*, to the obtaining of the glory of our Lord Jesus Christ.

15. Therefore Brethren *stand fast, and hold the traditions which yee have been taught, whether by word, or our Epistle.*

1 *Cor.* 15. 1, 2, 3. Moreover, Brethren, I declare unto you *the Gospel*, which I *preached unto you*, which also you have received, and wherein yee stand.

By which *also yee are saved*, if yee keep in memory what I *Preached* unto you, *unless yee have beleeved in vain.*

For I delivered unto you *first of all*, that which I also received, how that Christ died for our sins, *according to the Scriptures.*

2 *Cor.* 1. 13. For *we write none other things* unto you then what you *read*, or *acknowledge*, and I trust you shall acknowledge even to the end, compared with *Acts* 26. 22, &c.

Having therefore obtained help of God, I continue unto this day, witnessing both to small and great, *saying none other things* then those which the *Prophets, and* Moses *did say should come.*

Joh. 5. 39. *Search the Scriptures, for in them you think to have eternall life*; compared with *Psal.* 147. 19. & 20. verses.

He shewed *his Word* unto *Jacob*, his Statutes and judgements unto Israel, hee hath not dealt so with any Nation; and as for his Judgements they have not known them.

And with *Iohn* 4. 22 Ye worship yee know not what, wee know what wee worship; for *Salvation is of the* Jews.

2 *Pet.* 2. 1. But there were false Prophets also among the people, even as there shall be false teachers among you, *who privily shall bring in damnable heresies*, even denying

dying the Lord that bought them, and *bring upon themselves swift destruction*, compared with 2 *Pet.* 3. 1, 2. *This second Epistle* ( beloved ) I now write unto you, in both which I stir up your pure minds by way of remembrance.

That yee may be mindful of the *words* which were spoken before *by the holy Prophets, and of the Commandements of us the Apostles of the Lord and Saviour.*

II. That there is a God, who is the Creator, Governour, and Judge of the World, which is to be received by faith, and every other way of the knowledge of him is insufficient, *Heb.* 11. 3.

Through *faith we understand that the Worlds were framed by the Word of God*; so that things which are seen were not made of things which do appear.

Ver. 6. But *without faith* it is *impossible to please God*; for he that cometh to God, *must beleeve that he is*, and that he is a *rewarder* of them that diligently seek him.

*Rom.* 1. *ver.* 19. Because that which may be known of *God*, is manifested in them, for God hath shewed it to them.

Vers. 20. For the *Invisible* things of him from the *Creation of the World* are clearly seen, being understood by the things that are made, even his *eternal power and Godhead*; so that they are without excuse.

Vers. 21. Because that when they knew God, they glorified him not as God, neither were thankful, but became vain in their imaginations, and their foolish heart was darkened.

Vers. 22. Professing themselves to be wise, they became fools, compared with--

1 *Cor.* 1. 21. For after that, in *the wisdom of God*, the world *by wisdom knew not God*, it pleased God by the foolishnesse of preaching to *save them that beleeve.*

2 Thes. 1. 8. To render *vengeance* on *them* that knew *not God*, and that obey not the Gospel of our Lord Jesus Christ.

III. That this God who is the Creator, is eternally distinct from all the Creatures in his being, and blessednes.

*Rom.* 1. *v.* 18. For the wrath of God is revealed from Heaven against all ungodlines, and unrighteousnes of men, who hold the truth in unrighteousnes:

Vers. 25. Who *changed the truth of God into a lye*, and worshipped and served the *creature* more then the *Creator*, *who is blessed for ever*, Amen.

1 *Cor.* 8 *v.* 5. For though there be that are called Gods, whether in heaven, or in earth, ( as there be gods many, and lords many. )

Vers. 6 But *to us* there is but *one God*, the Father, of *whom are all things*, and we in him, and one *Lord Jesus Christ*, *by whom* are *all things*, and we by him.

IV. That this God is one in three Persons, or subsistences.

1 *Joh.* 5. 5. Who is this that overcometh the world, but he that beleeveth that Jesus is the Son of God.

Vers. 6. This is he that came by Water and Bloud, even Jesus Christ, not by water only, but by water and bloud, and it is the Spirit than beareth witnes, because the Spirit is truth.

Vers. 7. For there are three that bear record in heaven, the Father, the Word, and the Holy Ghost, and these three are one.

Vers. 8. And there are three that bear witnes in earth, the Spirit, the Water, and the Bloud, and these three agree in one.

Ver. 9. If we receive the *witness of men, the witness of God is greater, for this is the witness of God, which he hath testified of his Son.* Compared with *Joh.* 8. 17.

