ABSTRACT OF THESIS

The substance of this study of Bishop Gilbert Burnet's conception of the ministry, in the first place, sets out the multifarious aspects of the development of his thought and his educational environment. At this juncture, the major biographical source dealing with Burnet's life, offers few insights beyond the description that Burnet himself wrote. This work brings into focus the Scottish and English influences on Burnet's thought. A discussion of the training of a Scottish divine in the mid-seventeenth century reveals the character of the ministerial office in a specific instance. A study of Burnet's participation in the second episcopate in Scotland suggests the inter-relationships of bishop, presbytery, and local kirk judiciary. Session and presbytery records appertaining to this facet of Burnet's ministry provide primary evidence of the nature of the pastoral care in Scotland. In contradistinction to biographers Clarke and Foxcroft, it is shown that Burnet was not, in this nascent period of development, a Calvinist. Furthermore, the strong, but moderate, episcopacy tradition of the continuing legacy of the Aberdeen Doctors and the Aberdeen environment as a whole had a significant effect on Burnet. The work demonstrates that Burnet's academic experience, although occurring during the interregnum, did not lack important episcopal influences. Burnet's professorship at the University of Glasgow is examined. Pointed out also, is the fact that the products of his classroom, insofar as records for his students exist, were unanimously loyal to episcopacy, even after the settlement of presbyterianism in Scotland.

The doctrinal method of Burnet's thought is illustrated in the context of the Natural and Revealed Theology on which his doctrine is contingent. This discourse aims to elucidate the prominent place in Burnet's delineation of thought that is held by the Cambridge Platonists, as well as pointing out the synthesis Burnet attempted to make between faith and reason. His doctrinal statements, including his explication of a doctrine of the ministry, are examined and compared to those sources he used.

Manuscript sources and primary diocesan records, particularly those relating to the consistory courts, offer material for the study of Burnet's ministry as a bishop. His diocesan ministry is an important illustration of episcopal rule in the post-Revolutionary period of the Anglican church. Some examples of his practices in episcopal administration, in public service, in relationships with the clergy, and in situations where there existed an extreme polarity of political opinions, are considered.
BISHOP GILBERT BURNET (1643-1715):
A CRITICAL ACCOUNT OF HIS CONCEPTION OF
THE CHRISTIAN MINISTRY

by
Michael D. Anderson
author

Thesis presented for the
Degree of Doctor of Philosophy
of the
University of Edinburgh
in the Faculty of Divinity
1966
TO

MY WIFE
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Preface

The following work places the examination of Bishop Gilbert Burnet's conception of the Christian ministry in the context of his own intellectual and theological heritage as it took place in Scotland. Focusing upon the educational background of Burnet, and the character of his development as a Scottish divine, a basis is acquired for the study of his view of the ministry. The influences of Scottish and Anglican theologians and churchmen in conjunction with those of the Cambridge Platonists are explained as the antecedents to Burnet's development of doctrine, including his doctrine of the church and its ministry. The diocesan administration and ministry of Burnet after his elevation to the episcopate offer several important examples where his conception of the church vocation is applied.

Grateful acknowledgment is made to the many persons who have contributed helpful criticism to this work. With deep regret, the death of the late Professor William S. Tindal is noted. He was the chairman of the Department of Christian Dogmatics, to which this work is presented. Others include: Professor T.F. Torrance, Professor A.C. Cheyne, the Very Rev. R. Foskett, Provost of St. Mary's Cathedral, Professor G.V. Bennett, New College, Oxford, and Professor E.O.A. Whitean, St. Margaret's Hall, Oxford. Appreciation is mentioned of the assistances kindly given by various staff of libraries and archives, particularly those of New College, Edinburgh, the National Library, the Diocesan Record Office, Salisbury, and the Bodleian Library. English tolerance toward American standards of syntax is gratefully accepted.

New College, University of Edinburgh
May, 1966.
CHAPTER I

THE TRAINING OF A SCOTTISH MINISTER

Marischal College

By the authority of George Wishart, the Bishop of Edinburgh, the Presbytery of Haddington proceeded with ordination trials for Gilbert Burnet. The completion of the examination was recorded on 15 December 1664. "This day, Mr. G.B. delyvered his popular Sermon, gave a tryall of ye Originall tongues and of Sacred Chronologie, sustained his Thesis, answered some Catechical questions, and was approven in these and all ye former parts of his Tryalls; and seeing he has finished his Tryalls, the Presbyterie appoints him to have a testimoniall of yir approbation of him."

Analyzing the factors which determined the development of skills for the pastorate, in the case at hand, may be of interest for several reasons: to discover the formative influences upon the life of Burnet which may help to explain his conception of the ministry, to demonstrate the form and content of theological education in seventeenth century Scotland, and to illustrate in a specific situation the fact of inter-relation between episcopal and presbyterian polity. With this scope in view, the various elements in the making of a Scottish divine will be investigated.

When Burnet entered Marischal College, in 1652, it was a relatively new institution that had been founded by the fifth earl of Marischal in 1593, as a "Studium Generale". The founder thought there was a "lack of means in the North of Scotland for obtaining a liberal and Christian education" and it was his desire "to remove that reproach." The earl was by no means the first patron of education in Scotland who had religious motives for founding a college or "Academia", but the religious and educational standards written into the Charter of Marischal continued to form a direction for the education Burnet received.


2. Vide Cosmos Innes, Fasti Aberdonenses, Aberdeen, 1894, pp. 1-x, hereafter referred to as Fasti Aberd. King's College in Old Aberdeen, founded in 1495, was only one mile from Marischal, in New Town. Both were "the Town's Colleges", i.e. the municipal government exercised some control. In addition to "Kings Colledge of Auld Aberdene" was a college about which little information has survived since its demise, the University of Fraserburgh, at the seaport of the same name, and founded before Marischal, by Sir Alexander Fraser. Parliament extended a subsidy to the college for five years. In 1598, Charles Ferme, M.A., "a man of obscure parentage but exceedingly pious" was elected to minister at Fraserburgh and was granted by the G.A. permission "to be both Pastour of the said brugh (Fraserbrughe) and Principal of his Colledge." -- The Booke of the Universall Kirk of Scotland, III, p. 958. In the revived age of letters in Europe, Scotland too, experienced the enriching nascence of its educational tradition. St. Andrews, Glasgow, and Aberdeen were founded in the fifteenth century. William Elphinstone, Bishop of Aberdeen, founded the college in that diocese on the pattern of Bologna and Paris where he had studied. Elphinstone who received his M.A. from Glasgow (founded in 1451) represents the close relationship that existed between Scottish and continental thought and education. A Papal dispensation allowed the Studium Generale of Aberdeen to grant degrees in theology, canon and civil law, medicine, and the arts. -- Fasti Aberd. p. 261. Vide R.S. Rait, The Universities of Aberdeen, Aberdeen, 1895, pp. 5 ff on the foundation of St. Andrews, which shows the church's interest in promoting education and the support Bishop Wardlaw received from Scottish laymen.
The beginning of Marischal College was partly the result, it appears, of the failure to erect the Nova Fundatio, Melville's reform plan, at King's. The flexible form of 'regenting' used at Marischal is important in our study, for it means that a professor of a particular field had more opportunity to exert influence beyond the scope of the particular class supervised as a regent, and further, that Melville's reforms had a continuing effect after the re-instatement of the old system in 1601. The extreme anti-popery sentiment of the earl of Marischal was instrumental in the inception of the college, and was part of the prevailing spirit during Burnet's study there.

1. This is concluded by inference only, but is a strong assumption; vide, Evidence Taken and Received by the Commissioners For Visiting the Universities of Scotland, (Vols. 3, 4) London, 1837, IV, pt ii, pp. 235-239; and, Acts of Parliament of Scotland, Edinburgh, 1816, IV, p. 35. "Regenting" at Marischal was not as strictive as under the old foundation where the regent remained associated with only one class for four years. -- Evidence Taken and Received, IV/ii, 288.


A criticism of King's College is strongly implied in the Charter of Marischal which states that the need for such an academia exists because most men live in "misery, erring most shamefully and wickedly as to the method of a good and happy life." "The greatest mischief is done to the Church, the Country and the Commonwealth; which principally arises from the fact that an honourable, liberal and Christian education and training is in many places here either wanting or neglected, so that there are to be found very few men that have received a godly and upright education and have been trained in the humane arts..." The right of presentment is reserved for the earls of Marischal, acting as Chancellors of the college throughout the seventeenth century. Election and admission to the college was carefully controlled. Old College, or King's, continued to resist change. The Nova Erectio, re-established by the General Assembly in 1642, did not finally become effective there until as late as 1798. Rait says that

1. "Academia" is used 56 times in the Charter, "gymnasium" 2 times, "collegium" 7 times, and "universitas" once. Fasti Acad. Mar. I, 49-75.


3. Fasti Acad. Mar. I, 64. "The Academia shall make a profession of faith, that Confession namely, which, taken and Transcribed from the Word of God, has been put forth and published in the Parliament of the realm." Ibid. p. 74.

4. The Chancellor, principal, rector, dean of faculty, ministers of New Aberdeen, Deer, and Fetteresso comprised the entrant's examining board. Ibid. p. 64.
"regenting" continued to be practised at King's during the administration of Row, concurrent with Burnet's education at Marischal. Unsuccessful efforts to mitigate the differences between the two colleges culminated in the charter issued by Charles I to unite them, in the *Universitas Carolina*.

Comparing the curriculum Burnet studied, during the interregnum, with that of the previous administration, reveals how little the educational program at the university was affected by the political vicissitudes of the day, the following lament not withstanding:

Thus the Assembly's errand was thoroughly done; these eminent divynes of Aberdeen, either deade, deposed, or banished; in fell mor learning then was left behynde in all Scotlande besyde at that time. From that tyme forwauers, learning beganne to be discomtenanced ... Learning was nicknamed human learning ... as they wer heard to saye, 'Downe doctrine and upp Chryste!'

The "cursus primae classis", according to the Visitation Commission reports representing the period that Burnet attended Marischal, emphasized the study of Greek, particularly that of the New Testament. Greek syntax and grammar studies were supplemented by readings from Gregory Nazianzen, Isocrates, Demosthene, Besiodes, Homer and "Nonni Paraphrases". The first year arts curriculum was completed with


5. Nonnus, a fifth century Greek poet who wrote an epic, *Dionysiaca*, (Translated in 1940) and a verse paraphrase of St. John. Nonnus was a resident of Panopolis.
the studies "Buxtorfiana", the practice of Hebrew, Greek, and Latin, and catechical studies. On Sundays, the four classes in the college studied respectively, St. Luke, Acts, Romans, and Hebrews in Greek. They were examined in the afternoon, following the six o'clock morning study of the texts. The regents, according to the Charter, were to "teach, write, declaim, dispute, the utmost diligence in the literary arena, but especially the students of the two lowest classes to compose daily." The *Catecheseos Palatinae*, is the only catechism referred to in any visitations. There is no record that the Westminster standards, while endorsed, were officially a part of the curriculum. Of course in all the Scottish universities, it was necessary "that everie student subscryve the nationall covenant, with the League and Covenant".


3. Rait, *op. cit.* p. 156; the three sections of the catechism were studied over the first three years of the M.A. course -- *De hominis miseria, de liberatione hominis a miseria, de gratitudine*.

4. *Fasti Aberd.*, 308. There is insufficient information about the use of catechisms during the interregnum, *Fasti Aberd.*, p. 310, e.g., Ursine's is named, and Baillie mentions the *Heidelberg Catechism* and *The Whole Duty of Man* as the curriculum at this point in the syllabus, cf. *Fasti Aberd.*, pp. 311, 347, 367.
The second year's curriculum included arithmetic, geometry, "Rami dialogues", "Vossii Rhetoric", and the Organon, Interpretatione, and Analytics of Aristotle.

In the third year the emphasis on Aristotle continued, perhaps with even a greater concentration but on fewer subjects. His Ethics comprised the major scope of the studies, in addition to concluding the Analytics. The only new area of the curriculum was physics, but only in the scholastic sense. The final year of the Arts program began with a review of the Aristotelian system, then were added new subject materials in astronomy, geography, optics, and metaphysics.

1. Probably Petrus Ramus, his Dialectic; this learned humanist was a challenge to the 16th century philosophy that prevailed in the Roman Catholic Church and was ultimately converted to protestantism -- Chambers, Bio. Dict.

2. Gerard Jan Vossius, 1577-1644, was the rector of the school at Dort, but in 1618 his Historia Pelagiana created severe criticism by the Calvinists. Laud made him a prebend at Canterbury. Ibid. The fact that Marischal used his Commentaria Rhetor!a is indicative of the moderate views symptomatic of the Aberdeen Doctors and their prevailing influence at both colleges.

3. The Organon is treatises on logic of which the Categories -- on substance, quality, quantity -- are the most widely studied. Prior Analytics, on syllogistic moods and figures, and Posterior Analytics on the theory of knowledge were studied in the second and third year. Cf. W.D. Ross, for the English Works of Aristotle, 1927 ff.

4. Fasti Aberd., pp. 230-1, and Rait,op. cit., pp.118, 255, 299f. By Comparison with the Charter of the College, the only subject not taught at the time of Burnet's education, 1652-1657, that was set out in the original curriculum, is Cicero's De Officiis. The Charter calls for a Gymnasiarcha who is "learned in languages, especially in Hebrew and Syriac". -- Fasti Acad. Mar. I, 63. There is no evidence that Burnet had any courses in Syriac. It is the lack of change in the curriculum of the universities of Scotland that is the ground for Leighton's criticism, Works, II, 596. The Book of Discipline, outlining a 16th century standard for education asked for: dialectic, mathematics, physics, ethics, economics, politics, Hebrew, along with theology and Greek. -- VII.iv.10:vide, J. H. S. Burleigh, A Church History of Scotland, p. 246, for the effect of non-conformity, at various periods, on educational standards.
When this Arts program is compared with the curricula of other institutions in Scotland, a close parallel is immediately evident. Innes points out that anatomy was studied at St. Andrews in the fourth year, while at Edinburgh anatomy was studied in the third year and "classis humaniorum literarum" in the fourth. Apart from these subjects the four year course is parallel to the situation at Marischal. The colleges used various methods to instill the art of controversy and rhetoric. For example, at Edinburgh the student's schedule states that on "Saturday they dispute on Logic theses in their private schools. But on the first Saturday in May, at three o'clock in the afternoon, they begin to have orations in publick and they have each days appointed, until all of them have declaimed before the end of the year." Even in the High School of Edinburgh, in the mid-seventeenth century, the final year of study concentrated on Rhetoric. Henderson remarks that the education process in this period tended "to develop orderly thinking, logical accuracy, quick judgment ... it was however, intellectual duelling, and as a method of discussion it produced, and could produce, only the kind of peace which duelling produces." The status quo of the curricula in Scottish...
universities remained intact with only a few changes to be noticed as late as 1690, when a Parliamentary Commission reported its Visitation of the Universities. Concerning any formative role the curriculum had in Burnet's development, it may be concluded that Aristotle's supremacy was unchallenged.

Another, and more important, factor effecting Burnet's training was the personalities involved with instruction. Clarendon observed that there were "many excellent scholars and very learned men under whom the Scotch Universities, and especially Aberdeen, flourished." The seventh Earl Marischal, William Keith, as Chancellor, represents the strongest presbyterian interest in the college. In 1638, he signed an agreement with other members of the Privy Council expressing satisfaction with the concessions of Charles I, but when this compromise appeared to produce illusory results Marischal gave his full support to

1. Henderson, _op. cit._ p.120 mentions that "new influences crept in and the names of Descartes, Gassendi, Boyle and Hobbes appear in the dictates". The Marischal College curriculum report, _Act. Parl._ 4 July 1690, _Fasti Aberd._, pp. 36ff states that the second year course includes "Logtick and the methods of reasoning, both to conforme to the principle of old and new Philosophie."

2. _History of Rebellion_ (Oxf. 1826) 1, 145. There are several misleading comments in various sources about the individuals from whom Burnet received instruction. Anderson is mistaken that Burnet studied under "John Forbes, Humanist." Anderson, _Fasti Acad. Mar._ I, 392. Burnet was only five when Forbes died, and Forbes taught at Kings. The _Catalogue of Scottish Writers_, 1833, p. 122, makes the same error.
the covenanters; in fact he became the counter-balance to the Marquis of Huntley who was loyal to the administration of Charles. Marischal was in charge of securing subscriptions in Aberdeenshire, in which capacity he would have encountered Robert Burnet, the father of our subject, who refused to sign the National Covenant. His theological views are probably self-evident by the fact that he attempted to bring Samuel Rutherford to the chair of divinity, in 1643. It would be prejudicial to form conclusions about the theological environment at the college on the basis of the vigorous covenanting Chancellor. The matrix of episcopal and presbyterian traditions in the Aberdeen area makes any final judgment difficult. An example of this is presented in the person of the David Lindsay, Rector of Marischal College and Dean

1. The seventh earl was himself a graduate of the college by his name -- Index Fasti Mar. Acad. vol. III; for his covenanting work, vide, James Balfour, Annals of Scotland, Edin. 1824, II, 287; and Gordon, Scots Affairs, Spalding Club, I, 110; and Spalding, Memorials of Troubles, I, 134. Some write of him as if he were the head of the covenanting party in the N.E. of Scotland; e.g., Dictionary of National Biography, X, 1221 -- hereafter referred to as D.N.B. Marischal eventually joined Montrose, and when Huntley refused his offer to negotiate, he took Huntley prisoner on 13 April 1639.

