

DOCUMENTS SET

Revised and updated by

Arlene M.W. Sindelar

University of Mississippi

and

Mary E. Chalmers

Kenyon College

VOLUME II, SINCE 1648

THE WESTERN HERITAGE

SEVENTH EDITION

Donald Kagan Steven Ozment Frank M. Turner

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Volume II: Since 1648
Seventh Edition

DONALD KAGAN

Yale University

STEVEN OZMENT

Harvard University

FRANK M. TURNER

Yale University

PRENTICE HALL, UPPER SADDLE RIVER, NEW JERSEY 07458



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CHAPTER 13

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Source: *A Premonition to All Most Mighty Monarchs, Kings, Free Princes, and States of Christendom Works*, ed. James Montague, Bp. of Winchester (1616), pp. 301–308.

I will never be ashamed to render an accompt of my profession and of that hope that is in me, as the Apostle prescribeth. I am such a CATHOLIC CHRISTIAN as believeth the three Creeds, that of the Apostles, that of the Council of Nice, and that of Athanasius, the two latter being paraphrases to the former. And I believe them in that sense as the ancient Fathers and Councils that made them did understand them, to which three Creeds all the ministers of England do subscribe at their Ordination. And I also acknowledge for Orthodox all those other forms of Creeds that either were devised by Councils or particular Fathers, against such particular heresies as most reigned in their times.

I reverence and admit the Four First General Councils as Catholic and Orthodox. And the said Four General Councils are acknowledged by our Acts of Parliament, and received for orthodox by our Church.

As for the Fathers, I reverence them as much and more than the Jesuits do, and as much as themselves ever craved. For whatever the Fathers for the first five hundred years did with an unanime consent agree upon, to be believed as a necessary point of salvation, I either will believe it also, or at least will be humbly silent, not taking upon me to condemn the same. But for every private Father's opinion, it binds not my conscience more than Bellarmine's, every one of the Fathers usually contradicting others. I will therefore in that case follow St. Augustine's rule in judging of their opinions as I find them agree with the Scriptures. What I find agreeable thereto I will gladly embrace. What is otherwise I will (with their reverence) reject.

As for the Scriptures, no man doubteth I will believe them. But even for the Apocrypha, I hold them in the same accompt that the Ancients did. They are still printed and bound with our Bibles, and publicly read in our churches. I reverence them as the writings of holy and good men. But since they are not found in the Canon, we accompt them to be *secundae lectionis* or *ordinis* (which is Bellarmine's own distinction) and therefore not sufficient whereupon alone to ground any Article of Faith, except it be confirmed by some other place of Canonical Scripture; concluding this point with Rufinus (who is no Novelist, I hope) that the Apocryphal books were by the Fathers permitted to be read, not for confirmation of doctrine, but only for instruction of the people.

As for the Saints departed, I honour their memory, and in honour of them do we in our Church observe the days of so many of them as the Scripture doth canonize for saints; but I am loath to believe all the tales of the legended saints.

And first for the Blessed Virgin Mary, I yield her that which the Angel Gabriel pronounced of her, and which in her Canticle she prophecied of herself, that is, That she is blessed among women, and That all generations shall call her blessed. I reverence her as the Mother of Christ, of whom our Saviour took His flesh, and so the Mother of God, since the Divinity and Humanity of Christ are inseparable. And I freely confess that she is in glory both above angels and men, her own Son (that is both God and man) only excepted. But I dare not mock her, and blaspheme against God, calling her not only *Diva* but *Dea*, and praying her to command and control her Son, Who is her God and her Saviour. Nor yet not, I think, that she hath no other thing to do in Heaven than to hear every idle man's suit and busy herself in their errands, whiles requesting, whiles commanding her Son, whiles coming down to kiss and make love with priests, and whiles disputing and brawling with devils. In Heaven she is in eternal glory and joy, never to be interrupted with any worldly business; and there I leave her with her blessed Son, our Saviour and hers, in eternal felicity.

As for prayer to Saints, Christ, I am sure, hath commanded us to come all to Him that are loaden with sin, and He will relieve us; and St. Paul hath forbidden us to worship angels, or to use any such voluntary worship, that hath a shew of humility in that it spareth not the flesh. But what warrant we have to have recourse unto these *Dii Penates* or *Tutelaes*, these Courtiers of God, I know not; I remit that to these philosophical Neoteric Divines. It satisfieth me to pray to God through Christ, as I am commanded, which I am sure must be the safest way; and I am sure the safest way is the best way in points of salvation. But if the Romish Church hath coined new Articles of Faith, never heard of in the first 500 years after Christ, I hope I shall never be condemned for an heretic, for not being a Novelist. Such are the Private Masses, where the Priest playeth the part both of the Priest and of the People. And such are the Amputation of the one half of the Sacrament from the people; the Transubstantiation, Elevation for Adoration, and Circumportation in procession of the Sacrament; the Works of Supererogation, rightly named *Thesaurus Ecclesiae*; the Baptizing of Bells and a thousand other tricks, but above all, the Worshipping of Images. If my faith be weak in these, I confess I had rather believe too little than too much. And yet since I believe as much as the Scriptures do warrant, the Creeds do persuade, and the ancient Councils decreed, I may well be a schismatic from Rome, but I am sure I am no heretic.

For Relics of Saints, If I had any such I were assured were members of their bodies, I would honourably bury them and not give them the reward of condemned men's members, which are only ordained to be deprived of burial. But for worshipping either them or images, I must account it damnable idolatry.