It is also written in your Law, that the testimony of two men is true.

Vers. 18. I am one that bear witness of my self, and the father that sent me, beareth witness of me.

Vers. 19. Then said they unto him, Where is thy Father? Jesus answered, Yee *neither know me, nor my Father, if yee had known me, yee should have known my Father also.*

Ver. 21. Then said Jesus unto them, *Yee shall dye in your sins.*

*Mat.* 28. 19. Go yee therefore, and *teach* all Nations, *baptising them in the name of the Father, and of the Son, and of the Holy Ghost*; Compared with *Ephesians* 4. 4. There is one body, and one spirit, even as yee are called in one hope of your calling.

Ver. 5. *One Lord, one Faith, one Baptism.*

Ver. 6. *One God and Father of all,* who is above all, and through all, and in you all.

1 *Joh.* 2. 22. Who is a lyer, but he that denieth that Iesus is the Christ? he is Antichrist that denieth the *Father, and the Son.*

Vers. 23. *Whosoever denieth the Son, the same hath not the Father*; but he that acknowledgeth the Son, hath the Father also.

2 Epist. *Joh.* ver. 9. Whosoever transgresseth, and abideth not in the Doctrin of Christ, hath not God, he that abideth in the doctrin of Christ, he hath both the Father, and the Son.

Ver. 10. If there come any unto you, and bring not *this doctrin*, receive him not into your house, neither bid him *God speed.*

V. That Iesus Christ is the only Mediator between God and man, without the knowledge of whom there is no salvation.

1 *Tim.* 2. 4. Who will have all men to be saved, and to come to the knowledge of the truth.

Vers. 5. For there is *one God*, and one *Mediator* between God and men, the man *Christ Iesus.*

Ver. 6. Who gave himself a ransome for all, to be testified in due time.

2 *Tim.* 3. 15. And that from a childe thou hast known the *holy Scriptures*, which are able to make thee wise unto salvation, through faith which is in Christ Iesus.

1 *Ioh.* 2. 22. Who is a *lyar*, but he that denieth that *Iesus* is the Christ? He is *Antichrist* that denieth the Father, and the Son.

*Acts* 4. 10. Be it known unto you all, and to all the people of Israel, *That by the name of Jesus Christ of Nazareth*, whom yee crucified, whom God raised from the dead, even by him doth this man stand here before you whole.

Vers. 12. Neither is there *salvation in any other*, for there is none *other name* under heaven *given among men, whereby we must be saved.*

1 *Cor.* 3. 10. According to the grace of God which is given unto mee, as a wise Master-builder, I have laid *the foundation*, and another buildeth thereupon. But let every one *take heed* how *he buildeth thereupon.*

Verſ.11. For *other foundation can no man lay*, then that is laid, which is *Jeſus Chriſt*.

VI. That this Jeſus Chriſt is the true God, 1 *Joh*.5.29. And wee know that the Son of God is come, and hath given us an *underſtanding, that we may know him that is true*. And we are in him that is true, even in his *Son Jeſus Chriſt. This is the true God, and eternal life.*

*Iſa*.45.21. There is *no God* elſe beſides me, a juſt God and *Saviour*, there is none beſide me.

Verſ,22. Look unto *me*, and be *ye ſaved all the ends of the earth*, for *I am God*, and there is none elſe.

23. I have ſworn by my ſelf, the word is gone out of my mouth in righteouſneſſe, and ſhall not return, that unto me every knee ſhall bow, every tongue ſhall ſwear.

24. Surely ſhall one ſay, in *the Lord* have I righteouſneſſe and ſtrength, even to *him ſhall men come*, and all that are incenſed againſt him ſhall be aſhamed.

25. In the *Lord* ſhall all the ſeed of *Iſrael* be *juſtified*, and ſhall glory, which the Apoſtle applies unto Chriſt, *Rom*.14.11,12. and *Philip*.2.6. to the 12.

VII. That this Jeſus Chriſt is alſo true man, 1 *Joh*.4.2. Hereby know yee the Spirit of God; every *ſpirit* that *confeſſeth* that *Jeſus Chriſt is come in the fleſh, is of God.*

Verſ.3. And every *ſpirit* that confeſſeth not that *Jeſus Chriſt is come in the fleſh, is not of God. And this is that ſpirit of Antichriſt.*

2 Joh. 7. For *many deceivers are entred into the world*, who *confeſſe not that Jeſus Chriſt is come in the fleſh. This is a Deceiver, and an Antichriſt.*

VIII. That this Jeſus Chriſt is God and Man in one Perſon, 1 *Tim*.3.16. and *without controverſie*, great is the *myſtery of godlineſſe. God was manifeſted in the fleſh*, juſtified in the Spirit, ſeen of Angels, preached unto the Gentiles, beleeved on in the World, received up into glory.