2. Marischal was taken prisoner. He was active Engager who had joined the Duke of Hamilton's forces, but testified that he had never taken up arms against the State -- vide, Calander State Papers Dom. Ser. 1674, p. 163. In 1660 he was made keeper of the Privy Seal. He died the following year.

of Faculty. In addition to leading the services of worship at the college, Lindsay was a member of the admissions' board. He signed the National Covenant, 22 July 1638, was a member of the Assembly of 1638, and served on commissions of the General Assembly in 1642, 1644, 1646, and 1647. His leadership in community affairs is noted by the fact of his office as a burgess of Aberdeen in 1641; however, this active covenanter conformed to episcopacy, at the age of 79, and he was devoted to Patrick Forbes. William Moir, the Principal of Marischal from 1649-1661, was a notable mathematician. His refusal to sign the oath of allegiance and the assertion of the Royal Prerogative resulted in a fine of 2400 (Scots) pounds. Moir's effect on the religious life and thought of the college is problematic. The most eminent


2. Fasti Acad Mar. II, 53. He was charged with teaching one hour of Bible each week, and with instructing anatomy, geography, history, astronomy, and classical physiology - Ibid. I, 63. The Charter was never followed in that detail.


5. Also, in the case of regent Robert Forbes, it is difficult to surmise what peculiar influence he may have had on the students - Fasti Acad. Mar. II, 35; his only publication was the Logick Course of Philosophy - Cat. Scot. Writ.
personalities around the Arts' student, Gilbert Burnet, were George Meldrum, Andrew Cant, and John Menzies.

Ordained a presbyterian minister, George Meldrum, who taught philosophy and divinity courses at Marischal, was suspended in 1662; however, in the same year he conformed to episcopacy in so far as it was consistent with presbyterian judicatory. He was deprived in 1681 for refusing to take the test, and again joined the presbyterian party. His leadership in the church was noted by the fact that he became Moderator of the General Assembly in 1703. "Meldrum was said to have a 'sweet, plain, and pathetic way of preaching,' and 'a large compass of solid knowledge.'" In 1697, he served, with a second cousin of Gilbert Burnet, Thomas Burnet of Leyes, a Commission on the Visitation of Universities which reported the method of union of inter-university...
curriculum in Scotland, with the exception of "maisters of the Colledges of Aberdeen". Noted for his anti-popery views, Meldrum's conception of the ministry, and the basis for the authority of the church, is exposed in his vigorous attacks on Roman Catholic theology. "Scripture, reason, and sense" are the bases for his doctrinal authority, and he demonstrates a comprehensive ability in exegesis through his knowledge of semitic languages and Greek. His familiarity with Catholic sources enabled him to quote Aquinas against other Roman Catholic writers. A significant aspect of at least one of his works is the notation of Anglican authors exclusively, for contemporary illustration.

Meldrum, who conformed to episcopacy for a time, spoke in terms of the divine right of presbytery in 1703:

"Do not wrong and weaken but support and encourage the established government of the Church; for it is that which Christ himself hath instituted; and beware to hearken to any Motions, which these who love not Jerusalem, may make for shaking the constitution... and beware of any thing that may weaken its authority or obstruct its exercise; or tend to reintroduce Prelacy, so justly declared in the Claim of Right, to be an insupportable grievance in this Church: Remember Rulers and Powers are raised and ordained of God; for the good of his Church."

1. Munimenta Alme Universitatis Glasguensis, 1854, p. 552, hereafter referred to as Munimenta.


3. Ibid. pp. 9, 13, 16, 24, 27, 42 and 46, for references to Taylor, Hammond, Stillingfleet, Sherlock, White, Whitby.

Meldrum's inference that presbytery is by divine right was not unchallenged. Two years later, he unequivocally proposes the divine right of presbytery. "That Presbyterian Government is of Divine Institution and that Prelacy is not so much as lawfull, far less Jure Divino, hath been fully proven by Presbyterian Writers, both Ancient and Modern, whose Arguments stand in full force without any solid Answer."

Meldrum suggests that the church, in conformity to the Word of God, ought to include all persons in one nation in a single "National Church". "No different and divided communion can be justified." In spite of the high view of presbytery he held, Meldrum did not believe the want of a particular form of ordination was essential to a valid ministry, or the want of a particular polity essential to membership in the true Church. "Are not particular Churches or Persons, first Members of one Body, the Catholick Church; and because they are thus United, therefore bound to own all their fellow Members as Brethren and Communicate with them, must they not then, first be Brethren, before they can own others as Brethren?"

1. n.a. The Case of the Episcopal Clergy and Those of the Episcopal Perswasion, considered, as to the granting them a Toleration & Indulgence. Edinburgh, 1704, pp. 3ff.


3. Meldrum, Sermon ... 1703, p. 12.

4. Meldrum, Mene Tekel, p. 10; his justification of conformity to prelacy in the second episcopate, vide, Sermon, 1703, p. 14 "Wherever all the means necessary to Salvation may be had, there is a true Church." -- Mene Tekel, p. 12. Because ordination is a part of the pastoral office, no pastor can divest himself of the office of ordination and allow ordination to be an exclusive right of bishops. Ibid, p. 23.
Burnet was instructed during at least two of his four years by Andrew Cant whose family relations represent the spectra of ecclesiastical variations existing in seventeenth century Scotland. His father was a famous "apostle" of the covenanters. A cousin, with the same name, was a non-juroring bishop. Between these two extremes Andrew Cant, the regent at Marischal, advocated a moderate episcopacy. Ordained a presbyterian, he nonetheless immediately conformed at the restoration of episcopacy, and eventually became principal of the University of Edinburgh, in 1675.

1. Andrew Cant, the father of Burnet's instructor, was a renowned preacher at the collegiate church, St. Nicholas, in Aberdeen. He was "a grute covenanter, verary bussie in thir alterations, and mortall enemy towards the bishoppics." -- Memorialls of the Troubles in Scotland and in England, I, 142. Wodrow said that the "Malignants used to call him 'one of the Apostles' of the Covenant", Analecta, 4 vols. Maitland Club, Edinburgh, 1841, III, 125. Robert Baillie said that Cant was "ane superexcellent preacher, as all report" -- Letters and Journals of Robert Baillie, ed. David Laing, 3 vols. Edinburgh, 1841. I, 93. He was prominent in civic affairs in Aberdeen, Analecta II, 155, 161, 162; III, 125; and played a significant role in politics in Edinburgh -- Balfour, Annals, III, 427-30.

2. Wodrow, Analecta, III, vide "Index", consecrated at Glasgow on 17 Oct. 1722. Some writers confuse the two Andrew Cants, e.g. Joseph Robertson says that Andrew Cant, the regent at Marischal, eventually became a non-juroring bishop, vide, Deliciae Literariae, p. 25. The Jacobite Cant was the son of the famous covenanters brother, Alexander Cant -- Grub, Ecclesiastical History of Scotland, Edinburgh, 1861, III, 387. The contrast among the Cants was vivid. The covenanters was described as "the most actively bigotted supporter of the Covenant in the North of Scotland, a man of great moral earnntness and courage." -- Scott, Fasti, VI, 37.

3. Fasti Acad. Mar. II, 35, 6; Scott, Fasti, VI, 37; and Grant, op. cit. II, 254. The minute book of the University of Edinburgh concerning Cant's administration is not extant. In 1659, Cant was presented to the charge at Liberton. He was charged before the Privy Council for "insolent carriage and expressiohs" in 1674. Scott, Fasti I, 127.
Baillie's record provides an insight into Cant's theological position that is particularly interesting in light of Burnet's thought:

Mr. Andrew (Cant) publickly had foull flytirgs with Mr. Menzies, in the schooles, before all the schollers: whereof Mr. Menzies has written to all the other Universities, complaining not so much the affront, as the erroneous tenets of Mr. Andrew ... (who) goes too far the Arminian and Molinists way: however, that plea has made much dinn.

Brodie writes of Cant's preference for episcopacy: "I heard of Mr. Andr. Cant, younger, his inclination to fall in and compli with the Bishops, and that all government was human."

Robert Baron, one of the famous Aberdeen Doctors, was succeeded in the Marischal College divinity chair by John Menzies. A convert from Roman Catholicism, he conformed to presbytery, then to independency, and finally to episcopacy. Wodrow thought that Menzies drew several notable persons into the support of the second episcopate. He records the statement of Dickson, Divinity Professor at the University of Glasgow:

that the Resolutioners had a foul and black tail, for generally all or the most part of the Malignant Ministers that conformed to praelacy in 1662 were all Resolutioners. And I can hardly find there were above 10 or 12 Protesters that conformed in all Scotland. I know Mr. Hamilton, Minister at Innerkip, the


4. Scott, Fasti, III, 474 and D.N.B. 1909, XIII, 258. Menzies joined the Protesters in 1651, but later espoused the administration of Cromwell who appointed him a "tryer". Before conforming to episcopacy, he had returned to the presbyterian party. After a long tenor at Marischal, he accepted the divinity chair at Kings College from which he soon resigned. He vacillated in his
great Mr. Menzies, Minister and Professor at Aberdeen, who was the man that presented the Protestation to the General Assembly. 1.

These conformists, it is added, were "rebuked by God, and remarkably blasted for their conforming." Menzies died a sorrowful man, not for his conformity to episcopacy, but for his brief adherence to independency. 2 Patrick Scougall, Bishop of Aberdeen, encouraged a moderate means of conforming both for Meldrum and Menzies. There existed a circle of men around Burnet during his formative years who advocated, or complied with, a moderate episcopacy. 3

Footnote 4 continued from preceding page.

position regarding the 1681 Test Act, but in the following year complied and continued at Marischal.

Footnote 5 from preceding page.

5. Analecta, I, 269.

1. Ibid. III, 10.

2. Scott, ibid., D.N.B., and Analecta III, 123.

3. Analecta, I, 269, III 123: this group of conformists who promoted a moderate episcopal view of the church and its ministry will be considered in greater detail in another place, infra. There is evidence that a number of moderates maintained close liaison with one another during the height of the covenanting movement of the 1640's, included were Meldrum and Menzies." -- Thomas Gordon to Brodie, Brodie Diary, p. 163, and 319. A rumor was current in 1676 that Menzies "was not farr from taking a Bishoprick". -- ibid. p. 372, cf. pathetic regrets of Menzies, ibid. p. 409.
An aversion to popery is a prevailing attitude in Menzies' works. "The true doctrine of salvation concerning God," he says, "and the right way of serving and worshipping him" is only "contained in the holy Scriptures." True faith must be grounded ex parte objecti, i.e., it cannot be the subject of itself. "Popery" in his view is an attempt to prove the infallibility of the church, by the church. It is Menzies' reformed view of the Bible that is the basis of his understanding of the church, and its ministry: "The prime difference of the true Religion from a false, stands in its conformitie to the will of God revealed in the Scriptures." An infallible interpreter of the Scripture is rejected as necessary, or possible, and he denies that an infallible ministry, in actu primo, is essential to provide trustworthy assistance in finding the meaning of Scripture. "The assent we give, is Supernatural, both objectively and effectively. That is, both in regards to its Formal object, viz. divine revelation, or the testimonie of God, that cannot lye, and in regard of the Efficient cause, namely infused grace," which he says, "doth elevat, corroborat, and quicken our understanding to the production of this assent." Like Meldrum, the contemporary

1. Papismus Lucifugus, or a faithful copie of the Papers exchanged betwixt Mr. John Menzies and Francis Dempster, Jesuit, Aberdeen 1668, p. 4.

2. Ibid. p. 5.

authorities Menzies refers to are Anglicans, with few exceptions. He supports a reformed view of apostolical succession in the church's true ministry, but "a succession merely personal, and local, if it be not also Doctrinal, cannot prove a true Church." He does not deny the authority of episcopacy, in his case against Rome, but points out that government by bishops cannot insure the church against heresy, referring to the fourth century phenomenon of Arianism. He uses an illustration found among the works of John Forbes, that the credenda and agenda of the Christian religion are distinctive. The Scriptures alone are the rule of the credenda, and the agenda, "things to be done by us", include the form of the church and its ministry. The Church is the "stylus veritatis", used by her Lord to write in the hearts of men the true doctrine by the ministry of the word, "though she has no infallible visible Judge." Menzies, following the tradition of

1. In his major work, Roma Mendax, or the Falsehood of Romes High Pretences to Infallibility and Antiquity evict'd, London, 1675, Menzies quotes from Stillingfleet, Tillotson, Barrow, Chillingworth, Hooker, Whitaker, Lightfoot, Baxter and Owens.

2. Roma Mendax, p. 375.

3. Ibid. 376.

4. Ibid. pp. 163,164.

5. Ibid. p. 60, comments on I Tim. 3:15. His theology of the Word of God operating in the Church is based, according to his own account, on Hooker, Stillingfleet, Tillotson, and Chillingworth whose illustration that the Scripture is like a "Ship" containing valuable stock (vide, The Religion of Protestants, a Safe Way of Salvations II. 2.(1637)), Menzies uses, Ibid, p. 84.
John Forbes, concludes that the Church's authority is "judiciary" and not "infallible".  

We may give a partial estimation, at this point, of the educational environment of Gilbert Burnet. The classical curriculum offered only a scant exposure to dogmatics apart from Sunday catechical exercises. In spite of the historic setting of his university career in mid-seventeenth century Scotland there is no indication that a single theological view was promoted. The four most prominent figures in the college, Lindsay, Meldrum, Cant, and Menzies, all conformed to the second episcopate. Cant seemed to have no trouble surviving in the Scottish theological climate regardless of his Arminian tendencies. Both Menzies and Meldrum were indebted to the thought of Anglican divines in whose ranks Burnet, at a later time, participated.  

Another dimension in the appraisal of the effects of Burnet's educational environment would be an investigation of the ecclesiastical direction taken by classmates. He entered Marischal in October, 1652, among ten "Primarii", at the age of nine. A number of inaccurate views of Burnet's education is symptomatic of what may be, in some cases, a misconception of his analysis of the church and its ministry. While Scott thought that Burnet received part of his education at Oxford, a Non-juring opponent, Robert Elliot, claimed that Burnet's presbyterian parentage and presbyterian education were partly responsible for  

1. Ibid. p. 23.  
his being misfit for the episcopal bench. It is true that
Burnet had to "subscryveit" the Westminster Confession of Faith
and the Covenant in order to receive his Master of Arts degree,
when he was thirteen, in 1657. The fifteen "Magisterii" candi-
dates, in 1657, included James Gregory, the inventor of the
reflecting telescope, and four students who were ordained to
holy orders.

While the scientific achievements of Gregory are only of
secondary importance in this study, as an indication of the
awakenings of the new age of science shared by one in Burnet's
peer group, it is significant that Gregory came from a family
that remained loyal to episcopacy. His father, fined and
imprisoned by the covenanters, died the year after Gregory and
Burnet's class entered Marischal. 3

1. Robert Elliot, A Specimen of the Bishop of Sarum's Posthumous
History of the Affairs of the Church and State of Great Britain,

2. By Act of Parliament, 6 June 1640, the Confession of Faith and
the Covenant were to "be subscryveit by all his Maties subjectis
of what ranke and quality soever under all civill painses" and "the
samene to be presented at the entrie of everie Parliament And befor
they proceed to ony wther Act that the same be publicklie red and
suorne by the whole memberis of Parliament claiming voyce thairin
other wayes the refuisseris to subscybe and sueir the same shall
have no place nor voyce in parliament And such lyke be ordeanes all
judges magistratis and wther officeris off whatsoeve place ranke
or quality and ministeris at their entrie to sweir and subscrybe the
samene Covenant."-- Acts of Parliament of Scotland, V. 270. This
act applied to all who were licensed probationers.