I am no *Iconomachus*. I quarrel not with the making of images, either for public decoration or for men's private uses. But that they should be worshipped, be prayed to, or any holiness attributed unto them, was never known of the ancients. And the Scriptures are so directly, vehemently, and punctually against it, as I wonder what brain of man or suggestion of Satan durst offer it to Christians. And all must be salved with nice philosophical distinctions as *Idolum nihil est*; and They worship (forsooth) the Images of things in being and the Image of the true God. But the Scripture forbiddeth to worship the Image of anything that God created. It was not a *nihil* then that God forbade only to be worshipped, neither was the Brazen Serpent nor the body of Moses a *nihil*; and yet the one was destroyed and the other hidden for eschewing of idolatry. Yea, the Image of God Himself is not only expressly forbidden to be worshipped, but even to be made. The reason is given, That no eye ever saw God; and how can we paint His Face, when Moses (the man that was ever most familiar with God) never saw but His back parts? Surely, since He cannot be drawn to the *vive*, it is a thankless labour to mar it with a false representation; which no Prince, nor scarcely any other man, will be contented with in their own pictures. Let them therefore that maintain this doctrine answer it to Christ at the latter day, when He shall accuse them of idolatry. And then I doubt if He will be paid with such nice sophistical distinctions. . . .

As for Purgatory, and all the trash depending thereupon, it is not worth the talking of; Bellarmine cannot find any ground for it in all the Scriptures. Only I would pray him to tell me, If that fair green meadow that is in Purgatory have a brook running through it, that in case I come there I may have hawking upon it. But as for me, I am sure there is a Heaven and a Hell, *praenium et poena*, for the Elect and Reprobate; how many other rooms there be, I am not on God His council. *Multae sunt mansiones in domo Patris mei*, saith Christ, Who is the true purgatory for our sins. But how many chambers and ante-chambers the Devil hath, they can best tell that go to him. But in case there were more places for souls to go to than we know of, yet let us content us with that which in His Word He hath revealed unto us, and not inquire further into His secrets. Heaven and Hell are there revealed to be the eternal home of all mankind. Let us endeavour to win the one and eschew the other; and there is an end.

Now in all this discourse have I yet left out the main article of the Romish faith, and that is, the Head of the Church or Peter's Primacy; for who denieth this, denieth *fidem Catholicam*, saith Bellarmine. That Bishops ought to be in the Church, I ever maintained it as an Apostolic institution and so the ordinance of God,—contrary to the Puri-

tans, and likewise to Bellarmine, who denies that Bishops have their jurisdiction immediately from God. (But it is no wonder he takes the Puritans' part, since Jesuits are nothing but Puritan-Papists.) And as I ever maintained the state of Bishops and the Ecclesiastical Hierarchy for order sake, so was I ever an enemy to the confused anarchy or parity of the Puritans, as well appeareth in my *Βασιλικὸν Δωρον*. Heaven is governed by order, and all the good angels there. Nay, Hell itself could not subsist without some order. And the very devils are divided into legions and have their chieftains. How can any society, then, upon earth subsist without order and degrees? And therefore I cannot enough wonder with what brazen face this Answerer could say, That I was a Puritan in Scotland and an enemy to Protestants,—I that was persecuted by Puritans there, not from my birth only, but even since four months before my birth? I that in the year of God 84 [*ie.*, 1584] erected Bishops and depressed all their popular parity, I then being not 18 years of age? I that in my said Book to my Son do speak ten times more bitterly of them nor of the Papists, having in my second edition thereof affixed a long Apologetic Preface, only in *odium Puritanorum*? And I that for the space of six years before my coming into England laboured nothing so much as to depress their parity and re-erect Bishops again? Nay, if the daily commentaries of my life and actions in Scotland were written (as Julius Caesar's were) there would scarcely a month pass in all my life, since my entering into the thirteenth year of my age, wherein some accident or other would not convince the Cardinal of a lie in this point. And surely I give a fair commendation to the Puritans in that place of my book, where I affirm that I have found greater honesty with the highland and border thieves than with that sort of people. But leaving him to his own impudence, I return to my purpose.

Of Bishops and Church Hierarchy I very well allow (as I said before) and likewise of ranks and degrees amongst bishops. Patriarchs I know were in the time of the Primitive Church, and I likewise reverence that institution for order sake; and amongst them was a contention for the first place. And for myself (if that were yet the question) I would with all my heart give my consent that the Bishop of Rome should have the first seat; I being a Western King would go with the Patriarch of the West. And for his temporal principality over the Signory of Rome, I do not quarrel it either. Let him in God His Name be *Primus Episcopus inter omnes Episcopos*, and *Princeps Episcoporum*, so it be no otherwise but as Peter was *Princeps Apostolorum*. But as I well allow of the hierarchy of the Church for distinction of orders (for so I understand it), so I utterly deny that there is an earthly Monarch thereof, whose word must be a law, and who cannot err in his sentence, by an Infallibility of Spirit. Because earthly Kingdoms must have earthly Monarchs, it doth not follow that the Church must have a visible Monarch too. For the world hath not one earthly temporal Monarch. Christ is His Church's Monarch, and the Holy Ghost His Deputy, *Reges Gentium dominants eorum, vos autem non sic*. Christ did not promise before His Ascension to leave Peter with them to direct and instruct them in all

things. But He promised to send the Holy Ghost unto them for that end.

And as for these two before cited places, whereby Bellarmine maketh the Pope to triumph over kings, I mean *Pasce oves* and *Tibi dabo claves*, the Cardinal knows well enough that the same words of *Tibi dabo* are in another place spoken by Christ in the plural number. And he likewise knows what reason the ancients do give why Christ bade Peter *pascere oves*, and also what a cloud of witnesses there is, both of ancients, and even of late Popish writers, yea divers Cardinals, that do all agree, that both these speeches used to Peter were meant to all the Apostles represented in his person. Otherwise, how could Paul direct the Church of Corinth to excommunicate the incestuous person *cum spiritu suo*, whereas he should then have said, *cum spiritu Petri*? And how could all the Apostles have otherwise used all their censures only in Christ's Name, and never a word of His Vicar? Peter, we read, did in all the Apostles' meetings sit amongst them as one of their number. And when chosen men were sent to Antiochia from that great Apostolic Council at Jerusalem (*Acts xv*), the text saith, *It seemed good to the Apostles and Elders with the whole Church to send chosen men*; but no mention made of the Head thereof. And so in their Letters no mention is made of Peter, but only of the Apostles, Elders, and Brethren. And it is a wonder why Paul rebuketh the Church of Corinth for making exception of persons, because some followed Paul, some Apollos, some Cephas, if Peter was their visible Head! For then those that followed not Peter or Cephas renounced the Catholic Faith. But it appeareth well that Paul knew little of our new doctrine, since he handleth Peter so rudely, as he not only compareth, but preferreth, himself unto him. But our Cardinal proves Peter's superiority by Paul's going to visit him. Indeed Paul saith, He went to Jerusalem to visit Peter and confer with him. But he should have added, "And to kiss his feet." . . .