*Matth*.16.13. Jeſus asked his Diſciples, ſaying, whom do men ſay that *I the Son of man am*?

Verſ.14. They ſaid, ſome ſay thou art *John the Baptiſt*, &c.

Verſ.15. But whom ſay yee that I am?

Verſ.16. *Simon Peter* anſwered, *Thou art Chriſt the Son of the living God.*

Verſ.17. Jeſus ſaid unto him, Bleſſed art thou, *Simon Bar-Jona*, for fleſh and blood hath not revealed it unto thee, but my Father which is in heaven.

Verſ.18. And I ſay unto thee, Thou art *Peter*, and *upon this Rock I will build my Church*, and the Gates of Hell ſhall not prevail againſt it.

IX That this Jeſus Chriſt is our Redeemer, who by paying a Ranſome, and bearing our ſins, hath made ſatisfaction for them.

*Iſa*.53.11. By *his knowledge* ſhall my righteous ſervant *juſtifie many*, for *he ſhall bear their iniquities*, compared with

1 *Pet*.2.24. Who his own ſelf *bare our ſins in his own body on the tree*; that wee being dead to ſin, ſhould live to righteouſneſſe, by whoſe ſtripes yee were healed.

25. For yee were as ſheep *going aſtray*, but are now returned unto the *Shepherd and Biſhop of your ſouls*.

1 *Cor.* 15.2. By which also you are saved, if you keep in memory what I preached unto you, *unlesse ye have believed in vain.*

Vers.3. For I delivered unto you *first of all*, that also which I received, how that *Christ dyed for our sins*, according to the Scriptures.

1 *Tim.*2.4. Who will have all men to be saved, and to come unto the *knowledge of the truth.*

Vers.5. For there is one God, and one *Mediator* between God and men, the *man Christ Jesus.*

Vers.6. Who gave himself *a ransome* for all, to be *testified in due time*, 1 Cor. 6.20. Yee are bought with a price.

X. That this same Lord Jesus Christ is hee that was Crucified at *Jerusalem*, and rose again, and ascended into heaven.

*Ioh.*8.24. I said therefore unto you, that ye shall dye in your sins; for if ye beleeve *not that I am he*, ye shall *dye in your sins.*

Act.4,10. Be that *known unto you all*, and to all the *people of Israel*, that by the *name of Jesus Christ of Nazareth*, *whom ye crucified*, whom God raised from the dead, even by him doth this man stand here before you whole.

Vers.11. *This is the stone* which was set at nought of you builders, which is become the head of the corner.

Vers,12. *Neither is there salvation in any other*, for there is none other name under heaven given among men, whereby we must be saved.

*Act.*10.38. How God anointed Jesus of Nazareth with the Holy Ghost, and with power, who went about doing good, and healing all that were oppressed of the Devil, for God was with him.

Vers.39. And we are witnesses of all things which he did, both in the land of the *Iews* and in *Ierusalem*, *whom they slew and hanged on a tree.*

Vers.40. *Him* God raised up the third day, and shewed him openly.

Vers.41. Not to all the people, but unto witnesses chosen before of God, even to us who did eat and drink with him, after he rose from the dead.

Vers.42. And he commanded us to preach unto the people, and to testifie that it is he, *who was ordained of God, to be the Iudge of quick and dead.*

Vers.43. To *him* give all the Prophets witnesse that *through his Name*, *whosoever believeth in him shall receive remission of sins.*

1 *Cor.* 15.2. By which also ye are saved, if ye keep in memory what I preached unto you, unlesse ye have beleeved in vain.

Vers. 3 For I delivered unto you first of all that which I also received, how that Christ dyed for our sins, according to the Scriptures.

Vers.4. And that he was buried, and that he rose again the third day, according to the Scriptures.

Vers.5. And that he was seen of *Cephas*, then of the Twelve.

Vers.6. After that he was seen of above five hundred brethren at once, of whom the greater part remain unto this present, but some are faln asleep.

Vers 7. After that he was seen of *Iames*, then of all the Apostles.

Vers.8. And last of all he was seen of me also.

*Act.* 22.8. Who art thou Lord? and he said, I am Jesus of Nazareth.