3. D.N.B. VIII, 1908, pp. 541ff. The father, John Gregory of Drumock,
vide, Scott, Fasti, VI, 50. Gregory's home was plundered by
covenanters, and he was a strong opponent of Andrew Cant, the
father of one of Burnet's professors. He was an adherent to the
Forbes tradition, and the Aberdeen Doctors.
several members of the faculty and student body at Marischal continued at the University of Edinburgh, during the second episcopate, where Gregory held the chair of mathematics, Meldrum the chair of divinity, and Cant was principal. Gregory was elected to the Royal Society in 1668, shortly after Burnet's presentation to the Society.

James Wood, another classmate, had the patronage of Charles Viscount Cranburn, and following episcopal ordination, he accepted the charge at Innerwick. Very little is known about his ministry, but it is a fact that Cranburn supported the successor of Wood at Innerwick, who in 1689 was deprived as a Non-juror.

A second member of Burnet's class who received episcopal ordination was also deprived for Non-juring in 1695. John Irvine of Savoch, like Burnet, conformed to the Restoration government. He served the parish of Kilmacolm in the Presbytery of Greenock, until 1672, when Charles II presented him to the distinguished charge of Peterculter, near Aberdeen. After his deprivation, he continued to endorse high church standards and maintained his loyalty to episcopacy when he intruded on the parish of Insch, in 1701. Irvine was immediately suspended by the General Assembly.


4. Scott, Fasti, VI, 158, and J. F. Leslie, The Irvinga of Drum, Aberdeen, 1909, p. lxxx. The moderator of the Presbytery of Aberdeen, on 23 August 1696, informed the patron of Peterculter that they would have to present to the charge "some fit person... well affected to the Government." Leslie, op. cit. p. 213. Scott wrongly lists John Irvine as an M.A. from Glasgow University.
A third member of the graduating class of 1657, at Marischal, receiving episcopal ordination, George White, took part in the "Rising of 1715". White moved from the "Second Charge" at Ayr, in the midst of the Covenanters, to the parish of Maryculter in Aberdeen Presbytery, noted for its strong episcopal ties. An unusual feature in this transfer is the fact that White purchased the patronage of Maryculter and presented himself to the living. After the settlement, in 1690, White intruded at Maryculter, where he wrote Advertisements Anent the Reading of the Books of Antonia Bourignon. The frontispiece includes a quotation from Henry Scougall. The purpose of the work concerns a defense of the necessity of a valid ministerial order in the church, in which he says,

On the matter itself, how contrary is their Doctrine to the Holy Scriptures, whereby we are well instructed, that the Almighty God (who made Man a social Creature, naturally inclined to society, and thereby needing both Laws and Government) did always prescribe Laws to Mankind, and for the benefit thereof, positively appointed, the Government both Civil and Ecclesiastic, and by a special designation, Pastors and Church-Officers for his own immediate service, and the Salvation of Peoples Souls ... where the true Pastor is, there the true Church is; and when the Shepherd is smitten, the sheep are scattered abroad.

2. Scott, Fasti, VI, 61.
Adhering to reformed theology, he says that it is in the dispensing of the Word in preaching and sacraments that we find the only "ordinary means of our Salvation".

The high-flying tactics of Elliot about Burnet's "presbyterian" education are a misrepresentation of the facts demonstrated by the lack of dogmatics in the Marischal College curriculum, the episcopal views of his divinity professor, and a comparison of Burnet to his classmates who entered the ministry. Of the four members of the Marischal Class of 1657 who were ordained, all four received orders from a bishop, two became Non-jurors, and one a bishop of the Church of England. Undoubtedly, the environment in which Burnet studied at Aberdeen was firmly episcopal. W.G. Snow points out the success of Patrick Forbes in reconciling the contention between King's and Marischal Colleges. Divinity students studied at both schools, and the great majority of the students supported the Aberdeen Doctors, the principal spokesmen for episcopacy and the refutation of the National Covenant. This position prevailed within the climate of opinion at the college in spite of the influence of persons like Andrew Cant senior, whose son opposed him, and John Row. In 1711, Burnet exhibited his

1. Ibid, p. 68.
interest in Marischal College through a donation by a codicil to his last will, bequeathing an annuity for four students in Arts and two in Divinity.

Informal Education

A biographer of Burnet, T.E.S. Clarke, says, "Gilbert Burnet threw himself into the studies of his three years' Divinity Course with characteristic ardour." This mistake is important in our study of Burnet, for he actually received no formal education beyond his M.A., and the subjects he studied at Marischal could not have adequately prepared him for the licenciate trials, prerequisite to his ordination. Therefore, understanding the informal factors effecting his theological development is necessary in an attempt to gain a comprehensive scope of the training of this Scottish minister and his view of the ministry.


3. Clarke compounds his error by dating Charles II's restoration "shortly after the close of his (Burnet's) last session at the University of Aberdeen." -- Ibid. p.20; cf. Fasti Aberd. and Fasti Acad. Mar. indices.
Burnet mentions in his memoirs, edited by his son Thomas, that he for "some years" followed a hard course of study of the Bible and commentaries, of controversies, and of "School Divinity" which he said, "had almost undone me." "This heightened my vanity and brought me into a false way of reasoning and everlasting wrangling which made me depise and triumph over all who had not suffered themselves to be entangled with that cobweb stuffe." ¹

The political tensions of the day figure in Burnet's educational environment. Because his father was deprived from his profession of law for refusing to sign the Solemn League and Covenant, ² he was able to spend long hours tutoring his son. Gilbert Burnet was born a week before the English Parliament accepted the Solemn League and Covenant, and a few weeks before the Committee of Estates authorized an ordinance that made the Erastian tenets of his father a crime, if acted upon. Robert Burnet was the only member of his immediate family who did not sign the National Covenant in 1638, and consequently was forced into exile for nearly five years. He resided in Holland and in France, where he had previously studied law, 1611-1617, before his admittance to the Scottish bar. ³ His continental associations, particularly with

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3. Ibid. p. 131.
Grotius, had a strong influence on his son whom he tutored, both before and after his son's residence at Marischal. The elder Burnet resisted the Covenants on civil, not theological grounds: "Order itself was struck at." The basic issue, "lex rex, or rex lex" in 1640, had to be faced again by Burnet's son in 1688.

Robert Burnet was a close friend of Sydserf, the deposed Bishop of Galloway, and a proponent of the moderate episcopacy of the Aberdeen Doctors. In his "Preface" to The Life of William Bedell, Bishop of Kilmore in Ireland, 1685, Gilbert Burnet explains his father's loyalty to Patrick Forbes and William Forbes. His pietistic Erastianism was re-inforced by his friendship with Grotius, also exiled in Paris. Bishop Burnet, writing at the distance of more than forty years after the event, relates that his father, who returned from exile in 1642 to an enforced retirement until the Restoration, "loaded" him with "too much knowledge." He confesses, "I was excessively vain of it." After receiving the Master of Arts degree, Burnet was taught "Civil and Feudall Law" by his father. He considered this to be essential for all divines who were to have correct notions of government.

1. Ibid.
3. Ibid., p. 454.
4. Ibid. p. 455. There is only scant evidence concerning the parish minister of Burnet's boyhood. William Hay was a graduate of Marischal in 1623, after that college came under episcopal influence, and was of course episcopally ordained. He served the parish of Crimond from 1628 to 1655, which is a prebend of Aberdeen. We can only conclude that he was a moderate episcopalian who conformed to the Covenant. -- vide Scott, Fasti, VI, 212, and Aberdeenshire Sheriff-Court Records, II, 313.
The moderation and episcopal loyalties of Robert Burnet, which seem to have influenced his son, are evident in a letter he wrote to his brother-in-law, Warriston, a leader of the Covenanting party, concerning the excommunication of Sydserf by the General Assembly of 1638, at Glasgow:

For the Lord is my witness, to whom I must answer in the last day, I think there was never a more unjust sentence of excommunication than that which was pronounced against some of these Bishops, and particularly against this man, since the creation of the world; I am persuaded, that those who did excommunicate him did rather excommunicate themselves from God, than him. As I wrote to you before, none of the ministers of Paris would believe me, that you would or durst excommunicate any for not subscribing that Covenant. All Scots and English here, both of one party and the other, respect him, and I assure you he defends the Protestant Religion stoutly against Papists, and none of our Scots Papists dare meddle with him, after they had once essayed him. Be not too violent then, and do as you would be done to, for you know not how the world will turn yet.1

An outline of Robert Burnet's Erastian philosophy may be deduced from one of his writings: firstly, scriptural covenants are unquestionably duties commanded by God and must be obeyed. Secondly, any other covenants must be voluntary on both sides of the contract, if they are to be considered a law. Thirdly, a national covenant must be made with the consent of the supreme magistrate, for there is no higher national authority. He says, "To impose upon mens consciences Covenants, Containing deewties not only not commanded per expressum in the word of God, bot.in yr Judgment praeter (outside) if not contarie yr too, and that under the paine of ecommunicatione, seimes hard to weake and tender,

1. Gordon, Scots Affairs, II, 97. We see later that Gilbert Burnet pleaded for Charles II's mercy towards his uncle.
Consciences and smells not a little of the Antichristian tyranny of Rome." A principle that Gilbert Burnet holds firmly throughout his ministry, and which effects his interpretation of Test Acts, the Occasional Conformity Bill, and the events encompassing the Revolution in 1688, is set out by his father: "I know it has been maintained against the Papists these 100 years bygone that nullae leges humanae nec Ecclesiasticae nec Civiles Liganat Conscientam, and it is to make the traditions of men of more effect then the Commandment of God."

The close family ties to covenanters seems to have had nothing but a negative reaction in Burnet's development. His mother's brother, it has been mentioned, was Sir Archibald Johnston (Lord Warriston). Burnet says, "Her family was for above 50 years the most eminent of any in Edinburgh that way." After his father's death, and for nearly three years before his institution as a parish minister, Burnet lived with his mother in Edinburgh. At this time he came into contact with George Hutcheson and Robert Douglas. He was unimpressed with these presbyterian leaders, although he admired their sobriety and deportment. It was in this period that he became acquainted with the work of Richard Hooker, which became the most important systematic study of the church and ministry in his

2. Ibid.
4. Ibid. 459-60.
education:

"I began my study with relation to our home matters with Hooker's Ecclesiastical Policy (sic.), which did so fixe me that I never departed from the principles laid down by him, nor was I a little delighted with the modesty and charity that I observed in him which edified me as much as his book instructed me!"

It would be misleading to assume that the only presbyterian and covenanting influences that Burnet encountered came from the maternal side of the family tree. While it is true that Aberdeen was the home of episcopal interests that endured all political changes in Scotland, there were a number of active covenanters

1. Ibid. p. 460.
2. Burnet recounts his own experience when attending a meeting of the Presbytery of Aberdeen in 1661 before bishops had been returned to office. It was the first court of the Kirk to "invite" the restoration of episcopacy, but that its statement was so ingeniously worded in the context of a prayer, that dissent from its meaning would be self-incriminating; furthermore, it was difficult to criticize a prayer. -- Gilbert Burnet, Bishop Burnet's History of His Own Time, Vol. I, (London, 1724; Vol. II, 1734) pp. 120, 121, hereafter referred to as History Own Time. Burnet's cousin, Andrew Burnett of Leys, was a doctor of Medicine and Divinity from Aberdeen. -- Fasti Acad. Mar. II, 240, and Officers and Graduates of Kings College, p. 122. His persistent episcopal views caused his ejection in 1690. In 1689 he was one who protested against the Committee of the Assembly empowered to force presbyterianism on Aberdeenshire. He was eventually fined and threatened with imprisonment when he continued to lead episcopal services of worship at Trinity Church. He had served the famous collegiate church, St. Nicholas, in Aberdeen, 1687-1689. -- Allardyce, op. cit. p. 77, and Analecta Scotica, II, 234.
among the Burnets of Leyes. Thomas Burnet, the older brother of our subject's father, was one of the original signatories of the National Covenant, inter alia, "sindrie of the name of Burnet, and ytheris burgessie of Abirdein."

Leaders in the civic life of Aberdeen included covenanters Patrick Leslie and Alexander Jaffray. Leslie was Provost of the burgh for six consecutive terms, but Robert Farquhar, one of the


Thomas Burnet, is called "ane gryte coovenanter". -- Spalding, The History of the Trubles and Memorable Transactions in Scotland and England, Bannatyne Club, 1828-1829, I, 133, hereafter referred to as Memoriall Trubles.
most wealthy men in Scotland, who was Provost when Burnet entered Marischal, probably had reluctantly endorsed the Solemn League and Covenant, in spite of the fact that he was classified as one of the "pryme covenanters" by Spalding.

Any interaction that Gilbert Burnet had with covenanters produced largely negative criticism on his part, however, the close association he experienced with the presbyterian party must have been at least partly responsible for his rejection of denominational theology in favour of a more comprehensive theological framework. He encountered a more moderate school of thought in the tradition of Patrick Forbes. The significance of the group around Forbes is an essential ingredient for a critical interpretation of Burnet that is not described by Clarke and Foxcroft's biography. A continuity exists between Burnet's training as a youth in Scotland and the Latitudinarian school of thought in England. His father was the legal consultant of William Forbes, a distant kindred of Patrick Forbes and wholly within the tradition of the Aberdeen Doctors. Robert Burnet said that he felt like "his heart was in heaven" whenever he had the occasion to talk with the saintly Forbes. The theological

2. William Forbes was a close friend of Robert Burnet when he resided in Aberdeen, and sustained that relationship after his move to Edinburgh when he was nominated for that bishopric by Charles I in 1634.
3. Gilbert Burnet, Life of Bedell, "Preface".
heritage of the "quietist" movement in north eastern Scotland, according to D.G. Henderson, is explained by the reaction away from controversial Protestant theology and a return to the catholic mystics. Piety and devotional life are the highest concerns of theology, and debate concerning various forms of church order, though important, are never primary in their thought. Quietism affected the lives of both William Forbes and Robert Burnet. Forbes, perhaps too lenient towards Roman Catholics, according to Gilbert Burnet, received eulogies from persons of various theological persuasions. Gordon said that he was "one of the learnedest men and one of the most eloquent preachers of this age, or that ever Aberdeen, the nursery of so many great spirits, ever brought forth."

Patrick Forbes' indirectly through the Aberdeen Doctors and Robert Burnet, was a force in the intellectual and personal development of Gilbert Burnet. In 1684, Burnet wrote that the Forbesian tradition continued to be an important factor in the Aberdeen area. "He was in all things an Apostolical Man," is

2. Burnet, op. cit. "Preface".
Burnet's often quoted praise of the Bishop of Aberdeen who is given the highest reputation of any Bishop in Scotland since Elphinstone, by Spottiswoode. Burnet describes the men in the Forbesian tradition as being "an honour to the Church both by their Lives, and by their Learning, and with that excellent temper they seasoned that whole Diocess, both Clergy and Laity, that it continues to this day very much distinguished from all the rest of Scotland, both for Learning, Loyalty and Peaceableness." Lindsay, one of the first to join the covenanters in Aberdeen, and a leader in that cause, highly commended the diocesan labors and character of Forbes. Anti-papery opinions and support of episcopacy are

1. Forbes initiated the D.D. degree at Aberdeen, his son John receiving the first degree granted. The "doctors" included: John Forbes, Alexander Scroggie, William Leslie, James Sibbald, Robert Baron. These were the signatories of the famous Replyes to the covenanters. — Garden, op. cit., p. 52ff. Concerning the impoverished condition of the diocese, and the colleges, which Bishop Forbes encountered on his elevation to that see, cf. Original Letters Relating to the Ecclesiastical Affairs of Scotland, 1603-28. Bannatyne Club, p. 634.


the hallmarks of Patrick Forbes' writings. In Eubulus - A Dialogue, published in 1627, the pope is depicted as the anti-Christ, and the Church of Rome as anti-Christian. The Church of Rome is not catholic, i.e. "true", because the catholic church truly exists only where the Word of God is dispensed through preaching. He says that the marks of the true church are holiness of doctrine and purity of worship. Catholicity, unity, and antiquity are attributes of the effects of the true church's existence, but are not distinguishing marks, or characters, dividing truth from falsehood.

Forbes, himself an eminent bishop, considered that office to be the primus inter pares. His collating effective pastoral leaders to positions in the diocese, and continual encouragement of their labors, was one of the most significant manifestations of his ministry. Preaching ability must have been considered a fact one of the highest qualities in a minister which is evident in the calibre of men he appointed and is highlighted in all his

1. Patrick Forbes, Eubulus - A Dialogue, Aberdeen, 1627, pp. 112-114, and pp. 27, 53, 55. In his earlier work, A Learned Commentary, Middelburgh, 1614, the same description of the pope occurs, pp. 14, 15, 82.
2. Eubulus, p. 23.
writings. He believed none could be saved but by hearing, or hear but by preaching. He derided the High Church view of an exclusive ministerial order, "as if all, both light and life of a true Church, did hang wholly upon that one point of episcopal ordination." His condemnation of popery, which had episcopal order, led him to explain the existence of Apostolic succession as the purity of doctrine and not the validity of orders. The true successors of the Apostles are ones succeeding in the "pastoral and ordinary offices" of the church and "teaching the same doctrine and keeping the foundation laid by them." Forbes thought that the truly Catholic Church could consist of several valid forms of ministerial orders holding the same true faith. He underlined the relationship of ministerial orders to the Word of God, making clear the subordination of orders to the primacy of the Scripture. Henderson says, "Forbes's interest was first in Christianity, second in Protestantism, and third in Episcopacy. It is important to realize this and also to recognize how the second and the third were intended to contribute and did contribute to the first."