Thus have I now made a free Confession of my Faith. And, I hope, I have fully cleared myself from being an Apostate; and, as far from being an heretic as one may be, that believeth the Scriptures, and the three Creeds, and acknowledgeth the four first General Councils. If I be loath to believe too much, especially of novelties, men of greater knowledge may well pity my weakness. But I am sure none will condemn me for an heretic, save such as make the Pope their God, and think him such a speaking Scripture as they can define heresy no otherwise, but to be whatsoever opinion is maintained against the Pope's definition of faith. And I will sincerely promise, that whenever any point of the Religion I profess shall be proved to be new, and not Ancient, Catholic, and Apostolic (I mean for matter of faith), I will as soon renounce it, closing up this head with the maxim of Vincentius Lirinensis, that I will never refuse to embrace any opinion in divinity necessary to salvation which the whole Catholic Church with an unanime consent have constantly taught and believed even from the Apostles' days, for the space of many ages thereafter without any interruption.

Question:

1. How does James attempt to balance religious interests? Is he successful?

13.2 William Laud: *Laud's Visitation Articles, 1635*

Source: *Anglicanism*, ed. More (Harrisburg, PA: Morehouse Publishing, 1935), pp. 702–705.

CONCERNING THE CHURCH, THE ORNAMENTS THEREOF, AND THE CHURCH'S POSSESSIONS

Imprimis. Whether have you in your several Churches and Chapels the whole Bible of the largest volume and the Book of Common Prayer, both fairly and substantially bound; a font of stone, set up in the ancient usual place; a convenient and decent Communion Table, with a carpet of silk or some other decent stuff, continually laid upon the same at time of Divine Service, and a fair linen cloth thereon at the time of the receiving of the Holy Communion? And whether is the same Table placed in such convenient sort within the Chancel or Church, as that the minister may be best heard in his prayer and administration and that the greatest number may communicate? And whether is it so used out of time of Divine Service as is not agreeable to the holy use of it, as by sitting on it, throwing hats on it, writing on it, or is it abused to other profaner uses? And are the Ten Commandments set upon the East End of your Church or Chapel where the people may best see and read them, and other sentences of Holy Scripture, written on the walls likewise for that purpose?

2. Whether are the afternoon sermons, in your several parishes turned into catechizing by question and answer, according to the form prescribed in the Book of Common Prayer? And whether doth every lecturer read Divine Service, according to the Liturgy printed by authority, in his surplice and hood before the lecture? And whether are his Majesty's instructions in all things duly observed?

3. Whether have you in your said Church or Chapel a convenient seat for your minister to read set-vice in, together with a comely pulpit set up in a convenient place, with a decent cloth or cushion for the same, a comely large surplice, a fair communion cup with a cover of silver, a flagon of silver, tin, or pewter, to put the wine in, whereby it may be set upon the Communion Table, at the time of the blessing thereof, with all other things and ornaments necessary for the celebration of Divine Service and Administration of the Sacraments? And whether have you a strong chest for alms for the poor, with three locks and keys, and another chest for keeping the books, and ornaments of the Church, and the Register Book? And whether have you a Register Book in parchment, for Christenings, Weddings, and Burials, and whether the same be kept in all points according to the Canons in that behalf provided? And is the

mother's Christian name therein registered as well as the father's, and a transcript thereof brought in yearly within one month after the 25th of March, into the Lord Archbishop, or Bishop of the Diocese, his principal Register? And whether have you in your said Church or Chancel a table set of the degrees wherein by law men are prohibited to marry?

4. Whether are your Church and Chapels, with the chancels thereof, and your parsonage or vicarage house, your parish almshouse and Church House, in good reparations? And are they employed to godly and their right holy uses? Is your Church, chancel, and Chapel decently and comely kept, as well within as without, and the seats well maintained, according to the 85th Canon, in that behalf provided? Or have any patrons or others decayed the parsonage houses, and kept a stipendiary priest or curate in place where an incumbent should be provided? Whether is your churchyard well fenced with walls, rails, or pales, and by whom? And if not, in whose default the same is, and what the defect or fault is? And whether any person have encroached upon the ground of the churchyard, or whether any person or persons have used any thing or place consecrated to holy use, profanely or wickedly?

5. Is your Church or Chapel decently paved, and is your churchyard well and orderly kept without abuse? Are the bones of the dead decently interred or laid up in some fit place, as beseemeth Christians? And is the whole consecrated ground kept free from swine and all other nastiness, as becometh the place so dedicated?

6. Whether have any ancient monuments or glass windows been defaced, or any brass inscriptions, lead, stone, or anything else belonging to your Church or Chapel been at any time purloined, and by whom?

7. Whether have you the terrier of all the glebelands, meadows, gardens, orchards, houses, stocks, implements, tenements, and portions of tithes (whether within your parish or without) belonging unto your parsonage or vicarage, taken by the view of honest men in your said parish? And whether the said terrier be laid up in the Bishop's Registry, and in whose hands any of them are now? And if you have no terrier already made in parchment, you the churchwardens and sidemen, together with your parson or vicar, or in his absence with your minister, are to make diligent enquiry and presentment of the several particulars following, and make, subscribe, and sign the said terrier, as aforesaid.

1. How many several parcels of glebe-land, do you know, or have you credibly heard to belong unto your rectory, Church, parsonage, vicarage, etc.; and by what names are they (or any of them) commonly called and known? And what yearly rent have you known or heard to have been paid, unto the parson, vicar, or to his or their assigns, for every, or any of the said parcels?

2. In whose occupation are the said parcels at this present? How much doth each parcel contain by measure of the sixteen foot pole? How is each parcel butted, on every part? And who is to repair the fences on each side thereof?