*Act.* 2.36. Therefore let all the house of Israel know assuredly, that God hath made that same Iesus, whom ye crucified, both Lord and Christ. Vers. 37. Now when they heard this they were pricked in their hearts, and said unto *Peter*, and to the rest of the Apostles, Men and Brethren, What shall wee do? Vers. 38. Then *Peter* said unto them, Repent, and be baptized every one of you in the name of Iesus Christ for the remission of sins, and ye shall receive the gift of the Holy Ghost.

XI. That this same Iesus Christ, being the onely God and Man in one Person, remains for ever a distinct Person from all Saints and Angels, notwithstanding their union and communion with him.

*Col.* 2.8. Beware lest any man spoyl you, through Philosophy and vain deceit, after the tradition of men, after the rudiments of the world, and not after Christ.

Vers 9. For in him dwelleth all the fulnesse of the God-head bodily.

Vers. 10. And ye are compleat in him, which is the head of all Principality and Power. Vers. 19. And not holding the head, from which all the body by joynts and bands, having nourishment ministred, and knit together, increaseth with the increase of God.

1 *Tim.* 3 16. God manifested in the flesh, beleeved on in the world.

XII. That all men by nature are dead in trespasses and sins, and no man can be saved unless he be born again, repent, and beleeve, *Ioh.* 3.3. Iesus answered and said unto him, Verily, verily, I say unto thee, Except a man be born again, he cannot see the Kingdome of God. Vers. 5 6 7. Iesus answered, Verily, verily, I say unto thee, Except a man be born of water, and of the Spirit, he cannot enter into the Kingdome of God; That which is born of the flesh is flesh, and that which is born of the Spirit is Spirit. Marvel not that I said unto thee, Ye must be born again. Vers. 10. Iesus answered, and said unto him, Art thou a Master in Israel, and knowest not these things?

*Act.* 17.30,31. And the times of this ignorance God winked at, but now commandeth all men every where to repent, because he hath appointed a day wherein hee will judge the world in righteousnesse.

*Act.* 26.17 18,19,20. Delivering thee from the people, and from the Gentiles, unto whom I now send thee, To open their eyes, and to turn them from darknesse to light, and from the power of Satan unto God, that they may receive forgivenesse of sins, and inheritance among them that are sanctified by faith in me. Whereupon I was not disobedient to the heavenly Vision, but shewed first to them at *Damascus*, and at *Ierusalem*, and throughout all the coasts of *Iudea*, and then to the Gentiles, that they should repent, and turn to God, and do works meet for repentance, *Luke* 24.47. that repentance and forgivenesse of sins should be preached in his Name among all Nations.

Act. 20 20,21. I have shewed you, and have taught you publickly, and from house to house, testifying both to Iews and Greeks repentance towards God, and faith towards our Lord Iesus Christ.

*Ioh.* 5.24,25. Verily, verily, I say unto you, he that heareth my word, and beleeveth on him that sent me, hath everlasting life, and shall not come into condemnation, but is passed from death unto life. Verily, verily, I say unto you, the hour is coming, and now is, when the dead shall hear the voice of the Son of God, and they that hear shall live.

XIII.

XIII. That we are justified and saved by grace, and faith in Iesus Christ, and not by works.

*Acts* 15. 24. For as much as we have heard, that certain which went out from us have troubled you with words, subverting your souls; saying, *Yee must be circumcised, and keep the Law*, compared with *Gal.* 1. 6, 7, 8. 9. *I marvel that you are so soon removed from him that called you into the grace of Christ, unto another Gospel which is not another; but there are some that trouble you, and would pervert the Gospel of Christ; but though we, or an Angel from heaven preach another Gospel unto you, then that which we have preached unto you, let him be accursed.* As wee said before, so say I now again, *If any man preach any other Gospel unto you, then that ye have received, let him be accursed*, Gal 5.

Ver. 2. 4, 5. Behold, I *Paul* say unto you, that if yee be circumcised, Christ shall profit you nothing; Christ is become of none effect to you, whosoever of you are justified by the Law, ye are faln from grace, for we through the Spirit wait for the hope of righteousess by faith. *Rom.* 9. *v.* 31, 32. 33. But *Israel*, which followed after the Law of righteousnes, hath not attained to the Law of righteousnesse, wherefore? because they sought it not by faith, but as it were by the works of the Law; for they stumbled at that stumbling stone; As it is written, Behold I lay in Sion a stumbling stone and rock of offence, and whosoever beleeveth on him shall not be ashamed, compared with *Rom.* 10. *v.* 3, 4. For they being ignorant of Gods righteousnes, and going about to establish their own righteousnes, have not submitted themselves unto the righteousnes of God, for Christ is the end of the Law for righteousnes for every one that beleeveth

*Rom.* 1. 16, 17. I am not ashamed of the Gospel of Christ, for it is the power of God unto salvation to every one that beleeveth, to the *Jew* first, and also to the *Greek*; for therein is the rightnousnes of God revealed from faith to faith, as it is written, *The just shall live by faith*, compared with *Gal.* 3. 11. But that no man is justified by the Law in the sight of God, it is evident; for, *the just shall live by faith.*

*Eph.* 2. 8, 9, 10. For by grace ye are saved through faith, and that not of your selves, it is the gift of God, not of works, least any man should boast; for we are his workmanship created in Christ Jesus unto good works, which God hath before ordained that we should walk in them.