2. Ibid., pp. 6, 7.


4. _A Defence of the Lawful Calling_, p. 5.

5. Ibid., p. 39.

6. Henderson, op. cit., p. 32. Forbes was a relative of Andrew Melville, under whom he studied, vide Henderson's, "A Scottish Diary of the 17th Century," _London Quarterly Review_, January, 1929, passim. Forbes was not without opposition in the Aberdeen area, and his doctoral awards met with criticism from some of the more radical covenanters, such as John Row, who regularly used the name 'Hierarchical Doctor' as a derisive sign of 'Prelacie', _Historie of the Kirk of Scotland_, Woodrow Society, 1842, pp. 261, 318.
One of the leading features of Forbesian tradition was the attempt to develop a reformed catholic theology. Burnet's indebtedness to this theological aspect of the Aberdeen Doctors remains somewhat hypothetical; however his *Exposition of the Thirty-Nine Articles* owes its format to the uncompleted *Instructiones Historico-Theologicae* of John Forbes, son of Bishop Patrick Forbes. Burnet's work is perhaps more eclectic than catholic, a point to be developed in the succeeding chapters. He probably over-rated the significance of John Forbes by saying that the *Instructiones* was "a work which if he had finished it, and had been suffered to enjoy the privacies of his Retirement and Study, to give us the Second volume, had been the greatest Treasure of Theological Learning that perhaps the World has yet seen." The environment in which the *Instructiones* came into being made it even more important for Burnet who shared the same views towards schism, theological dispute, and strife in the church. Forbes wrote from his exile in Holland, 1644-1646. He writes in juxtaposition to Bellarmine concerning the essential place of the Fathers in a truly catholic doctrine. Forbes contends that the Reformation theology is a purification of the views of the church about the Fathers, and a return to primitive doctrine through them. This emphasis on the study of the Fathers is helpful in an analysis of the thought of Burnet who, because of his being a Latitudinarian, may be

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1. Burnet, Life of Bedell, "Preface".
precritically accused of not assigning the study of the Fathers to the essential place they hold in Anglican thought, for example, in the eminent patristic research of the Caroline divines. And yet, Burnet judges this treatise of Forbes, with its emphasis on patriology, as being, potentially, the greatest work in theology. Andrew Cant, the covenanter, expressed the opinion held by the more extreme wing of the presbyterian party, "I abhor reading these men whom they call the Fathers... they smelled too much of Popery."

John Forbes, in his famous Irenicum, published in 1629, centers his argument on three basic issues: the doctrine of the eucharist, the authority of the church, and the nature of ministerial orders. Forbes defended the Five Articles of Perth, but his most important discussion deals with the Right of Presidency and episcopacy:

Such is the nature of the Gospel Ministry by divine law that disparity of ministers is not repugnant but agreeable to it.

...It is of divine law that the ministry be social; that is, that each pastor acknowledge a certain fellowship to which he owes subjection and obedience.

...It is of divine law that the several societies or colleges of pastors should have their definite territories and limits jam post Apostolos.

...By divine law, a praeses or moderator is necessary to the society, or college of pastors, who should be endowed with public authority to call the other members together, and who with them should exercise church discipline, ordain clergy, act as moderator at meetings, visit churches, pronounce sentences, casque execution pro officio mandandas curat, to whom the others should be subject in the Lord, and whom they should be bound to obey, so long as he acts lawfully in his 'prostasia'.

1. Scottish Notes and Queries, 1889, p. 85... Cant is in direct opposition to both Knox and Calvin at this point, vide, Knox, Works, IV, 314, 518, and Calvin's "Preface" to the Institutes of the Christian Religion.

2. Selwyn, op. cit., p. 14; for the presbyterian view of the issues raised in the Irenicum Amatoribus Veritatis et Pacis in Ecclesia Scoticana, Aberdeen, 1629, vide, Gillespie's Dispute Against the English-Popish Ceremonies, 1636.
...It is in agreement with divine law that, after the 
Apostles, who were Moderators in common of all societies, 
there should be one Moderator rather than many over each 
diocesan college of pastors.

...It is in agreement with divine law, that the moderator,
or ordinary praeses of the brethren, should not abandon, or be 
removed from that office except for fault or informity.

...The moderator of the brethren ought himself also to 
be subject to censure.

...It is of divine law that the moderator should not carry 
out any weighty matter without the consent of his copresbyters.

...That the presbyter who is praeses of his copresbyters, 
and called regular moderator, is peculiarly a bishop, the rest 
being content with the word presbyters; that is not done 
against divine law, but was introduced agreeably to divine 
law, by an ecclesiastical law which is oecumenical, and 
apostolic, and preserved without blame by the continuous use of 
all time...1

Apostolical succession, in 1629, was not an issue that stood between 
the presbyterian and episcopal parties in Scotland. Both accepted 
a reformed theological view of this important point, viz., that a 
succession of pure doctrine is the primary consideration. The 
rise of Independency later in the century opened up this issue.

John Forbes, following his father at this point, suggests that 
episcopacy is the melius esse of the catholic church, and that the 
presbyterate is fundamental to the ministerial order of the church, 
but that the presbyterate is at times individual, and at other 
times collective. The episcopal order is the method of executing 
or administering the power of ordination. 2

1. Historical Papers Submitted to the Christian Unity Association of 
Scotland, F.C. Eeles, "The Teaching of the Aberdeen Doctors on 
Ordination..." Privately printed by T. and A. Constable, 1914, 
pp.147 ff.

The agreement between the episcopal and presbyterian party regarding 
succession is seen by comparing Rutherford, with the above comments 
of Forbes, in The Due Right of Presbytery, pp.189,230, "We maintain 
only a succession to the true and Apostolic doctrine." A similar view 
is held by Burnet's professor of Divinity, Menzies, Roma Mendax, 
pp.375,380. The absence of exclusive episcopal rights to ordination 
is noted in Burnet's Exposition of the Thirty-Nine Articles, vide, 
Art. XXIII.
Burnet's father died in 1661, which left the young probationer to holy orders to live with his mother in Edinburgh. Regardless of her presbyterian interests, this change actually created a wider circle of episcopal friends for Burnet. In Edinburgh he met Leighton, Charteris, and Nairn, moderates who conformed to episcopacy and leaders of a school of thought in the church that carried on the Forbesian tradition. Adding to these, the intimate friendships he found in Fletcher of Salton, and Robert Moray, Burnet's training for the ministry developed in a continuous climate of opinion favoring moderation and episcopacy, from the early years with his father, until his ordination in 1665. Burnet looking back on this period said, "Three of the greatest Clergymen and two of the best Laymen of the age who were all eminent in different waiies had concurred to finish an education that was well begun..." A nexus of moderate Anglican and Scottish episcopal thought touches the developmental period of Burnet's life. Leighton, a correspondent and counselor for many years, was a student of Ussher, who in turn was devoted to John Forbes. Ussher called Forbes the "new Irenaeus". Forbes, Ussher, and Leighton were all prophets of comprehension on the grounds of episcopacy, as the bene esse of the church. In the words of Leighton, episcopacy was "agreeable

3. Cf. Historical Papers, CUA, p. 94.
to Scripture and the primitive government of the Church" and therefore is the "likiest to be the way of a more universal concord." Burnet said that Leighton had the greatest influence on him of any persons he knew with regard to his conception of the ministry:

I bear still the greatest veneration for the memory of that man that I do for any person; and reckon my early knowledge of him, which happened the year after this, (1661) and my long and intimate conversation with him, that continued to his death for twenty three years, among the greatest blessings of my life, and for which I know I must give an account to God in the great day in a most particular manner.2

There was a latent mysticism in many of the moderate churchmen of seventeenth-century Scotland that was in a sense a religious phenomenon. Henderson says, "Scotland would, upon first thoughts seem almost the last place in which one might expect to trace anything like Quietist influence, for Scottish religion is proverbially theological, and Scottish theology notoriously dogmatic." There were many exceptions to the strict covenanting


2. Burnet, History Own Time, I, 138. Leighton and Burnet corresponded regularly when they could not see each other. He confided in Burnet a certain pessimism about the condition of the church and its party strife. Writing from his retirement he says, "... what pitifull poor things are we if in bur higher stations in ye world and particularly in ye church, wee proiect no higher end, then to drive poor people about us into a forc't compliance with our little wretched interests and humors..." -- Bodl.Add.MSS. D. 23 in Miscallany of the Scottish History Society, 3 vols. Edinburgh, 1893, II, 362. This liberal attitude towards test acts was an important political and theological factor in Burnet's career as a bishop.


dogmaticism, and a number of these exceptional persons had some influence on the development of Burnet. Leighton, for example, met strong Protestant resistance in Dickson, Professor of Divinity at Edinburgh, when Leighton, in the capacity of principal, unsuccessfully tried to add works of Thomas a' Kempis to the theological curriculum. Wodrow reports, "Mr. Dickson refused .... and among other reasons from some Popish doctrines contained in it, he added, that neither Christ's satisfaction, nor the doctrine of grace, but self and merit ran throw it." Leighton, however, read the mystics carefully, and regarded De Imitatione "as one of the best books that ever was written next to the inspired writers." Butler says that Leighton's admiration for Thomas a' Kempis was "unique" in Scotland; on the contrary, the references to the mystics including Teresa, Tauler, and Bernard "the last of the Fathers" are not uncommon throughout the school of moderate divines from Forbes at the beginning of the seventeenth century to George Garden writing at the beginning of the eighteenth century. The result of this influence in Leighton's thought is a mixture of lively Puritanism and a moderate Calvinism that is interpreted in the light of catholic writers from Augustine through a' Kempis. There does not seem to be any sign of attenuated dogmatics in Leighton, but instead, a self abandonment and a prevailing sense of the majesty of God permeate his thought.

Butler describes the quiet, meditative spirit in the sermons of Leighton as a combination of "the Catholic with the Puritan spirit" which was "deepened and enlarged by the influence of the Jansenists."  

Burnet was self-critical of his own involvement with Leighton concerning the propagation of pietistic ethics. There may be a relationship between Leighton's devotional thought and mystical spirit and his regret, if not resentment, of the struggles that were concomitant with the role of leadership in the Scottish church. Burnet certainly did not yield to the Quietistic influence that causes withdrawal from an active political life.

Leighton's idea of episcopacy probably had some long term effect on Burnet. His re-ordination to the priesthood is


2. Burnet, Supplement, pp. 40, 41. The most complete picture of Leighton's devotional and theological emphasis is given in his Commentary of I Peter: "There be this difference betwixt you and the world, and while they live as at home, your carriage be such as becomes strangers."—Commentary on I Peter 2:11.

3. Having been ordained by presbytery, he was re-ordained before his consecration to the episcopate. That a presbyterian who accepts re-ordination is necessarily a moderate in church government is disproved by the example of Archbishop Sharp. It is doubtful that Leighton would have accepted an episcopal office if he had made the decision after 19 May 1662, when the Act of Uniformity, causing the ejection of 2000 clergy from their livings, signaled the death to even the most optimistic hopes for a comprehensive communion in England.
ambiguously defended, but he seems to emphasize that ordination is to a function rather than an office; therefore, re-ordination is only "cumulative" and does not deny the validity of the preceding ordination. George Hicks had accused Leighton of being a usurper of the episcopal authority at Glasgow, but he amended his criticism in Leighton's favour after discovering that the one time presbyterian was inclined to introduce the Prayerbook to the kirk with the Restoration of episcopacy. The most important feature of Leighton's diocesan administration that impressed Burnet was his industrious application to visitation, from parish to parish, and a constant routine of preaching and catechizing.

Laurence Charteris met Burnet during his formative years of eighteen to twenty-two when the licentiate was completing his studies. Charteris was the pastor of Bothans, near Haddington, that included the famous Yester House, from 1654 to 1675. His ministry spans the whole of the second episcopate to which he conformed. In 1675 he became Professor of Divinity at Edinburgh, and refused the Test in 1681. He took the oath to William and Mary in 1688, and in 1690 read the terms of the General Assembly that referred to the second episcopate as a "national sin"; however, he gave a defence of the episcopal administration of the

1. Wodrow, Analecta, I, 133.
2. "I am glad of this opportunity of making amends to ye memory of yt pious man."--Bodl. Rawlinson MS. D.341, f.148.
church and disagreed that conformity to episcopacy was grounds for guilt and repentance:

Charteris too, was a disciple of the Forbesian tradition, and it is not surprising to find, as Burnet relates, that he "loved the Misticall Divines and thought he found in them a better savour of divine matters than in most other writers." Charteris, along with Leighton, had a strong hand in forming Burnet's thought concerning sermon construction in a "plain" or "simple" style. His writings reveal a Calvinistic theology of the Word, but like the tradition of the Aberdeen Doctors, theological discourse was frequently encased in a devotional context. A contemporary says that his theological method follows that of John Forbes, *the Instructione*, and "the Bishop of Sarum in his Explication of the Thirty-nine Articles" (sic). His *Spiritual Discourses* were

2. Ibid, p. 462.
3. Ibid. At the first meeting he had with Charteris, Burnet tells of the impact Charteris made by recounting the folk lore of the celebrated preacher, Thuler, of Cologne. According to the story, he was confronted by an unknown critic with his self-esteem and praise of his preaching. In dismay he retreated for a time from the pulpit, but upon learning humility and simplicity regained his ability to preach. Burnet says, "I confess I have had another notion of preaching ever since that time."—*Supplement*, p. 88, and *History Own Time*, II, 675-6. Burnet was better known for his effective simplicity in preaching, than for his humility.
originally delivered to theological students. These emphasize the sovereignty of the Word of God that will work in the heart of man to renew his temper and make man desire conformity to the will of God. There is no mention of eternal decrees throughout the twelve discourses that are designed to explain the entrance into the Christian life. 1 The end of the Christian faith is "the prevalency of the love of God in the Souls of men. Love is the beginning and end of it, the first and last of every step in it." The flavouring of the mystics in his thought is most clearly seen in The Corruptions of This Age and the Remedy Thereof, in which he develops extensively the subject of humility as the only means of knowing God. 2 Charteris was one of Burnet's most trusted colleagues in the Presbytery of Haddington where their many contacts with one another were a factor in Burnet's formative experiences.

Another "new school" preacher who had some influence on Burnet at this period of his life, just before his institution as

1. A great deal of emphasis is placed on the attitude of the believer concerning a "meek and calm temper" the promoting of "Christian graces."—Spiritual Discourses on Twelve Several Passages of Scripture...Edinburgh, 1704, pp. 4-6. In discussing the corruption of man no mention is made of divine decree, Ibid. pp. 7, 18.

2. Ibid. p. 50. The influence of the catholic mystics is evident in the following statement: "the mind must still attend and advert to all the Motions of the inferior Powers and Faculties, that they may not counter-act her Laws and Mandates, and that when they do so, they may be instantly checked, that we may not be discomposed and disordered thereby."—Ibid. pp. 99, 100.

3. Piety, righteousness, and charity are the only adequate expressions of true faith, according to Charteris, vide, The Difference Between True and False Christianity Plainly Represented in Some Discourses, Edinburgh, 1703, pp. 6, 7.
a parish minister, was James Nairn of the Abbey Church, Edinburgh. Two significant facts about this association are the emphasis Nairn gave to the Church Fathers, as exemplary guides to the pastoral care, and his introduction of Burnet to the philosophy of Plato. "He opened a new scene to me," Burnet wrote, "and put books of another sort in my hand than those I had formerly dealt in."

That the tradition began in Scotland by Patrick Forbes had a continuing influence after the demise of the Aberdeen Doctors is evident in the example of Henry Scougal. Scougal's friendship with Burnet provides further evidence of the significance that the "Mystics of the North-East" had in the formative thought of Burnet. It is important to understand this tradition, for example, in order to explain the intellectual heritage of one of Burnet's most widely read works, A Discourse of the Pastoral Care. Like Burnet, Scougal had no formal training in divinity. He began teaching at King's College, Aberdeen, after his graduation in 1668.