3. What hedge, ditch, meere, tree, thorn, doole,¹ or distinction is there now, at this present, whereby the said parcels of Church lands may be apparently known and distinguished from the lands of other men, upon whom they do abut?

4. What cartway, horseway, footway, gates, or stiles, do lead from your parsonage or vicarage house unto every of the said parcels of glebeland? Declare your knowledge therein.

5. Whether you do know, or have you credibly heard, that some stiles, gates, hedges, ditch, meere, tree, thorn, or other doole (formerly growing or being between the said parcels of glebe, or some of them, and the lands of other men) have been digged up, felled down, destroyed, put by or defaced? And who hath the said parcel (so wronged) in occupation, when the said stile, gate, hedge, ditch, meere, tree, thorn, or other ancient doole, was so digged up, felled down, destroyed, put by or defaced?

CONCERNING THE CLERGY

1. Whether doth your parson, vicar, or curate, distinctly and reverently say Divine Service upon Sundays and Holydays, and other days appointed to be observed by the Book of Common Prayer, as Wednesdays and Fridays and the Eves of every Sunday and Holyday, at fit and usual times? And doth he duly observe the orders, rites, and ceremonies, prescribed in the said Book of Common Prayer, as well in reading public prayers and the Litany, as also in administering the Sacraments, Solemnization of Matrimony, Visiting the Sick, Burying the Dead, Churching of Women, and all other like rites and Offices of the Church, in such manner and form as in the said Book of Common Prayer he is enjoined, without any omission or addition? And doth he read the Book of the Last Canons yearly, and wear a surplice according to the said Canons?

2. Whether have you any lecturer in your parish, who hath preached in his cloke and not in his gown, and whether you have any lecturer who will not profess his willingness and readiness to take upon him a living or benefice, with cure of souls, or who hath refused a benefice when it hath been offered unto him?

3. Doth your minister bid Holydays and Fasting Days, as by the Book of Common Prayer is appointed? And doth he give warning beforehand to the parishioners for the receiving of the Holy Communion, as the Two-and-Twentieth Canon requireth? And whether he doth administer the Holy Communion so often, and at such times as that every parishioner may receive the same, at the least three times in every year, whereof once at Easter, as by the Book of Common Prayer is appointed? And doth your minister receive the same himself, on every day that he administereth it to others, and use the words of institution according to the Book at every time that the bread and wine is renewed, according as by the proviso of the 21st Canon is directed?

¹ [A boundary stake, marking the limits of Church lands.]

And doth he deliver the bread and wine to every communicant severally, and kneeling? Whether he hath admitted to the Holy Communion any notorious offender or schismatic, contrary to the 26th and 27th Constitutions, or received any to the Communion being not of his own cure, or put any from the Communion who are not publicly infamous for any notorious crime? Doth he use the Sign of the Cross in Baptism, or baptize in any basin or other vessel and not in the usual font; or admit any father to be godfather to his own child or such who have not received the Holy Communion; or baptize any children that were not born in the parish, or wilfully refuse to baptize any infant in his parish, being in danger, having been informed of the weakness of the said child: and whether the child dieth through his default without baptism?

4. Whether hath your minister married any without a ring, or without banns published three several Sundays or Holydays in time of Divine Service, in the several Churches or Chapels of their several abodes, according to the Book of Common Prayer, or in times prohibited, albeit the banns were thrice published, without a licence or dispensation from the Archbishop, or Bishop of the Diocese, or his chancellor, first obtained in that behalf? Or not betwixt the hours of eight and twelve in the forenoon, or have married any in any private house, or if the party be under the age of twenty-one years, before their parents or governors have signified their consent unto him?

5. Doth he refuse to bury any which ought to be interred in Christian burial, or defer the same longer than he should? Or bury any in Christian burial, which by the constitutions of the Church of England, or laws of the land, ought not to be so interred?

6. Is your minister a preacher allowed? If yea, then by whom? If not, whether doth he procure some who are lawfully licensed to preach monthly among you at the least?

7. Doth your minister (being licensed) preach usually according to the Canons, either in his own cure or in some other Church or Chapel near adjoining, where no other preacher is, and how often hath he been negligent in that behalf, and doth he preach standing, and with his hat off? Or whether doth he or his curate upon every Sunday, when there is no sermon, read an homily, or some part thereof, according as he ought to do? Or in case he be not licensed to preach, doth he take upon him to preach or expound the Scriptures in his own cure, or elsewhere? If so, then you are to present the same, the time and place, when and where he doth it.

8. Doth your minister use to pray for the King's Majesty, King Charles, and for the Queen's Majesty, Prince Charles, and all the royal progeny, with addition of such style and titles as are due to his highness, and exhort the people to obedience to His Majesty and all magistrates in authority under him? And doth he also pray for all Archbishops, Bishops, and other ecclesiastical persons?

9. Is your minister continually resident upon his benefice, and how long time hath he been absent; and in case he be licensed to be absent, whether doth he cause his

cure to be sufficiently supplied, according to the Canons? Or in case he hath another benefice, whether doth he supply his absence by a curate sufficiently licensed to preach in that cure where he himself is not resident? Or otherwise, in case the smallness of the living cannot find a preaching minister, doth he preach at both his benefices usually?

10. Doth your minister or curate serve any more cures than one? If yea, then what other cure doth he serve, and how far are they distant?

11. Doth your minister or curate every Sunday and Holyday, before Evening Prayer, for half an hour or more, examine and instruct the youth and ignorant persons of his parish in the Ten Commandments, Articles of the Belief, and in the Lord's Prayer, and the Sacraments, according as it is prescribed in the Catechism, set forth in the Book of Common Prayer, only? And if he do not, where is the fault, either in the parents and masters of the children, or in the curate neglecting his duty? And is he careful to tender all such youths of his parish as have been well instructed in their Catechism, to be confirmed by the Bishop in his visitation, or any other convenient time, as is appointed by the Book aforesaid?

12. Doth your minister in the Rogation Days go in perambulation of the circuit of the parish, saying and using the prayers, suffrages, and thanksgiving to God, appointed by law, according to his duty, thanking God for His blessings, if there be plenty on the earth; or otherwise, to pray for His grace and favour, if there be a fear of scarcity?