XIV. That to continue in any known sin, upon what pretence or principle soever, is damnable.

*Rom.* 1. 32. Who knowing the Judgement of God, that they which commit such things are worthy of death, not onely to do the same, but have pleasure in them that do them.

*Rom.* 6. v. 1, 2. What shall we say then? shall wee continue in sin that grace may abound? God forbid; How shall wee, that are dead to sin, live any longer therein? compared with vers 15. and 16. What then? shall wee sin, because wee are not under the Law, but under Grace? God forbid. Know yee not, that to whom yee yeeld your selves servants to obey, his servants yee are to whom yee obey, whether of sin unto death, or of obedience unto righteousnesse?

1 *Iohn* 1. 6. 8. If we say that we have fellowship with him, and walk in darknes, we lye, and do not the truth. *If we say we have no sin, We deceive our selves, and the truth is not in us.*

Chap.

*Chap.*3 ver. 3. And every man that hath this hope in him purifieth himself even as he is pure. Vers. 4, 5, 6,7,8. Whosoever committeth sin, transgresseth also the Law, for sin is a transgession of the Law, And yee know that hee was manifested to take away our sins, and in him is no sin; whosoever abideth in him sinneth not. Whosoever sinneth, hath not seen him, neither known him. Little children, let no man deceive you; he that doth righteousness is righteous; he that committeth sin is of the Devil, for the Devil sinneth from the beginning, for this purpose the Son of God was manifested, that he might destroy the works of the Devil.

2 *Pet.*2.19,20. While they promise them liberty they themselves are the servants of corruption; for of whom a man is overcome, of the same is he brought in bondage. For if after they have escaped the pollutions of the world, through the knowledge of the Lord and Saviour Jesus Christ, they are again intangled therein, and overcome, the latter end is worse with them then the begining.

*Rom.*8.13. For if ye live after the flesh, ye shall dye, but if ye mortifie the deeds of the flesh by the Spirit, ye shall live.

XV. That God is to be worshipped according to his own will, and whosoever shall forsake and dispise all the duties of his worship, cannot be saved.

*Jer.*10.15. Poure out thy fury upon the heathen that know thee not, and upon the families that call not upon thy name, for they have eaten up *Jacob*, and devoured him, and consumed him, &c.

*Psal.* 14. 4. Have all the workers of iniquity no knowledge? who eat up my people as they eate bread, and call not upon the Lord.

*Jude* verse 18,19,20,21. How they told you there should be mockers in the last times, shall walk after their owne ungodly lusts, these be they who separate themselves, sensuall, not having the Spirit. But yee beloved, building up your selves in your most holy faith, praying in the holy Ghost, keep your selves in the love of God, looking for the mercy of our Lord Jesus Christ unto eternal life.

*Rom.* 10.13. For whosoever shall call on the name of the Lord, shall be saved.

XVI. That the dead shal rise, and that there is a day of judgement wherein all shal appear, some to goe into everlasting life, and some into everlasting condemnation.

1 *Tim.*1.19.20. Holding faith and a good conscience, which some having put away, concerning faith have made shipwrack; of whom is *Himenæus* and *Alexander* whom I have delivered to Satan, that they may learn not to blaspheme, compared with 2 *Tim.* 2. 17, 18. And their word will eat as doth a canker, of whom is *Hymenæus* and *Philetus*, who concerning the faith have erred, saying, That the Resurrection is past already, and overthrow the faith of some, Act. 17. 30, 31. And the times of this ignorance God winked at, but now commandeth all men every where to repent, because he hath appointed a day wherein he will judge the world in righteousnesse.

*John* 5. 28,29. All that are in the grave shall hear his voyce, and shall come forth, they that have done good unto the resurrection of life, and they that have done evil to the resurrection of damnation; compared with 1 *Cor.* 15. 19. If in this life onely wee have hope in Christ, wee are of all men most miserable.

FINIS. *Imprimatur, Henry Scobell.*

Printed at *London* for *Robert Ibbitson.* 1654.

PAMPHL-
ETS