1. Burnet, Supplement, p.60, and History Own Time, I.,216. Charteris thought that the real importance of the Fathers who were "ordinary men" was their "sense of spiritual things, and of the pastoral care."—Ibid., I.,216. He, like Burnet, was adverse to imposing "large confessions" on people as Tests, "for he was positive in very few things."—Ibid. In his memoirs, Burnet recalls that the winter of 1662-3 was given over to the study of the Fathers.—Supplement, p.39.

2. The effect of Platonic thought in Burnet's theology will be considered in context of chapter III, following; for Burnet's study of the platonists, vide Supplement, pp. 460-1.

3. Ibid.

Scougal was repelled by the scholastic philosophy in vogue and mastered newer conceptions of thought. In particular, he adopted the method of Bacon. Plato became increasingly relevant, as Scougal made morality the foundation of all learning. He was elected to the Chair of Divinity at King's College in 1673. Burnet's appreciation of Scougal is seen in his comment that he thought Scougal would have gained the reputation of his famous predecessor, John Forbes, except for his early death in 1678.

The recurring themes in Scougal's works are the marks of the "mystical divines" in that Scottish group: the purity of the true religion, the soul's relation to God, and the lamentable strife of the world. Henderson points out the method in which meditations and theological discourses are inter-related in Scougal's writings—another mark of this school of thought. The accent on the mystical experience, or the soul's communion with God, was not simply the theme of a few sermons, but dominated his conception of the entire ministry. Dogmatics were nearly displaced. There is no doctrinal disputation or attempts to answer controversial theology on its own grounds. This tradition may help to explain Burnet's

1. Ibid., p. 8.
2. Burnet, Life of Bedell, "Preface".
3. Examples, vide, Henry Scougal, Works, Glasgow, ed. 1765, pp. 9, 48, 64f.
revulsion from scholastic theology, perhaps even his dislike for
the theological format of the English Universities, and consequently
1 his beginning of a theological training school at Salisbury.
Scougal's style of discourse is seen in the following definition
of the work of a minister:

The great business of our calling is to advance the divine
life in the world, to make Religion sway and prevail, frame
and mould the Souls of men into a conformity to God, and
superinduce the beautiful lineaments of his blessed image
upon them, to enlighten their understanding, and to inform
their judgements, rectifie their wills, and order their
passions, and sanctifie all their affections. 2

Faith is given what may be called a romantic vis-a-vis a classic
dogmatic definition, although it appears in a theological essay:
"The root of the divine life is faith; the chief branches are love
to God, charity to man, purity, and humility." Again, "Faith hath
the same place in the divine life, which sense hath in the
natural, being indeed nothing else but a kind of sense, or feeling
a persuasion of spiritual things." 3 Scougal's Life of God in the
Soul of Man, which impressed both Wesley and Whitefield, was
subjoined by an important devotional tract written by Burnet when
he was thirty-four. The effects of the Scottish mystics are
unmistakable in his description of the inward rapture of life in
God:

1. Certainly other factors motivated the Salisbury experiment, not
least of which, was the tory influence around Oxford.
3. Ibid. p. 48.
There are certainly great and high Consolations to be found in God, by those who diligently seek after him, great distinction is to be made between these and those; the divine Joys do not rest but on a purified Mind, and it requires a high sense of Spirituality to be capable of them; but these flow in on Minds that are yet full of Dross and Corruption; the divine Joy is pure and serene, and rests chiefly in the superior Powers, flowing from a clear Understanding, that raises a noble and generous satisfaction in the Will. Divine Joy doth much recollect the Mind, and bring it to an inward fixed contemplating of God, and sacred Truths; whereas the lower gifts do lead out the Mind unto words, or some other dissipating exercise. Divine Joy empties the Mind more of itself, that it may fill it with God: It is also gentle, pure, tender-hearted, and every way suitable to the Divine Spirit, from whose emanations it flows.

The key to the mystical experience of Christ, according to Burnet, is self-examination or contemplation. He warns against any attempt to use spiritual exercises as rules, or even fixed hours of devotions. "Nothing obstructs more an advance in the Spirituality and Joy in God, than the fettering ourselves, by some devices of our own, to Rules and Forms which we will always adhere to and keep up." He suggests that a daily review of past sins will help "beat down self-conceit". The mystical method is based on meditation; he says, "Indeed if our Souls be elevated to contemplate and adore his (God's) Perfections, by a necessary and inevitable consequence we shall love him; and loving him, we must always desire to please him, and delight in so doing: and besides this, our Natures will be transformed into a likeness of him, by that participation...

2. Ibid. p. 122.
3. Ibid. p. 119.
of his Divine Nature ..."  

Patrick Scougal, Burnet's predecessor in the parish of Salton, before his elevation to the episcopate, carried on the Forbesian tradition at Aberdeen where he was also chancellor of the University. Burnet said, "He took great pleasure in discoursing often with young Divines, and set himself to frame in them right and generous Notions of the Christian Religion, and of the Pastoral Care."

The many facets of Burnet's training for the ministry, both the formal training at Marischal College and the informal influences, are integrated to a degree by the stream of thought associated with the Forbesian tradition. In spite of his training under a presbyterian administration, without exception, his teachers and instructors favored episcopacy, or willingly conformed to the second episcopate. Another common feature among those who favored episcopacy was the attachment to the genius of John Forbes who thought that episcopacy was the melius esse of the catholic church, but that the credenda of the Christian religion could be crystallized in a few simple statements, none of which included the form and order of the church and its ministry. This background helps explain the intransigent positions, for example, between Burnet, a Latitudinarian bishop, and the High Church divines, which resulted in protracted debate in the post-Revolutionary period.

1. Ibid., p. 134.
2. Burnet, Life of Bedell, "Preface".
3. A fuller discussion of these conflicts will be given, infra, in Chp. IV.
Sir Robert Fletcher, patron of the parish church of Salton in the Presbytery of Haddington, presented Burnet to the living when the predecessor in that charge, Patrick Scougal, was consecrated Bishop of Aberdeen. Presentation or collation to incumbencies during the second episcopate did not follow a standard pattern throughout Scotland. Even under the previous presbyterian administration, there was no fixed method of selecting candidates to fill vacancies. Fletcher, one of seven Scots who protested against the delivery of Charles I into the hands of the English at Newcastle, and was a distinguished senator in the College of Justice. Learned in Greek and Hebrew, and a student of the new developments in the sciences, he was, in Burnet's opinion, one of the most outstanding laymen he had known.

1. Burnet, Supplement, p. 466; cf. Transactions of the East Lothian Antiquary and Field Society, Index on "Fletcher".


5. Ibid.

By the 27 May 1662 Act of "Restitution and Re-establishment" bishops were restored "to the exercise of their episcopall function, presidencie in the church, power of ordination, inflicting of censures and all other acts of church discipline." On 11 June an Act supplementing the powers of the episcopate was passed that required collation by a bishop to a living that had been acquired since 1649 when patronage was abolished. The relationship of patron, bishop, and presbytery in the examination and presentation of candidates is somewhat explained by the specific case of Burnet. The initiative in supplying a candidate for the vacancy was definitely in the patron, Fletcher, but the control exercised by the bishop was more of an indirect oversight of the process of the presentation. Fletcher had approached Burnet for the position more than a year before the Presbytery received a letter from the diocesan ordering them to proceed with trials. The examination of the "Expectant preacher", as the candidate was called, was


2. Burnet, Supplement, p. 466; and Hadd. Presby. Rec. MSS, 10 Nov. 1664 "This day, their was received and read a letter from Bishop of Edinburgh in favours of Mr. Gilbert Burnet, bearing that ye said Mr. Gilbert has received letters of presentation from the Kings Majestie to the Kirk of Saltoun, and withal desiring ye Presby to hasten his tryalls; for which effect he is appointed both to exercise and add on Hosea 6 ch 2 v. at the next dyet, which is to be this day fortnight at Hadd. As also to have his Common head De Papae Infallibility." Clarke, op. cit. p. 52, gives the wrong date for this letter.

handled entirely by the presbytery, and many of the areas examined were repetitious of the probationer's trials. The trials for Burnet were the principal concern of the Presbytery's agenda for three consecutive meetings. The areas examined, in addition to personal testimonials regarding the moral fitness of the candidate, included: knowledge of the Scriptures in the original languages, an "exercise" (i.e. exegesis) and "adding" (i.e. exposition) of assigned passages, repeating a Hebrew Psalm by rote,

1. Burnet relates the content of these trials, for which there is no other record, concerning his own case, vide, Burnet, op. cit. pp. 456, 7: "First they preach practically on a text given them, then they preach critically on a harder text, then they are tried on a mixture of both ways in one, then they have some head in Divinity given them for a Latin explanation of it, upon which they give out Theses and defend them, they have also some period of the Scripture History given them to explain and clear the difficulties in it, after that an Hebrew Psalm is given them to expound, and they are examined upon the Greek Testament and at last comes the questionary trial, every Clergyman of the precinct putting such questions out of the Scripture or the body of Divinity as he thinks fit to try the knowledge of the person."

biblical chronology, a theological essay on a doctrinal issue which must be sustained in cross-questioning on the floor of presbytery, and the content and application of the catechism. Beyond the examinations were the trial sermons, one doctrinal, another practical or "popular". Burnet preached the popular sermon on an assigned text, John 15:7, before the "dyet", on the same day that he sustained his doctrinal thesis refuting Papal Infallibility. Laurence Charteris was appointed by the presbytery, not the bishop, to give Burnet institution to the charge. Butler points out that even in the ordination the bishop took part, in some cases, "as one of the brethren".

By comparison to Mechie's description of the Act of the General Assembly in 1698 that provides a syllabus governing the trials of candidates, there are only two differences to be noted between the practice under presbyterian and episcopal rule. One, is the additional doctrinal sermon required of Burnet. The other

2. Ibid.
distinction is that the presbyterian standard examined the area of Church polity and discipline, expecting of course the necessary conformity to the doctrine of parity of ministers. It is readily evident by the standard of trial imposed on Burnet that university training would not sufficiently equip a candidate for the examination. The Synod of Aberdeen passed a resolution that the presbyteries should bring "none to be tried until they have studied divinity some years after they be graduatt unless extraordinar pregnancie in learning be seen in them..." In 1671 the Exercise of Alford added Church History to its examination, a noticeable omission in both the cases of Burnet's examination and the 1698 presbyterian syllabus on candidate trials. The Haddington Presbytery did not follow a standard form in their examinations, a point revealed by the trials of a candidate in the year following Burnet's certification. According to the minutes, they neglected to examine in the areas of the catechism and biblical chronology; further, the Latin thesis on a theological head was not demanded. It appears that the relationships among bishop, presbytery and patron, as well as the form of examination of candidates in this period in Scotland, was not based on any fixed standards, but that a somewhat flexible tradition on the nature of

1. Ibid. cf. W. Stewart, Collections and Observations, I. iv. 3.
2. Records of the Meeting of the Exercise of Alford, ed. T. Bell, New Spalding Club, Aberdeen, 1897, p. 58, referring to the meeting of 1664.
3. Ibid. pp.176,77: The presbytery was asked to examine the candidate for his competence in the "letter and received sense of Scripture, positive and polemical Divinitie, and Church Historie..."
examinations existed, is demonstrated by the nearly inconsequential changes made under different ecclesiastical orders.

The Kirk Session Record, for 5 February 1665, states that "the whilk day Mr. Gilbert Burnet was admitted Minister of Saltoune." The parish of Salton, established in the thirteenth century, was in Burnet's day a combination of two village centers with a population of about 700.


2. Statistical Account of Scotland, ed. Sir John Sinclair, Edinburgh, 1791-99, X. 253-55. "Saltoun" is from Soulis, a competitor for the Scottish crown. The parish was granted to the Dryburgh Abbey by Robert de Morville, and confirmed by Malcolm IV (1153-1165), and the church was confirmed to the uses of the abbey, c. 1220, while a vicarage settlement took place in 1268. --Transactions of the East Lothian Antiquary and Field Naturalists' Society, Haddington, 1960, VIII, 1960, p. 63. One of the more interesting accounts of the East Lothian area, not far removed from Burnet's time, is given by Dugald Butler, John Wesley and George Whitefield in Scotland, Edinburgh, 1898. Both Wesley and Whitefield visited the Lothians frequently and Butler collates from their letters and journals their impressions. The Appendix has lengthy extracts of Wesley's Journals concerning Scotland. R.W. Fraser, The Kirk and the Manse, Edinburgh, 1857, gives a detailed analysis of many of the parishes in East Lothian, a similar, but less comprehensive work, is John Martine's Reminiscences and Notices of Ten Parishes of the County of Haddington, Haddington, 1894. He was a schoolmaster at Bolton and Salton, and knew that history very well.

The villages where Burnet's pastoral work centered contained only 96 houses in 1794. It is not known what the number was in Burnet's day, but was probably no larger. Two thirds of property of the parish was owned by Fletcher, and nearly all of the remaining third by the Herdmanstons. --Statistical Account, X, 254. A cross section of the employment in the area, taken in 1755, is probably not unlike the situation in Burnet's time: five tailors, seventeen weavers, three bakers, three shoemakers, four carpenters, eight blacksmiths, three shopkeepers, seven millers, four inn-keepers, seven starchmakers, two cooperers, twelve limestone quarrers and burners. --Ibid. According to the same account, there were only 14 saddle horses and sixteen carriage horses, belonging to the estates, which is a symbol of the low economic base of the community.
The community, in a statistical analysis, reflects the stability, almost changeless conditions of the Scottish parish in the seventeenth century. The average number of baptisms per year from 1635 to 1700 was twenty-four. In just less than five years in that charge, Burnet administered ninety-two baptisms and officiated at seventy-nine burial services.

There were only rare cases of non-conformity recorded in the session reports, and even as late as 1755, all but seventeen inhabitants of the parish belonged to the established church. With two-thirds of the land in the parish owned by one person, the patron of the church, and the majority of the employments contingent upon that estate, there is good reason to believe that the patron, along with the presbytery and the bishop, was a major factor in the administration of the affairs of the parish.

Burnet outlined the parish minister's duties, in retrospect: "I first considered how to preach to the edification of the people who were of a low form two considerable families only excepted." Preaching

1. Ibid., p.255.


4. Vide succeeding paragraph on distributions to the poor and the establishment of a parish school. Burnet's close ties with the Fletcher family, and his tutoring of Andrew Fletcher, "the patriot", vide Chp. II.

was primary, with two sermons on each "Lord's Day" but he includes among the parish duties catechizing "all the old and young" in sessions lasting up to three hours, and visitation of the sick daily, of the whole parish twice yearly.

The first mark of the true Kirk, "the trew preaching of the Word of God", continued long after Knox as the hallmark of worship in the Kirk. Burnet began preaching at Salton, before he had finished his examinations by the presbytery, in fact before the presbytery had received the bishop's letter ordering the presbytery

1. The continuity of parish life and ministerial functions in seventeenth century Scotland is reflected by comparing Burnet's routine, as a minister of the episcopal Church in Scotland to other standards, e.g., an Act of the General Assembly in 1602 stated that the parish minister must preach once or twice weekly, visit all parishioners yearly, examine communicants before administering communion once yearly (Burnet said he did this four times yearly, Burnet op. cit. p. 471), meet with the session weekly for the purpose of executing matters of discipline, catechize regularly, and be resident.—Book of the Universal Kirk, Bannatyne Club, p. 517. George Garden, op. cit. par. ix, pp.2f, lists Forbes' outline of ministerial duties: Preaching, administering sacraments, care of the poor, discipline, visitation, and counselling. The last two items he calls a form of preaching. In the duties of the Pastoral Care proclaimed by Charles II, priorities are listed as follows: celebration of the day of H.M. most happy birth and restoration, preaching and administering the sacraments, execution of discipline, solemnization of marriage, registration of baptisms, marriages and burials.—Bodl. Rawlinson, Ms D. 142. f. 633.

1. Hadd. Presby. Rec. 9 October 1664. His trials were concluded on 15 Dec., ibid.

2. Salton Sess. Rec. 25 July, 1699 is an example: "No sermon, as minister being preaching at Pencaitland."


4. Leighton, Works, I, 353. In a biographical note, historian Jakob Burckhardt claims that a contemporary, "Mr. Buckle" (Henry Thomas Buckle) owes his paralysis of the brain to his exclusive obsession with the Scottish sermons of the seventeenth century, and diagnoses the case saying, "mind and imagination must choke in pedantry."—J.Burckhardt, Gesamtausgabe. Stuttgart, 1930, VII, 14.