13. Hath your minister admitted any woman, begotten with child in adultery, or fornication, to be churched without licence of the ordinary?

14. Hath your minister, or any other preacher, baptized children, churched any woman, or ministered Holy Communion in any private house, otherwise than by law is allowed?

15. Doth your minister endeavour and labour diligently to reclaim the popish recusants in his parish from their errors (if there be any such abiding in your parish)? Or whether is your parson, vicar, or curate, over conversant with, or a favourer of recusants, whereby he is suspected not to be sincere in religion?

16. Hath your minister taken upon him to appoint any public or private fasts, prophecies, or exercises, not approved by law or public authority, or hath used to meet in any private house or place with any person or persons, there to consult how to impeach or deprave the Book of Common Prayer, or the doctrine or discipline of the Church of England? If yea, then you shall present them all.

17. Hath your minister stayed the publication of any excommunications or suspensions, or doth he every half year denounce in his parish Church all such of his parish as are excommunicated, and persevere therein without seeking to be absolved; or doth he wittingly and willingly keep company with such as are excommunicate; and hath he admitted into your Church any person excommunicate, without a certificate of his Absolution from the ordinary or other competent judge?

18. Doth your minister carefully look to the relief of the poor and from time to time call upon his parishioners to give somewhat as they can spare to godly and charitable uses, especially when they make their testaments?

19. Whether your minister, or any having taken Holy Orders, being now silenced or suspended, or any other person of your knowledge or as you have heard, hold any conventicles, or doth preach in any place, or use any other form of Divine Service than is appointed in the Book of Common Prayer? If yea, then you are to present their names, and with whom.

20. Whether is your curate licensed to serve by the Bishop of this Diocese, or by any other, and by whom?

21. Doth your minister use such decency and comeliness in his apparel, as by the 47th Canon is enjoined? Is he of sober behaviour, and one that doth not use such bodily labour, as is not seemly for his function and calling?

22. Is your minister noted or defamed to have obtained his benefice or his Orders, by simony, or any other way defamed to be a simoniacal person, or any way noted to be a schismatic, or schismatically affected, or reputed to be an incontinent person, or doth table or lodge any such in his house? Or is he a frequenter of taverns, inns, or alehouses, or any place suspected for ill rule? Or is he a common drunkard, a common gamester, or player at dice, a swearer, or one that applieth himself not at his study, or is otherwise offensive and scandalous to his function or ministry?

23. Doth your preacher or lecturer read Divine Service before his sermon, or lecture and minister the Sacraments twice a year at least in his own person, according to the Canons?

24. When any person hath been dangerously sick in your parish, hath he neglected to visit him, and when any have been parting out of this life, hath he omitted to do his last duty in that behalf?

25. Doth your minister, curate, or lecturer in his or their sermons deliver such doctrine as tends to obedience and the edifying of their auditory in faith and religion, without intermeddling with matters of state, not fit to be handled in the pulpit, but to be discussed by the wisdom of His Majesty and His Council? And if you find any fault herein, you shall present them.

SCHOOLMASTERS

1. Doth any in your parish openly or privately take upon him to teach school, without licence of the ordinary, and is he conformable to the religion now established? And doth he bring his scholars to the Church to hear Divine Service and sermons? And doth he instruct his scholars in the grounds of the religion now established in this Church of England, and is he careful and diligent to benefit his scholars in learning?

2. Doth your schoolmaster teach and instruct his youth in any other Catechism than is allowed by public authority? And what Catechism is it that he so teacheth?

3. Is any living or means given towards the erection or maintenance of the school witholden back or otherwise employed, and by whom?

4. Doth any keep school in the chancel or Church, by which means that holy place and the Communion Table are many ways profaned, and the windows broken?

PARISH CLERKS AND SEXTONS

1. Have you a fit parish clerk, aged twenty years at least, of honest conversation, able to read and write? Whether are his and the sexton's wages paid without fraud, according to the ancient custom of your parish? If not, then by whom are they so defrauded or denied? By whom are they chosen? And whether the said clerk is approved by the Ordinary? And hath he taken an oath, as in such cases is fitly required? And is he diligent in his office and serviceable to the minister? And doth he take upon him to meddle with anything above his office, as Churching of Women, Burying the Dead, or such like?

2. Doth your clerk or sexton keep the Church clean, the doors locked at fit times? Is anything lost or spoiled in the Church through his default? Are the Communion Table, font, books, and other ornaments of the Church kept fair and clean? Doth he suffer any unseasonable ringing, or any profane exercise in your church? Or doth he, when any is passing out of this life, neglect to toll a bell, having notice thereof?

CONCERNING THE PARISHIONERS

1. Whether any of your parishioners being sixteen years of age or upwards, or others lodging or commonly resorting to any house within your parish, do wilfully absent themselves from your parish Church, upon Sundays or Holydays at Morning and Evening prayers? Or who come late to Church, and depart from Church before service be done upon the said days? Or who do not reverently behave themselves during the time of Divine Service, devoutly kneeling when the General Confession of sins, the Litany, the Ten Commandments, and all Prayers and Collects are read, and using all due and lowly reverence, when the blessed Name of the Lord Jesus Christ is mentioned, and standing up when the Articles of the Belief are read? Or who do cover their heads in the Church during the time of Divine Service, unless it be in case of necessity, in which case they may wear a night-cap or coif? Or who do give themselves to babbling, talking, or walking, and are not attentive to hear the word preached or read? Whether any of your parish, being of sixteen years of age or upwards, do not receive the Holy Communion in your Church thrice every year, whereof once at Easter; and whether they do not devoutly kneel at the receiving thereof? And whether any having divers houses of remove do shift from place to place, of purpose to defeat the performance of their Christian duties in that behalf?

2. Whether any of your parishioners, being admonished thereof, do not send their children, servants, and

apprentices to the minister, to be catechized upon such Sundays and Holydays as are appointed? Or whether any of them do refuse to come; or if they come, refuse to learn those instructions set forth in the Book of Common Prayer?