5. Whose style was similar to Morus and Daille, French Protestants who impressed Burnet, except for the theatrical gestures of Morus.—Burnet, Supplement, p. 467.
Gray, the successor of Gillespie at Outer High Church, Glasgow, said, "He has the new guyse of preaching which Mr. Hew Benning (Binning) and Mr. Robert Leighton began, contemning the ordinarie way of exponing and dividing a text, of raising doctrines and uses, bot runs out in a discourse on some common head, in a high, romancing, unscriptureal style, tickling the ear for the present, and moving the affections in some, bot leaving, as he confesses, little or nought to the memorie and understanding." 1

William Guthrie's reaction to Leighton's preaching at Newbattle, is reported by Wodrow: "that in the time of hearing him, he was in heaven, but he could not bring one word with him, almost, out the Church dores." 2

Burnet depicts Leighton's sermons as "ravishing", "beautiful", and "grave" and said that "his way of preaching was so much above all others that I ever heard, or anything I could ever hope to attain to, that for some time after every sermon that I heard of his, I both preached myself and heard all others with a sort of indignation." 3

The only record of Burnet's preaching representing this period at Salton, is the antimony of the New School principles. It

is both garrulous and ambiguous.

The sermon was the main feature of the worship. While it is not always clear what the precise pattern of the worship was during the second episcopate which had no liturgical standard, it is evident that the established customs of reformed worship prevailed with only minor changes. Morer says, "We had not such thing as nay offices or liturgies used among us. The method in our ordinary assemblies on the Lord's Day was almost the same as with that of the Presbyterians." Another contemporary account outlines the parts of the worship as follows: metric Psalms, extemporaneous prayer, sermon, extemporaneous prayer, the Lord's prayer, a metric Psalm, the Doxology and the benediction.

1. Burnet, Discourse on the Memory of that Rare and Truely Virtuous Person, Sir Robert Fletcher of Salton, Edinburgh, 1665; one example of the cluttered style: "Hence followeth such an union of noble minds, that no force nor craft can unty the knot, which their entangled affections cooperating have sublimated beyond the bond of ordinary friendship, into that indissoluble love, whence flows the truest joyes that frail morality is capable of.

But while this pair of souls (or rather one enlivening two bodies) does grasp one another in the closest embraces, and with a disdainful smile laughs at misfortunes, as not within its reach: like a ship carried by the prosperous gales of a favourable wind, through smoothed waves to the desired harbour." pp. 5 ff.


3. J. Dowden, An Historical Account of the Scottish Communion Office, 1884, pp. 48 f.
William McMillan states that the third bell sounded just before the first prayer, and that in some cases the minister entered the sanctuary at this time. In rare cases the prayers of the Book of Common Prayer, a volatile issue in the Kirk, were used by the minister. Burnet, who used the English prayers from memory, perhaps without the congregation recognizing the source, had no negative response from the parishioners. He complained that the Scottish worship was extremely flat in all the parts of it. Our Church prayers are long without any order and often very dull. I must say this Church is the only one in the world which hath no rule for worship. Even the Presbyterians had their directory. How heavy and grievous must it be yt all the prayers of the Church depend upon the extemporary gift of the minister? The compiling of a grave liturgie, the prayers whereof shall be short and Scriptural and fitly depending one upon another, should be no inconsiderable service to the Church.


There is some ambiguity about this issue on the use of the English Prayerbook, e.g., Donaldson believes that the English offices were not commonly used in consecrations as Grub points out.—Grub, *op. cit.* III, 218; and G. Donaldson, "Scottish Ordination in the Restoration Period," Scottish Historical Review, Oct. 1954, XXX, iii, 2, p. 169. Grub uses James Gordon as evidence that the English rite was used. Kirkton, in *A Secret and True History of the Kirk of Scotland*, p. 221, in a subjective account, says that Archbishop Alexander Burnet of Glasgow used the Ordinal. Donaldson disputes this on the grounds that Burnet required the ordinand to kiss the Bible which is not in the English rite. This conclusion can only be conjectural, for the absence of a Scottish ordinal would invite a kind of eclecticism in administering rites. Burnet may have supplemented the English Ordinal. Kirkton's report does not say the method used by Burnet was English because he used the kissing of the Bible, rather, that Burnet "at his first diocesan meeting received and ordained five or six curates by the form of the English pontifical, designating them priests and making them kiss the Bible."—Kirkton, *op. cit.* p. 221.

George Mackenzie, Lord Advocate, wrote in 1690, "The reader will be astonished when we inform him that the way of worship in our church differed nothing from what the Presbyterians themselves paratised (except only that we used the Doxologie, the Lord's Prayer, and in Baptism the Creed, all which they rejected)." Burnet, who lamented the want of a liturgy in 1666, experienced first hand the violent opposition that even the minor changes in worship created among the covenanters. It is helpful to understand Burnet's experiences in Scotland, where he sees the need of establishing a liturgy, in order to gain perspective on his post-Revolutionary views of the English liturgy, particularly regarding its alterations in 1689. He encountered intransigent parties, in both situations, who were, respectively, poles apart.

Footnote 3 continued from preceding page.

practice of ordination. Burnet's complaint, above, is confirmed by the report of one of Leighton's ordination ceremonies in which there is no evidence of form.—Butler, *Life of Leighton*, p. 581; a similar amorphous ceremony in *J. Craven, History of the Church in Orkney, 1662-1688*, pp. 27, 68.


2. The minor "innovations" Burnet names are the use of the Lord's Prayer, the Doxology, and the minister's kneeling for private devotion when he enters the pulpit. Burnet, *A Vindication of the Church and State of Scotland*, Glasgow, 1673, pp. 182 f.

3. The anonymous, *Case of the Present Affiliated Clergy*, 1690, preface, says that worship was the same in church and conventicle, and supports Burnet's experience with the covenanters, that even "Amen" gave offence to some.
The "reader", in Burnet's parish the schoolmaster, was another symbol of the restoration of episcopacy. Scougal, like Burnet, thought that the reader's office was an integral part of worship, but it was not popularly so considered. For our study, the significant fact of the "reader" is its being a sign of the importance of the Bible in Scottish worship, and therefore a factor in Burnet's experience as he developed his conception of the ministry.

The Sacrament of the Lord's Supper was served, on an average, once a year in Scotland. Burnet said, "I gave the Sacrament 4 times a year and spoke to every individual person that desired to receive it." He is slightly mistaken according to the session records which reveal that the sacrament was celebrated thirteen times in five years at Salton. Burnet did serve the

6. Salton Sess. Rec. Usually, the Sacrament was celebrated in the winter, the spring and fall seasons, e.g., in 1667: Feb. 3, May 20, and Sept. 30.
sacrament more frequently than either his predecessor or successor at Salton, and on two occasions the session minutes reveal that he expressed his desire to the elders in advance about serving communion, which may indicate that even three times yearly was not customary. Burnet, who in 1689 did not think that the abolition of kneeling at the Lord's Supper was a loss in its religious significance, was, in Scotland, accustomed to celebrating the sacrament while seated around long tables with the elders serving the elements. The record of the Haddington Presbytery visitation of the parish in 1674 states: "There are of utensils belonging to the Church, viz.:--Two silver Cupps, gifted to the Church by Mr. Gilbert Burnet at his dismissal, a table cloth, a basin for the Communion, and ane other for Baptisme, and two towels, and a Church Bible."

The continuity of parish life in Scotland, in conforming areas such as the Haddington Presbytery, is reflected in the minutes of the kirk's session. Discipline, correntio fraterma, described in the Second Book of Discipline as "spiritual government" of parishioners, was the most important function of the session.

1. Ibid., 9 April and 22 July 1666.
2. The Case of the Present Afflicted Clergy, n.a., "preface." Under episcopacy, the elders were not ordained; cf. Henderson, op.cit. p. 155. The reception of the sacrament was always preceded by a preparatory service on Friday or Saturday, and a thanksgiving service on Monday.--Ibid.
4. II. Book of Discipline, i.9. It would be prejudicial to infer, as Ivo M. Clark does, that the accent came on correntio and not fraterma.--Vide, A History of Church Discipline in Scotland, Aberdeen, 1929. Acts of charity are not so easily, or necessarily recorded. In Salton at least, the large number of cases of discipline are off-set by cases of benevolence, sometimes with the same persons as the object.
The Salton session records from the year 1635 to 1646 reveal no changes in procedure on cases of discipline and the minutes are oblivious of the political disturbances in Scotland. The same records continue without noticeable interruption through the Revolutionary Settlement. While the Act Recissory abolished the Westminster standards as a constitutional basis for discipline in the kirk, there is no evidence in Salton that any changes were made, or needed to be. The pattern of judicial control at the parish level seems to follow a traditional custom much older than the Westminster Assembly's Book of Discipline.

The elder, according to the Second Book of Discipline 1581, was empowered to assist the minister in the administration of the sacraments, visiting the sick, and admonition of offenders. The place of the presbytery in the judicial system evolved at a later date than the entity of the kirk session, and this may account for the near autonomy and continuity of the elders in the "spiritual government". This account of the judicial structure, particularly


3. A valuable summary of the evolution of the "exercise", or circle of ministers who gathered, sometimes with laity, to hear comments or an "exercise" on the Scripture, appears in Henderson, "The exercise", Records of the Scottish Church History Society, VII, 24.
the power of the session of the parish church, in the Scottish church, is important background material for discovering influences that effected Burnet's conception of the ministry, especially since his own experience as a pastor of a parish church was limited to the Scottish scene.

The types of cases of discipline, were fornication, adultery, drunkenness, slander, sabbath breaking and absence from services of worship. The session never exercised "greater" excommunication, i.e., total exclusion from all affairs of the church, during Burnet's pastorate, but "lesser" excommunication from specific services of worship or the sacrament was employed. In one report, it is said, "The town being searched all men found at church except those who were necessitat to stay at home." Fornication heads the list of most frequent crimes against "the spiritual government" of the parish. The punishment, or reconciliation, of the offender varied greatly, even when the offense was similar, which indicates personal factors were probably taken into account by the judicatory which the clerk did not record. An example of discipline in the case of a woman convicted of fornication was the sentence to stand by the main door of the church, three Sundays consecutively, in "sackclothe, bair-headed, until the third bell ended and the minister entered the pulpit." For twenty-three additional Sundays she was committed to occupy the place of

2. Ibid. from February through August, in 1665, Burnet's first year in the parish, fourteen cases were prosecuted.
repentance. Public confession was recommended by the minister for a man who had committed adultery. The session approved this discipline and demanded that the confession be heard on three Sundays. In one case a man who confessed to illicit relations with his wife before their marriage was nevertheless sentenced "to appear before the congregation." Another penitent who had slandered the name of his employer was "ordained to acknowledge his fault publickly in the presence of the congregation." Other offenses included the "rebuke" of a church officer for not wearing the proper cloak, and the ordering of parishioners to "stay upon the dyots of the catechism" for a specified time.

It would appear that only the lesser educated persons were called before the session, and in fact the kirk session exercised a form of social control over servants. There are several cases dealing with correction of recalcitrant servants. Burnet's parish included only two land owners, and there is no evidence of any professional class in the community, which means that the fourteen member session must have been somewhat representative of the

1. After sixteen Sundays of this treatment she announced to the session that she wanted to marry the accomplice and the sentence was withdrawn.—Salton Sess. Rec. 1666, passim.
2. Ibid. 1 April ff.
3. Ibid. 11 February 1668.
4. Ibid. 7 May 1665.
people. Burnet took a case of discipline involving one of the gentry, St. Clair of Herdmanston, to the presbytery level for judgement. Perhaps the continuity of the parish judicatories in seventeenth century Scotland can be accounted for, in part, by the powers vested in the elders who continued a tradition of discipline that originated in the Reformation period. At Salton, for example, the session acted upon cases of discipline in the absence of a minister. In at least one case, the session charged Burnet, as minister, to carry out discipline. There is no record of the public pronouncement of absolution in session records.

3. Ibid. 5 July 1665.
4. The form that could be used, according to William McMillan, Worship of the Scottish Reformed Church, p. 337: "In the name and authority of Jesus Christ, I, the Minister of his Blessed evangel, with consent of the whole Ministry and Church, absolve thee, N from the sentence of excommunication from the sin by thee committed, and from all censures laid against thee for the same before according to thy repentance, and pronounce thy sin to be loosed in Heaven and thee to be received again to the society of Jesus Christ, to His body the Church, to the participation of His sacraments, and finally to the fruition of all His benefits. In the Name of the Father, the Son, and the Holy Spirit. SO BE IT."
A major function of the kirk session was the care of the poor, and the elders of Salton carried on a significant program of economic aid. All the poor were given regular distribution of funds. Special cases were met, and recorded in the minutes. The most ambitious welfare project was the acquisition of land from Fletcher, stones from the quarry, and funds from collections that enabled the session to build and maintain six cottages for impoverished families without an employable head of family.

On 24 June, 1666, Burnet advised the session of a visitation by the presbytery, scheduled for Salton on 5 July. The presbytery minutes reveal the nature of this visitation held by the authority of the bishop, but without his presence. The local church, in the second episcopate, saw very few signs of "prelacy". The visitation began with a sermon by Charteris, and when "the Minister being removed, the Elders who were present wer interroget concerning his doctrine, discipline, lyf and conversation. All possessed ymseleves well satisfied in the foresaid particulars. He being called in, was appren." Burnet in turn was asked to give a testimonial of the elders. The presbytery was informed that Lady Saltoun desired a "chamber with a chimney divided by a partition" to be annexed to the nave where she and her family could sit in comfort out of sight of the common laity. The presbytery diplomatically referred the problem to the bishop. While the presbytery

1. Frequent entries in the minutes demonstrate the effort spent in caring for the needy, for example, "Mrs Geddes" was given 20 schillings for a coat, 22 July 1664; a "blind man", a "suppliant", "a stranger" were recipients noted in one meeting of the session.
5. Ibid. CH 2. 185, no action was taken during Burnet's incumbency.
deferred the matter regarding Lady Saltoun's request, it did recommend that a school be established at Salton. There was no episcopal initiative involved in this policy decision. Burnet responded that the session had already started plans to construct a building and employ a schoolmaster. Presbytery's concern in maintaining parish schools had an early precedent with the Act of 1616 stating that "a scoale salbe establisheit, and a fitt persone appointit to teache the same, upoun the expenses of the parrochinnairs ... in everie parroche of this kingdome."

After preaching and discipline, Burnet listed catechizing as one of his major responsibilities at Salton. Throughout his ministry he held that catechesis was an essential part of the ministry. "I quickly brought all my parish to such a degree of

1. Ibid.

2. Burnet's interest in the Salton parish school was long standing. A gift willed for the purpose of maintaining board, room, and clothes for 30 scholars amounted to £2222:3:6.--Bodl. MSS Add. D.23.f. 144. The will was so liberal that two teachers were maintained, the apprentice fees were covered, relief was given to the poor and supplies for the parish library were available on a yearly basis.--Statistical Account of Scotland, X, 257. Burnet's fund, according to his own directive, was administered by the lords of the two estates in the parish, the session, and the minister. His own stipend, while at Salton, was just over 40 pounds per annum, supplemented with 1 chalder of wheat, 1 chalder barley, 6 bolls oats, 27 bolls of oatmeal.—Ibid. p255.


4. His father's classes in the catechism for the family and servants impressed him, vide Cockburn, A Specimen of some... remarks on publick affairs... specially relating to Scotland; occasion'd by Dr. Burnet's History of his own Times, London, n.d., p. 28; Brodie, op. cit. Diary, Aug. 27, 1661; and "preface" of Elizabeth Burnet's, A Method of Devotion, London, 1698, in which Burnet expresses his indebtedness to his father's example.
knowledge," he wrote, "that they answered me to the sense of the questions I asked without sticking to the words of any catechisme."

In the ministry of catechesis and training communicants, the incomplete form of episcopacy in the second episcopate is vividly set out. Confirmation by the bishop was not practised in Scotland.

If the laying-on of hands, marking the entry into the full communion of the church through the ministry of a successor of Christ's Apostles, is a mark of episcopacy, the Scottish Church did not enjoy this rite.

1. Burnet, Supplement, p. 1471. In this pastoral duty, Burnet agrees fully with Scougal, only Scougal lists catechizing before preaching as a major task of the minister.---H. Scougal, Works, 209. Catechizing from house to house was an accepted Scottish custom in most parishes.---cf. II Book of Discipline, iv. 7. For Leighton, catechizing was the only way to counteract the ineffectiveness of preaching.---Works, II, 53. Clarke believes that catechical classes at Salton were held during the hour between the first and second bell, each Sunday.---Clarke and Foxcroft, op. cit. p. 57. There is no record of this in Burnet's writings, nor in the session record. It is true, that was the custom in some parishes. Burnet catechized three times a week. Cf. M. Le Clerc, The Life of Dr. Burnet, late Bishop of Sarum, with his character and an Account of his Writings. London, 1715, pp. 13, 14.