3. Whether any of your parish do entertain within their house any sojourner, common guests, or other persons who refuse to frequent Divine Service or receive the Holy Communion, as aforesaid? Present their names, their qualities, or conditions.

4. What Recusant Papists are there in your parish or other sectaries? Present their names, qualities, or conditions. Whether they keep any schoolmaster in their house which cometh not to Church to hear Divine Service and receive the Communion? What is his name, and how long hath he taught there or elsewhere?

5. Whether any of the said Popish Recusants or other schismatics do labour to seduce and withdraw others from the religion now established? Or instruct their families or children in Popish Religion? Or refuse to entertain any, especially in place of greatest service or trust, but such as concur with them in their opinions?

6. How long have the said Popish Recusants abstained from Divine Service, or from the Communion, as aforesaid?

7. Is there any in your parish that retain, sell, utter, or disperse any Popish books, writings, or other books, libraries, or writings of any sectaries, touching the religion, state, or government ecclesiastical of this Kingdom of England, or keep any monuments of superstition uncanceled or undefaced?

8. Whether have you any in your parish, which heretofore being Popish Recusants or sectaries have since reformed themselves, and come to Church to hear Divine Service and to receive the Sacraments? If yea, then who are they? And how long since they so reformed themselves? And whether they still remain and abide in that conformity?

9. Is there any in your parish that refuse to have their children baptized, or themselves to receive the Communion at the hands of your minister, taking exception against him, and what causes or exceptions do they allege? Or have any married wives refused to come to Church, according to the Book of Common Prayer, to give God thanks after their child-birth for their safe deliverance? And whether do any of or in your parish refuse to have their children baptized in your parish Church, according to the Form prescribed in the Book of Common Prayer?

10. Do any of your parish usually go to other parish Churches to hear Divine Service or sermons? Or do they communicate, or baptize their children in any other parish?

11. Whether there be any in your parish who will come to hear the sermon, but who will not come to public prayers appointed by the Book of Common Prayer, making a schism or division (as it were) between the use of public prayer and preaching?

12. What persons within your parish for any offence, contumacy, or crime of ecclesiastical cognizance,

do stand excommunicated? Present their names, and for what cause they are excommunicated, and how long they have so stood, and what person or persons do wittingly and usually keep them company.

13. Whether any, not being in Orders, do execute any Priestly or Ministerial Office, in your Church, Chapel, or churchyard, and what be their names?

14. Whether any in your parish that having heretofore taken upon him the Order of Priesthood or Deacon hath since relinquished the same, and lives as a layman neglecting his vocation?

15. Hath any person in your parish quarrelled, or stricken, or used any violence to your minister, or have stricken or quarrelled with any other person within your Church or churchyard, or demeaned himself disorderly in the Church, by filthy or profane talk or any other base or immodest behaviour? Or hath disturbed the minister in time of Divine Service? Or hath libelled or spoken slanderous words against your minister, to the scandal of his vocation, or defamed any of his neighbours touching any crime of ecclesiastical cognizance?

16. Whether any of or in your parish, without consent of the Ordinary or other lawful authority, have caused any to do penance, or to be censured or punished for any matter of ecclesiastical cognizance, by any vestry meetings or otherwise by their own authority? Or have taken any money or commutation for the same? Present their names that have done it. And who have been so punished? On what manner and upon what cause?

17. Whether any person in your parish do exercise any trade or labour, buy or sell, or keep open shops or warehouses upon any Sunday or Holyday, by themselves or their servants or apprentices, or have otherwise profaned the said days, contrary to the orders of the Church of England? And whether there be any innkeepers, alehouse keepers, victuallers, or other persons, that permit any persons in their houses to eat, drink, or play, during the time of Divine Service or sermon, or reading the homilies in the forenoon or afternoon, upon those days?

18. Whether the fifth day of November be kept holy, and thanksgiving made to God for His Majesty's and this state's happy deliverance, according to the ordinance in that behalf?

19. Whether any of your parish hold or frequent any conventicles or private congregations, or make or maintain any constitutions agreed upon in any such assemblies? Or any that do write, or publicly or privately speak against the Book of Common Prayer or anything therein contained, or against any of the Articles of Religion, agreed upon *in anno* 1562, or against the King's Supremacy in causes ecclesiastical, or against the Oath of Supremacy or of Allegiance, as pretending the same to be unlawful and not warrantable by the Word of God? Or against any of the rites or ceremonies of the Church of England, now established? Or against the government of the Church of England under the King's Most Excellent Majesty, by Archbishops, Bishops, Deans, Archdeacons, and other officers of the same; affirm-

ing that the same is repugnant to the Word of God and that the said ecclesiastical officers are not lawfully ordained? Or whether there be any authors, maintainers, or favourers of heresy or schism, or there be suspected to be Anabaptists, Libertines, Brownists, of the Family of Love, or of any other schisms? Present their names.

20. Whether any in your parish have married within the degrees by law prohibited, and where, and by whom? And whether any couple in your parish being lawfully married live apart one from the other, without due separation by the Law? Or any that have been divorced, that keep company with any other at bed or at board?

21. Whether do any persons administer the goods of the dead without lawful authority, or suppress the last will of the dead? Or are there in your parish any wills not yet proved, or goods of the dead (dying intestate) left unadministered? By authority in that behalf you shall not fail to present the executors and all others faulty therein; and also how many persons being possessed of any goods and chattels, have died within your parish since the 10th day of February, 1634?

22. Whether any withhold the stock of the Church, or any goods or other things given to good and charitable uses?

23. Whether your hospitals and almshouses and other such houses and corporations, founded to good and charitable uses, and the lands, possessions, and goods of the same, be ordered and disposed of as they should be? And do the masters, governors, fellows, and others of the said houses and corporations behave and demean themselves according to the godly ordinances and statutes of their severall foundations?

24. Whether have you any in your parish to your knowledge or by common fame or report, which have committed adultery, fornication, or incest? Or any which have imprudently bragged or boasted that he or they have lived incontinently with any person or persons whatever? Or any that have attempted the chastity of any woman or solicited any woman to have the carnal knowledge of her body? Or which are commonly reputed to be common drunkards, blasphemers of God's holy Name, common swearers, common slanderers of their neighbours, and sowers of discord, filthy and lascivious talkers, usurers, simoniacal persons, bawds or harbourers of women with child, which be unmarried, or conveying or suffering them to go away before they have made satisfaction to the Church? Or any that having heretofore been presented or suspected of any of the aforesaid crimes, have for that cause departed your parish, and are now returned again? Or any which have used any enchantments, sorceries, incantations, or witchcrafts, which are not made felony by the statutes of this realm, or any which have committed any perjury in any ecclesiastical court, in an ecclesiastical cause, or which have committed any forgery, punishable by the ecclesiastical laws, and the procurers and abettors of the said offences; you shall truly present the names of all and singular the said offenders, and with whom they have committed the said offences, in case

they have not been publicly punished to your knowledge for the same crimes.

PHYSICIANS, CHIRURGEONS, AND MIDWIVES

1. How many physicians, chirurgeons, or midwives, have you in your parish? How long have they used their several sciences or offices, and by what authority? And how have they demeaned themselves therein, and of what skill accounted to be in their profession?

TOUCHING THE CHURCHWARDENS AND SIDEMEN

1. Whether you and the churchwardens, questmen, or sidemen from time to time do, and have done their diligence, in not suffering any idle person to abide either in the churchyard or Church porch, in service or sermon-time, but causing them either to come into the Church to hear Divine Service, or to depart and not disturb such as be hearers there? And whether they have, and you do diligently see the parishioners duly resort to the Church every Sunday and Holyday and there to remain during Divine Service and sermon? And whether you or your predecessors, churchwardens there, suffer any plays, feasts, drinkings, or any other profane usages, to be kept in your Church, Chapel, or churchyard, or have suffered to your and their uttermost power and endeavour, any person or persons to be tippling or drinking in any inn or victualling house in your parish, during the time of Divine Service or sermon on Sundays and Holydays?

2. Whether, and how often have you admitted any to preach within your Church or Chapel, which was not sufficiently licensed? And whether you, together with your minister, have not taken diligent heed and care that every parishioner being of sixteen years of age or upwards, have received thrice every year as aforesaid? And also that no strangers have usually come to your Church from their own parish Church?

3. Whether have there been provided against every Communion, a sufficient quantity of white bread and good wholesome wine for the communicants that shall receive? And whether that wine be brought in a clean and sweet standing pot of pewter, or of other purer metal?

4. Whether were you chosen by the consent of the minister and the parishioners? And have the late church wardens given up a just account for their time and delivered to their successors, by bill indented, the money and other things belonging to the Church which was in their hands? And are the alms of the Church faithfully distributed to the use of the poor?

5. Whether do you see the names of all preachers which are strangers and preach in your parish Churches to be noted in a book for that purpose, and whether every preacher do subscribe his name, and of whom he had his licence?

6. Whether there be any legacies withholden given to the Church, or poor people, or to the mending of high-

ways, or otherwise by the testators? In whose name it is, by whom it was given, and by whom it is withholden?

7. Do you know of anything that hath been complained of, that is not yet redressed?

CONCERNING ECCLESIASTICAL MAGISTRATES AND OFFICERS

1. Whether do you know or have heard of any payment, composition, or agreement, to or with any ecclesiastical magistrate, judge, or officer for winking at or sparing to punish any person for any offence of ecclesiastical cognizance, or for suppressing or concealing of any excommunication, or any other ecclesiastical censure of or against any recusant, or any other offender in the cases aforesaid? What sum of money, or other consideration hath been received or promised, by, or to any of them, in that respect, by whom, and with whom?

2. Hath any person within your parish paid or promised any sum of money or other reward, for commutation of penance, for any crime of ecclesiastical cognizance? If so, then with whom? When, and for what, and how hath the same been employed?

3. Are your ecclesiastical judges and their substitutes Masters of Arts, or Bachelors of the Laws at least, learned and practised in the civil and ecclesiastical laws; men of good life and fame, zealously affected in religion, and just and upright in executing their offices? Have they heard any matter of office privately in their chambers, without their sworn registers' or their deputies' presence?

4. Do you know, or have you heard, that any ecclesiastical judge, officer, or minister, hath received or taken any extraordinary fees, or other rewards or promises, by any ways or means, directly or indirectly, of any person or persons whatsoever, either for the granting of the administration of the goods and chattels of those that have died intestate, to one before another, or for allotting of larger portions of the goods and chattels of those that have died intestate to one more than to another: or for allowing larger and unreasonable account, made by executors or administrators, or for giving them *quietus est*, or discharges, without inventory or account, to defraud creditors, legataries, or those who are to have portions? And what sums of money do you know, or have you heard, that any ecclesiastical judge or officer hath taken out of the estate of any dying intestate upon pretence to bestow the same *in pios usus*? And how have the same been bestowed?

5. Hath any ecclesiastical magistrate, judge, officer, or any exercising ecclesiastical jurisdiction within this your Diocese, or any advocate, register, proctor, clerks, apparitors, or other minister belonging to the same ecclesiastical courts, exacted or taken by any ways or means, directly or indirectly, extraordinary or greater fees than are due and accustomed? And whether is there a table for the rates of all fees, set up in their several courts and offices? And whether they have sent or suffered any process to go out of the ecclesiastical courts otherwise than by law they

ought? Or have they taken upon them the offices of informers or promoters to the said courts, or any other way abused themselves in their offices, contrary to the law and canons in that behalf provided?

6. What number of apparitors have every several judge ecclesiastical? And wherein, and in what manner is the country overburdened by them? And wherein have they caused or summoned any to appear in the said courts, without a presentment or citation first had? Or whether have they threatened any to prosecute them in the said courts, if they would not give them some rewards and what bribes in that behalf have they taken?

7. What reward or fees hath any of the apparitors taken to save the journeys to the ecclesiastical court of any persons, and what (after composition so made) have they or any of them taken and received, and what acquittance or discharge have they given or promised them and whether have they not cited some to appear before the Archdeacon or his official, after they have been ordered by the commissary, and done their penance accordingly? And whom have they so cited and troubled, and what hath it cost them, as you know or have heard, or by enquiry can find?