2. Cf. Robert Stevenson, The Communion and Some Other Matters in Dunfermline in the 17th Century, passim; and Matthias Symson, Canon at Lincoln, points out the limited episcopacy in The Present State of Scotland, pp. 241 ff. Butler, Life of Leighton, gives a number of insights into the limited episcopacy in his discussion of Leighton's bishoprics in Scotland, but is misleading when he suggests that the English liturgy was used in public worship in "the Chapel Royal at Holyrood, and the parish church of Salton, where Gilbert Burnet was minister."---p. 352. Leighton does point out that the sacrament was rarely served throughout Scotland.---Leighton, Works, West ed., VII, 177.
Pastoral duties at Salton were complemented by Burnet's appetite for private study. The minister's library became an important influence on his developing a sense of the order of the church and its ministry. At this period of his life, Cyprian became a chief source as he was sorting out the nature of the primitive constitution of the church. For a period of about two years he experimented with rigorous ascetic practices and concentrated on "all the Mystical Authors" he could read, especially Teresa's works. His early training in a classical school of philosophy, which he tended to deprecate, became a counter-balance to the mystics. It is unusual to find a complete list of the books used by a seventeenth century minister, but the report Burnet returned to the presbytery during its visitation of the parish mentions the library mortified by Norman Leslie, Burnet's penultimate predecessor. Added to this library were books left by Patrick Scougal who was elevated to the see of Aberdeen. The library is interesting as it represents the sources used by Leslie, Scougal and Burnet. All three were trained at Aberdeen and were indebted to the Forbesian tradition. Leslie graduated a Master of Arts from King's College in 1631, and was opposed by the presbytery, 1644-1647, for his episcopal loyalties. His close friendship with

2. Ibid. p. 73.
Fletcher suggests that the patron was sympathetic if not an advocate of episcopacy. The dominate names in the library are George Buchanan, John Forbes, Andre Rivet, David and Phillip Pareus, Francis Junij, Martin Chemnitz, Thomas Aquinas, Donne, Rutherford, Goodwin, Taylor and Baxter. Only a few Scottish sources acquired a place in the library. One of Burnet's last transactions with the Haddington Presbytery was to donate his set of Calvin's Commentaries to the library, which may give an indication of the theological position of one retiring from the pastorate to teach divinity.

1. Hadd. Presby. Rec. 9 Nov. 1669. The complete list of books is given in order to show the scope of continental and English reformed theology. This is not to suggest that Burnet's thought hinges on the content of the library which largely was not his choosing. The primary interest is a study of the theological sources available to a Scottish parish minister. A few annotations are parenthetically added to the presbytery notes:

An Interlinear Bible; Pagnino (Latin Bible: Italian orientalist, 15th Century, Buxtorf recommended his Latin Bible translated from the Hebrew and Greek texts); Francis Junij or Junius, (French reformed scholar, studied at Lyon and Geneva, fled from the Inquisition to Antwerp, a chaplain to the Prince of Orange, 1568. Translated the O.T. into Latin, professor of theology at Neustadt, Heidelberg and Leyden); Newman's Concordance; Thomas Aquinas (Works); Wallace, Opera Omnia; Bodij Commentary on Ephesians; Gomar (Dutch Calvinist, studied at Oxford, Professor at Leyden. Calvinists in Holland called Gomarists, d. 1641); Martin Chemnitz, Harmony of the Gospels (German Protestant, developed a doctrinal system of protestant theology, 1565, Saxony churches used the confession he wrote—Locl Theologici. Harmonia Evangelica was an unfinished work); David and Phillip Pareus, Works (Mostly commentaries); The English Annotations; Beza, Annotations in Nov. Test.; Calvin's Institutes; Eusebius, Hist. Eccl.;

Fuller, Sight of Palestine; Diodati, Annotations in the Bible; John Forbes, Instructions; Anthony Burgess (Spiritual Resining); John Davenport, Commentaries; William Pemble, Works; Bernard, a Commentary; Thomas Hayne, (English linguist, wrote life of Luther); Jermin, Commentary on Ecclesiastes; Stock, Commentary on Malachi; n.a. Commentary on Hebrews; Jeremy Taylor, Sermons; Cartwright, Harmony of the Gospels; Andre Rivet (French Calvinist, Professor at Leydon in 1620, governor of Prince of Orange--(William III); Laurentii
Explicatio locorum difficil. in Epist. Pauli.; Gerardus Vossius (Gisbert Voet, Professor at Utrecht); Dickson, Therapeutica Sacra; Alstedii, Triforium Propheticum (Commentary); Simpson, Hieroglyphica; Gaußen, Defence of the Ministry; Spelman, Tithing; Rutherford, Due Right of Presbyteries; Gillespie, Aaron's Rod; Gillespie, Miscellaneous Questions; Jus Divinum Ministerii Evangelici (Rutherford) and Jus Divinum Regimini Ecclesiasticum; John Collins, Vindiciae Ministerii Evangelici (Covenanter); Cudworth, The Inconsistencies of the Independent way with Scripture; Baylies, Diffusive from the Errors of the Time; Hudson, Vind. of the Essence and Unitie of the Church; Twisse, contra Cotton; Daniel Festle, The Dippers Dipt (vide D.N.B.); Goodwin, on Justification; Jeanes, Mixture of Scholastick and Practical Divinitie; Baxter, Proof of Infants Church Membership, Apologie, Confession of Faith, the Saints' Everlasting Rest; Warren, Justification (John of Hatfield, a calvinist); John Trapp, Annotations on the Old and New Testament (Oxford M. A. 1624, took the Covenant in 1643); Scaller, Comm. on Romans; Isaac Ambrose; Gurnal, Christian Armours; Colvil, Refreshing Streams; Rutherford, Christ's Dying; Strong, Select Sermons; Griffith, God's Building; William Fenner, Christ's Alarm (Pembroke and Oxford grad. wrote eleven titles, puritan); Finax, Microcosmographicus; Mantor, Comm. on James; Pareus, Cathechetica; Chemnitz, Examin. Council. Trid. pars. 1 & 2; Biblia Hebraica; de Vocatione Efficaci; Hemming, Postilla; Partitiones Theologicae.

George Buchanan, Historia (educated in Paris, became a protestant in 1537, tutor of Mary Stuart, and presenter of James VI, his translation of the Psalms has excellent poetic style, vide, David Irving, Memoirs of the Life and Writing of George Buchanan, 1587; Arissus, Comm. on Hebrews; Clark, Mirur for Saints and Sinners; Hutcheson, Comm. on Hosea, Joel, Amos, Haggai, Zechariah, and Malachi; Gee, Treatise on Prayer; William Fenner, Sacrament of the Faithful; Divyn Message to the Elect Soul, Treatise on Conscience, Treatise on Affections; Fuller, Temptations of Christ; Cotton, Eccles. & Canticles; Ferguson, Comm. on Phil. and Coloss.; Goodwin, Tryal of a Christians Growth; The Reconciler Bible; Simon, Sight and Faith; W. Spurstow, Well of Salvation; Alexander Ross, View of Religions (Scots puritan, did not sign the covenant, patronized by Charles I); John Collins, Christian's Lessons; Fyv Sermons in Fyv Styles; Goodwin, Return of Prayer, Aggravation of Sin, Christian's Ingagement for the Gospel; Martialis, Epigrammata; Antiquae Historiae; Watson, Art of Divyn Contentment; Roberts, Believers Evidences; Speech of the Kirk of Scotland to her children; Charles Herle, Christian Widows; Misbet, Golden Chaine of Tym; Theological Rules; Amesius, de Consciente; Mortoun, Touchstone of Conversion; Sowman, Covenant of Grace; Sanders, Exalt to heal Religious Wounds; Crofton, Catech.; God's Ordinance; Baxter, True Christianity; Row, Gram. Heb.; Vincentius, Linsens adversus Haereses; Vademecum, Concordance; Antidote against Arminianism; Novum Test. Graec; Buchanan, Poemata; Donn, Devotions; Modern Pulpit; A New Cast of Characters; The Acts of the 2nd Parliament of Charles; Cotton, Singing Praises; The Scripture Harmonie; Taylor, Discourses of Baptism and Prayer; A Treatise of the Worcester Concord.—Hadd. Presby. Rec. 6 September 1666.
Chapter II

METHODS OF EDUCATION FOR THE MINISTRY

Professor of Divinity

On the second day of December, 1669, Gilbert Burnet took his chair as Professor of Divinity at Glasgow University. The history of the divinity chair at Glasgow is tangential to most of the more prominent features of the history of the post-Reformation Scottish Church. Andrew Melville occupied the position in 1574, when he began reform movements that effected higher education throughout Scotland. He taught Hebrew, Chaldaic, Syriac, dogmatics, and Bible. Under the administration of the covenanters, a junior chair was established, and the divinity courses were taught by Robert Baillie and David Dickson, the latter noted for his Therapeutica Sacra. In 1653, Dickson transferred to the University of Edinburgh, and Baillie became principal. John Young was then appointed to the junior chair. He was Burnet's immediate predecessor, and Burnet was the first appointee of the episcopal period after the Restoration. The second chair was abolished and once again, one professor bore the teaching assignments for the entire divinity program. In this capacity as a professor, Burnet's methods of


2. "None of Burnet's successors in the Episcopalian period was equal to him in distinction or ability," according to J.G. Riddel. J.G. Riddell, "Divinity", Fortuna Domus, 1952.
education for the ministry provide some insight into the conception he held of the vocation. "My chief business," he wrote, "was to form the students of Divinity right, and I laid down a plan for it which made all my friends uneasy, because they thought it was not possible for me to hold out long in it, yet I let no part of it fall all the while I stayed there..." The Royal Commission, issued

1. Burnet, Supplement, p. 477. Burnet was not the first professor at Glasgow to take a self-taxing load of courses. James Melville wrote of his uncle's schedule, which ranged into the liberal arts: "...So falling to work with a few number of capable heirars, sic as mought be instructars of vthers thereafter, he teached them the Greik Grammer, the Dialectic of Ramus, the Rhetoric of Taleus, with the practise thereof in Greik and Latin authors, namlie, Homer, Hesiod, Phocildies, Theognides, Pythagoras, Isocrates, Pindarus, Virgill, Horace, Theocritus, etc. From that he enterit to the Mathematiks, and teached the Elements of Euclid, the Arithmetic and Geometrie of Ramus, the Geographie of Dyonisius, the Tables of Montor, the Astrologie of Aratus. From that to the Morall Philosophie; he teached the Ethicks of Aristotle, the Offices of Cicero, Aristotle de Virtutibus. Cicero's Paradoxes and Tusculanes, Aristotle's Polytics, and certean of Plato's Dialogues. From to the Naturall Phosphie; he teached the bulks of the Physics, De Ortu, De Coelo etc, also Plato and Fernelius."—Mr. James Melville's Diary, Bann. Club ed. pp. 38, 39.

These courses were in addition to a divinity course which included the study of the complete text of the Scriptures in the ancient languages. James Melville adds that many scholars came to Glasgow from "St. Androis" to claim the advantage of the discipline under his uncle. Vide, Stewart Mechie, Records of the Scottish Church History Society, Vol. XIV, part ii, 1961, p.119 for the syllabus on the divinity studies at St. Andrews. St. Andrews was the first of the Scottish universities to develop a divinity school in reformed theology.—cf. T. McCrie, Life of Melville,1819 ed, I,242, 252.

Henderson, op. cit., p. 39, establishes the fact that Aberdeen, under Patrick Forbes, adopted the French reformed church's method of putting the patronage of the divinity chair in the hands of the presbytery. Marischal College established a chair of divinity in 1616.
in 1661 for the visitation of the universities in Scotland, met at Glasgow in the September of 1664. The commission's recommendation for a second chair in divinity bears out Burnet's claim that the work he did was extraordinary. Probably the reason that the divinity chair was not divided, was the lack of available funds during the second episcopate, when the university lost allocations from the bishoprics of Galloway and the Deanry of Glasgow.

The student life of the college in the High Street of Glasgow, like the parish life in Salton, did not reflect the political tensions that existed in some strata of Scottish life with the change to episcopacy. By the Recissory Act the Chancellorship


2. Munimenta, II 478-79. The premium on education as a means to control and subdue a nation, as well as train persons for vocations, is underlined in the address to the Royal Commission, 30 May 1661: "Our Soverane Lord considering that it apperteanes to his Hieness care to oversie all universities, colledges, and seminaries of learning within this his ancient kingdome of Scotland, and that it conduces verie much for the advanceing of religion preventing and suppressing of shisme and heresie in the church and for stirring up and inciteing all ranks and conditions of people therein to their due obedience and alledgeance to his Majestie their righteous prince that sober learned well qualified and loyall persons be established and maintained professors masters and members in the saids universities colledges and schools."—Munimenta, II 474.

3. The parliament granted subsidies on credit from the vacant stipends within the diocese of Glasgow, but this did not off-set the deficits.—Munimenta, I, 396.
of the university reverted to its status under Charles I, which meant that Andrew Fairfoul, an ex-presbyterian, held that post as the Archbishop of Glasgow.

The majority of students Burnet guided in divinity studies had received an M.A. degree from Glasgow. The medieval standards continued in the curriculum for that degree, and it was comparable to the Marischal College course in which Aristotelianism prevailed. With the program of study Burnet developed, a personal involvement with the students in the academic and religious life was possible. He stressed the place of dialogue in both the lecture and devotional exercises. On Mondays, each student would deliver and defend an essay on a major doctrinal point. After the discussion, Burnet presented a lecture, in Latin, on that subject. The following day a lecture and discussion in theology was given, with the intention of gradually explicating a whole theological system over an eight to ten year period. On Wednesday, Burnet read a lecture


2. The only extant account of students he instructed are the bursary lists. A paragraph discussing these follows.

3. Vide Chp. I, supra. J.D. Mackie in his history, The University of Glasgow, 1451-1951, p. 102, writes, "It is worth noting how strongly the medieval tradition persisted."

4. The results of this nascent theology appear thirty years later in Burnet's Exposition of the Thirty-nine Articles, a point which will be discussed in Chp. III, infra.
on passages of Scripture which was meant to become the basis of a critical commentary on the Bible. Languages were studied and practised in the context of an exercise on the Psalms at the Thursday sessions. Each student would recite or hear the Psalm in Hebrew, Greek, Latin, and English. On alternate Thursdays, Burnet lectured on early Church history, using the Apostolic Canons as a source of reference. An unusual feature of Burnet's program for the divinity students was the Friday sermons by the students. Burnet assigned texts, and offered criticisms. Each evening, after the prayers, Burnet offered extemporaneous comments on a passage of Scripture, and then examined the students concerning the progress of their studies to discover difficulties they encountered.  

This outline of subjects shows a rather unique emphasis upon sermon preparation and delivery. When John Forbes, whose reputation was an ideal for Burnet, held the corresponding chair at Aberdeen, he taught a practical theology course of lectures, but preaching and sermon analysis was not a part of his instruction. In the post-Reformation period, the divinity students had an opportunity to hear their professor preach Sunday, in the church of Govan.  

1. This record is left by Burnet himself, in Supplement, 478, and by his son, History Own Time, II, 679, 80.  
2. Innes, Fasti, Aberg., p. 236.  
One of the omissions in Burnet's syllabus that appeared in the curriculum of 1664, was the study of Chaldaic and Syriac, and the frequent rehearsal in controversial theology. There is some contrast as well between Burnet's methods and the educational backgrounds of the covenanters, Douglas, Dickson, Blair, Rutherford, and Cant whom he singles out as "leading preachers". Burnet said that they had "something of Hebrew, and very little Greek: Books of controversy with Papists, but above all with the Arminians, was the height of their study." To this he added that they studied several German theological systems, commentaries on Scripture, and practical books. Burnet's report of the divinity education of the covenanters is probably subjective, and certainly needs documentation. In fact the sources used by Rutherford, if they are an indication, range from a thorough grasp of the Fathers, church history, and exegesis, to a fairly comprehensive view of Hooker, the Aberdeen Doctors, and Erasmus. Burnet's view of the syllabus of studies effecting certain covenanters, does, however, approximate the directive given by the General Assembly commission of September, 1642, to Baillie and Dickson, at Glasgow.

1. Munimenta, II, 484.

2. This somewhat incomplete and biased picture is found in Burnet's History Own Time, I, 34.

3. Vide Rutherford's, Lex Rex, 1644. cf. H.M.B. Reid's The Divinity Principals in the University of Glasgow, 1917, pp. 252 ff; on presbyterian Strange.