If you know of any other default or crime of ecclesiastical cognizance you are to present the same by virtue of your oaths.

The minister of every parish may and ought to join in the presentment with the church wardens and sidemen; and if they will not present, the minister may and ought himself to present the defaults and crimes aforesaid. And there must be several presentments made to every several article. And the minister, churchwardens, and swornmen, are to meet and confer about the said presentments, and answering of every of the aforesaid articles.

Question:

1. How would Presbyterians and Puritans react to these articles?

13.3 Thomas Macauley: from *History of England, Volume I*

Source: *History of England*, by Thomas B. Macauley (London: D. Appleton and Co., 1880), pp. 90–95.

And now a new and alarming class of symptoms began to appear in the distempered body politic. There had been, from the first, in the parliamentary party, some men whose minds were set on objects from which the majority of that party would have shrunk with horror. These men were, in religion, Independents. They conceived that every Christian congregation had, under Christ, supreme jurisdiction in things spiritual; that appeals to provincial and national synods were scarcely less unscriptural than appeals to the Court of Arches, or to the Vatican: and that Popery, Prelacy,

and Presbyterianism were merely three forms of one great apostasy. In politics they were, to use the phrase of their time, root and branch men, or, to use the kindred phrase of our own time, radicals. Not content with limiting the power of the monarch, they were desirous to erect a commonwealth on the ruins of the old English polity. At first they had been inconsiderable, both in numbers and in weight; but, before the war had lasted two years, they became, not indeed the largest, but the most powerful faction in the country. Some of the old parliamentary leaders had been removed by death; and others had forfeited the public confidence. Pym had been borne, with princely honors, to a grave among the Plantagenets. Hampden had fallen, as became him, while vainly endeavoring, by his heroic example, to inspire his followers with courage to face the fiery cavalry of Rupert. Bedford had been untrue to the cause. Northumberland was known to be lukewarm. Essex and his lieutenants had shown little vigor and ability in the conduct of military operations. At such a conjuncture it was that the Independent party, ardent, resolute, and uncompromising, began to raise its head, both in the camp and in the parliament.

The soul of that party was Oliver Cromwell. Bred to peaceful occupations, he had, at more than forty years of age, accepted a commission in the parliamentary army. No sooner had he become a soldier, than he discerned, with the keen glance of genius, what Essex and men like Essex, with all their experience, were unable to perceive. He saw precisely where the strength of the royalists lay, and by what means alone that strength could be overpowered. He saw that it was necessary to reconstruct the army of the parliament. He saw, also, that there were abundant and excellent materials for the purpose; materials less showy, indeed, but more solid, than those of which the gallant squadrons of the king were composed. It was necessary to look for recruits who were not mere mercenaries,—for recruits of decent station and grave character, fearing God and zealous for public liberty. With such men he filled his own regiment, and, while he subjected them to a discipline more rigid than had ever before been known in England, he administered to their intellectual and moral nature stimulants of fearful potency.

The events of the year 1644 fully proved the superiority of his abilities. In the south, where Essex held the command, the parliamentary forces underwent a succession of shameful disasters; but in the north the victory of Marston Moor fully compensated for all that had been lost elsewhere. That victory was not a more serious blow to the royalists than to the party which had hitherto been dominant at Westminster; for it was notorious that the day, disgracefully lost by the Presbyterians, had been retrieved by the energy of Cromwell, and by the steady valor of the warriors whom he had trained.

These events produced the self-denying ordinance and the new model of the army. Under decorous pretexts, and with every mark of respect, Essex and most of those who had held high posts under him were removed; and the conduct of the war was intrusted to very different hands. Fairfax, a brave soldier, but of mean understanding and

irresolute temper, was the nominal lord-general of the forces; but Cromwell was their real head.

Cromwell made haste to organize the whole army on the same principles on which he had organized his own regiment. As soon as this process was complete, the event of the war was decided. The Cavaliers had now to encounter natural courage equal to their own, enthusiasm stronger than their own, and discipline such as was utterly wanting to them. It soon became a proverb that the soldiers of Fairfax and Cromwell were men of a different breed from the soldiers of Essex. At Naseby took place the first great encounter between the royalists and the remodelled army of the Houses. The victory of the Roundheads was complete and decisive. It was followed by other triumphs in rapid succession. In a few months, the authority of the parliament was fully established over the whole kingdom. Charles fled to the Scots, and was by them, in a manner which did not much exalt their national character, delivered up to his English subjects.

While the event of the war was still doubtful, the Houses had put the primate to death, had interdicted, within the sphere of their authority, the use of the liturgy, and had required all men to subscribe that renowned instrument, known by the name of the Solemn League and Covenant. When the struggle was over, the work of innovation and revenge was pushed on with still greater ardor. The ecclesiastical polity of the kingdom was remodelled. Most of the old clergy were ejected from their benefices. Fines, often of ruinous amount, were laid on the royalists, already impoverished by large aids furnished to the king. Many estates were confiscated. Many proscribed Cavaliers found it expedient to purchase, at an enormous cost, the protection of eminent members of the victorious party. Large domains belonging to the crown, to the bishops, and to the chapters, were seized, and either granted away or put up to auction. In consequence of these spoliations, a great part of the soil of England was at once offered for sale. As money was scarce, as the market was glutted, as the title was insecure, and as the awe inspired by powerful bidders prevented free competition, the prices were often merely nominal. Thus many old and honorable families disappeared and were heard of no more; and many new men rose rapidly to affluence.

But, while the Houses were employing their authority thus, it suddenly passed out of their hands. It had been obtained by calling into existence a power which could not be controlled. In the summer of 1647, about twelve months after the last fortress of the Cavaliers had submitted to the parliament, the parliament was compelled to submit to its own soldiers.

Thirteen years followed, during which England was, under various names and forms, really governed by the sword. Never, before that time, or since that time, was the civil power in our country subjected to military dictation.

The army which now became supreme in the state was an army very different from any that has since been seen among us. At present, the pay of the common soldier is not such as can seduce any but the humblest class of English laborers from their calling. A barrier almost impassable