The scant corroborating evidence that we have concerning Burnet's thoughts on theological education close to this period in his life underlines his desire for practical theology: "But it is more to be wished than hoped for, to see Plato's Commonwealth built upon the ruins and dregs of Romulus. We ought to converse much with the writings the Ancients have left us concerning the Qualifications and Employments of the Clergy, such as Nazianzen's Apologetick, Chrysostom's Books of the Priesthood, and Gregory the Great's Books of the Pastoral care." Burnet's association with Leighton was even more involved after his move to Glasgow, and Leighton's attitude to theological education, expressed to divinity students at Edinburgh, may have had some manifestation in Burnet's professorship:

Let everyone that desires to be not merely a so-called theologian or divine, but taught of God—a true disciple and lover of God—resolve within himself above all things to make this sacred volume his constant study, intermingling his reading with frequent and fervent prayer; for if this be omitted, his labour will be altogether in vain, supposing him to be ever so well versed in these books, and have besides all the advantages that can be had from the knowledge of languages and the assistance of commentators and interpreters.2

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Andrew Dalzel, History of the University of Edinburgh, 2 vols., Edinburgh, 1862, II, 382, gives a picture of the routine of the divinity professor, who "must teach the students the right method of learning Theology: what they should read first, or at the beginning, and what is necessary afterwards, and in all things which they should chiefly exercise themselves in. He shall teach publicly on the Tuesday and Friday, betwixt eleven and twelve in the forenoon, and he shall be present on Monday at an exercise in Scots of the students in Theology. On the Thursdays he shall take care that one of the students make trial privately in Latin upon some head of Theology, both by teaching and by sustaining theses; the Professor himself, in the meanwhile, moderating in the disputation."
There are no extant dictats of Burnet's lectures, but there is some basis for concluding that Burnet presented an eclectic theology balanced toward Arminianism. In the tradition of Forbes and Leighton, he was not at home with any kind of exclusivistic dogmatics. Whatever his theological position was, Burnet's involvement with the cause of the Hamiltons, who opposed the Lauderdale administration in Scotland, led to his resignation on September tenth, 1674. He simply says, "Upon many cogent reasons I have given you this trouble to tell you that I have resigned, like as by these presents I doe resign my place of Professor of Theologie in your University, and I pray God direct you and the faculty to make a worthy choice."

1. Kirkton, op. cit., p. 30, associated Burnet with English theology and deprecated his "newest English diction". Elliot, not known for his accurate reporting, said that Burnet's presbyterian mother complained of her son's "preaching up the Presbyterian interest, and the next day he would preach the contrary."--op. cit., p. 6; Cunningham, a strict presbyterian agrees with the Non-juror Elliot, that Burnet blended "the opposite doctrines of Arminius and Calvin with great eloquence and applause to the no small admiration of the vulgar."--Clarke and Foxcroft, op. cit., p. 84.

2. His Memoirs of the Lives and Actions of James and William Dukes of Hamilton... In which an account is given of the rise and progress of the Civil Wars of Scotland and other great Transactions... Together with letters written by King Charles I. never before published. All drawn out, or copied from the originals, was written at this time, when he spent his holidays at the Hamiltons. The Memoirs were not published until 1677-8. Vide, Clarke and Foxcroft, op. cit., pp. 97-100. He married Lady Margaret Kennedy, Daughter of the Earl of Cassiles, and a close friend of the Duchess of Hamilton. According to his son, Burnet refused the offer of four bishoprics vacated in Scotland during his tenor at Glasgow.--History Own Time, II, 681. Failure of government policy and the animosity between Hamilton and Lauderdale account for his resigning the post at the university.

The resident college, such as in Burnet's case at Glasgow, was an important sociological factor in seventeenth century Scotland. Burnet, trained in a college that demanded celibacy for the regents, was himself unmarried at the time he accepted the chair of divinity, and probably had a good deal of influence on the community of scholars with whom he lived. A sketch of the ecclesiastical loyalties of his students who became ordained may provide some insight into the environment of their theological training. Burnet, the object of the personal animus of many High Churchmen in the English scene, found his Scottish background somewhat abused. It may be instructive to know just what were the stances of those who were the products of his classroom. Kirkton disowns that any presbyterian alliances were possible with Burnet, whom, he says, was "placed in Glasgow colledge, to breed our young divines; and what a fry his disciples were, the Lord knows better than the godly people of Scotland who refused to hear them or own them. Some of them declared themselves Papists..." On the other hand Robert Moray highly approved of Burnet's instruction. By the 17 June, 1666 Act of Moderators, it was necessary for students of theology to take the Oath of Allegiance, including Master of Arts students who had previously subscribed. One of the difficulties

3. Moray to Tweeddale, Letters no. LXXXVII, Sept. 22, 1670, from Whitehall.
of gaining a comprehensive view of Burnet's students is the incomplete records extant, however, the lists of Bursars in theology for the years of Burnet's tenor provide fourteen names of candidates for the ministry. One brief glimpse of the student life remains in the notes of Josiah Chorley, an English non-conformist who was at Glasgow.

Philip Bowie, a student of Burnet who began divinity studies without a prior Master of Arts degree, served the chaplaincy in a Scottish regiment in Holland, but as an ordained priest of the Church of England. Another student, David Robb, was ordained by Wishart, Bishop of Edinburgh, who had also ordained Burnet. Robb held a vicarage in Erskine and a prebendary of Glasgow cathedral. He retired from the ministry before the transition of the Scottish Church back to presbyterian order, but his successor at Erskine was evicted at that time.

1. Bursarij Theologiae, Jan. 1670-1672, Munimenta, III. 267, 268. The Nomina Adolescentium Theologiae Studiosorum, Munimenta, II, 237-60, have a gap for the years 1664 through 1692.

2. He refers to Burnet as "the famous professor" and spoke highly of the "learning and piety" of one of Burnet's students.—Munimenta, III, 38-9. The Laureati of 1672 include four Englishmen among the twelve graduates. Cf. Innes, op. cit., p. 234. Chorley notes that they arose at five a.m. Had strict observance of the Lord's Day, with exercises upon the sermons heard. He thought that Leighton's approach to the church and ministry would pre-empt any need for non-conformity, if it were followed in England. Innes, op. cit. p. 231., cf. Munimenta, I, 16.


4. Ibid. III, 192. He sold property to the college for home sites for the masters.—Munimenta, I, 485, 6.
The geographic center of covenanting became the place of ministry for several divinity students of Burnet. Their professor understood the southwest country from a number of personal experiences related to the accommodation conferences between the conformists and non-conformists which Leighton promoted. Burnet, Nairn and Charteris were three of the six Bishop's Evangelists who unsuccessfully attempted to quell the revolutionary forces centered in many of the southwest parishes. Burnet's *A Modest and Free Conference betwixt a Conformist and a Nonconformist, About the Present Distempers of Scotland*, 1669, and, *A Vindication of the Church and State of Scotland*, 1673, direct themselves to the covenanting issue. George Pollok was presented to the living at Kilmarnock, later called Laigh Kirk. John Ross and John Shields, covenanters executed in Edinburgh in 1666, were from that parish. Five parishioners of Laigh Kirk, who were taken prisoners at Bothwell Bridge in 1679, died at sea en route to an American plantation. Yet another member of that congregation was hanged in Edinburgh, 15 December 1682, six months after Pollok was instituted. John Nisbet, from a famous covenanting family, was executed at Kilmarnock the next year. Pollok died the year of the Revolution, but his successor was forcibly driven out by the parishioners who threatened his life. Reference is made to the internal strife

2. Ibid., III, 105.
concomitant with these parishes because Burnet was aware of these factors and it must have had some influence on the methods of education that he implemented. One of his students, John Watson, was presented to the living at Auchinleck, in the presbytery of Ayr. His edict of admittance was administered under the protection of three troops of the dragoons, 23 June 1680, but ten years later he was ejected from the church by ninety armed parishioners. The year after Burnet had preached in that area, hoping to gain a reconciliation with the non-conformists, troops were quartered on the parish and the parishioners were fined 3500 merks by the Privy Council. Two of the four episcopal ministers in that parish were badly treated.

William Abbercrombie was instituted at the parish of Maybole and Kirkbride a month after leaving the divinity school. In 1690, he was deprived by the 25 April Act of Parliament.


3. Official minutes relating to this parish's relationship with the second episcopate, vide, Extracts of the Provincial Synod of Glasgow and Ayr, 1687-90, Maitland Club, Glasgow, 1847.

Similar patterns apply to several other students for whom records exist. John Taylor, after ordination, was presented to Liberton in Lanarkshire. He was ejected from the parish of Mearns, a living he held in 1690, and in 1703, was inhibited as a Non-juror, from preaching in the Castle of Doune. John Cameron held the charge at Inch and Saluseat in the presbytery of Stranraer, but was deprived, 9 September 1690, for praying for King James, and declining to read the Proclamation of the Estates. One member of his family was murdered. The High Church episcopal loyalties of Robert Finnie, who was under Burnet for two years, have been noted by Wodrow. Finnie was deprived 6 January 1692. He had been forcibly driven out by the parishioners on the eve that William and Mary were proclaimed King and Queen in Scotland. Another of Burnet's students who refused to conform to presbytery in 1690, and was subsequently deprived, was James Simpson.¹


2. Scott, Fasti, II, 336; Munimenta, III, 115, shows no record of his receiving an M.A. before commencing his theological studies.


4. Munimenta, III, 36; Fasti, I, 268; Dpr. Act of Parl. 25 Apr. 1690. Two other students of Burnet's were ordained late in the period of the episcopate and never obtained livings then, or under the presbyterian government: George Glen, Scott Fasti, III, 155, and James Dougal, Ibid. III, 356, and Munimenta, III, 38, 268.
Of the fourteen cases available for investigation, eleven of Burnet's students were ordained. None held charges, legally, long after the presbyterian settlement. Three were forcibly evicted and deprived, and the remaining who held livings when presbyterian order was re-established were subsequently deprived. One became an active Non-juror, and one other student was ordained in the Church of England. When Burnet was elevated to an episcopal see in the Church of England, his Scottish divinity students could not have been an embarrassment to him for their lack of loyalty to episcopacy.

1. It could be argued that their devotion to episcopacy was a cause for some misgivings, at least in the cases of those who became Jacobites, due to the fact that Burnet was a nominee of William. The Greenshields-to-Charlett correspondence reveals this ambiguous position into which Burnet was forced. How could he be an advocate of episcopacy that turned Jacobite in Scotland and loyal to William, who was in Burnet's mind a kind of saviour of protestant episcopacy in England, when the presbyterian order was established? Greenshields writes of the lack of cooperation he received from Tenison and Burnet when he consulted them about a shipment of the Book of Common Prayer, in 1711. Vide Fixcroft's comments on this, Clarke and Foxcroft, op. cit. pp. 451 ff. Burnet, for political motives, could not support the Scottish Non-jurors, while he was at the same time strongly in favor of freedom for the Scottish episcopal churches. "Bp Bur--- Recommended a private collection of Charity amongst his Clergy for ye Scottish Episcopalians whch they refused saying they might Incur a preumire..."—To Charlett, Ballard MSS. 45, f. 67. Furthermore, the High Church clergy would not have had as strong a rhetorical point that Burnet was anti-episcopacy, for his stand on the Scottish episcopal issue, had the collection succeeded. Ballard MSS, 36, ff. 153, 126, 128, on use of English Prayerbook in Scotland.
A brief note on Burnet's philosophy of education may supplement the evidence on his methods of training candidates for the ministry. He clearly represents the transitional stage between scholasticism and inductive, rational inquiry in all subjects. His high regard for Bacon and knowledge of Descartes is a sign of the nascent eclipse of Aristotle as a primary philosophy. Leighton, who had a lasting influence on Burnet, disliked the scholastic thought and methods inherent in the university tradition: "...as if disputing was the end of learning, as fighting is the design of going to war; hence the youth, when they enter the school, begin disputing, which never ends but with their life." Quoting Seneca, in another place, Leighton says, "What was formerly the love of wisdom, is now the love of words." William Douglas, an Aberdeen professor, related theological partisanship in the Scottish Church to the method of education in the universities, in his Academiarum Vindiciae, 1659. Burnet had a high regard for the place of

1. Further discussion on this point will be pursued in the context of Chp. III.

2. Leighton, Works, II, 635 F.

3. Works, VI, 282. (West ed.)

education in society and thought that it ought to be "one of the chief Cares of all Governments", but observed "there is nothing more universally neglected." He criticizes the form of education Henry VII's children endured under the "abstruse questions of divinity" in scholastic teaching methods. He relates the Lombardian influence to the personality of Henry VIII, and implies that there is a correlation between his scholastic education and the decisions he made. Burnet's *Thoughts on Education*, probably written when he was twenty-five, provides a concise statement of his disaffection with scholastic philosophy and education methods. His alternative is based on a return to classical views of history with an open mind to the new developments in the natural sciences. By contrast, Marischal College did not change its curriculum until 1755, when Alexander Gerard wrote:

> The order formerly observed in this College, was that followed by most of the ancient Philosophers, which was afterwards espoused by the Scholastics, and generally adopted by all the Universities in Europe; they began with logic, then proceeded to Ontology, Pneumatic, Morals, Politics, and last of all, taught Natural Philosophy. The Peripatetic Philosophy, at least as far as it was espoused by the commentators and followers of Aristotle, was in great measure made up of the verbal subtilies, and theories ill grounded, tho' ingeniously devised. These were supported by arguments moulded into an artificial form; the mechanism of which must first of all be understood; and it was laid open by the logic then in use."³


One of the earliest books Burnet wrote contained his disapproval of scholastic forms in education:

for to teach rhetorick or logick (all the difference betwixt these being that one is reason in a court dresse, the other in a military garb) before one have arrived at a solide understanding of things, is a reversing the right order which requires that wee know things, before wee think of ordering them.¹

Burnet's thought is an echo of Baconian statements, and the reason for changing the curriculum at Marischal, according to Gerard, is based on this same fundamental criticism, that "science was to be reasoned out from general principles, either taken for granted, or deduced by comparison of general ideas, or founded on very narrow and inadequate observation."² When Burnet, at an early period in his career, voices this basic critique of a philosophical method, it can be allowed that this liberal attitude affected other areas of his thought. That observation and experience should precede the formation of principles is a fundamental philosophical stance that could permeate other areas of his thought, including his view of the church and its ministry. History, as a subject, is an essential part of an academic curriculum that seeks to provide data about men's experience upon which, inter alia, principles may be formed. He says, "History should be the frequentest subject of his (the student's) longest discourses..."³

History ought to be taught like "the method of painters" who "first draw the ruder draughts, and mark the proportions; afterwards filling them up with their true colours." Geography is a part of the apparatus for the historical studies, and special attention is to be given to European history, with the "state, progression and retrogradation of learning, and with the lives and works of learned men; but chiefly with the state of the church." He advises that moral instruction ought to be taught in the framework of historical studies. The alterations of the curriculum at Aberdeen in 1755 followed a similar pattern. First languages, then history, to be followed by natural and civil history, geography and chronology were the bases of the new curriculum plan. Mathematics, philosophy, morals, political science, logic and metaphysics were consequent to the historical foundation. The ideal curriculum which Burnet outlined in his Thoughts on Education began with History and Latin. He said that modern European languages, especially French and Spanish, could be learned. After geography and natural history are studied, then philosophical consideration may be advanced: "to judge of a hypothesis of nature is one of the deepest thoughts (that) can enter into the heart of man, and so requires the greatest maturity of spirit." Not until the fundamentals of language and history

1. Ibid. p. 48.
2. Ibid. pp. 49-50.
are discovered, does he suggest that the tutor ought to teach the "fundamental verities" of the Christian faith. He advises that no theological system be taught, but "such as give accounts of the plain and literal meaning of the Scriptures." Mathematics and physics should precede the final step which includes the study of logic and metaphysics. The only point in which Burnet's plan alters from the one actually adopted by Aberdeen in 1755, is the reservation Burnet has about teaching "politics": "Only politics he must not study, nor learne intrigues, accept it be for mere information."

1. Ibid. p. 63.
2. Ibid. p. 85. An example of the fact that Burnet is on the bridge from medieval standards of scholarship to the rapid changes brought about through the revolution in the age of reason, is his use of sources. As will be pointed out in discussion of his use of the Bible, there is the faintest beginnings of critical examinations of variant texts. For example, Cosin, in The Validity of the Ordination of Priests in the Church of England, and Bramhall, in The Consecration of Protestant Bishops Vindicated, although careful in their patristic studies, they do not work from the advantage of knowing that Dionysius the Aeropagite's works are spurious, and prove their points around that source. Burnet represents the new view, as he refers to that "pretended Areopagite", in his Discourse of the Pastoral Care, 1692, p. 105 (hereafter, referred to as Pastoral Care). There are few references in all of Burnet's works that indicate any interest or knowledge of trends in literature. A rare reference to the literary discipline demonstrates a puritanical aversion to the arts. History Own Time, II, 653.

Thoughts on Education may have been written for Andrew Fletcher whom Burnet tutored for nearly five years.—Buchan, op. cit. p.5,6; and Statistical Account, X, 260. Burnet calls Fletcher a "violent republican" (History Own Time, I, 630, cf. Supplement, 161. He says "I, that bred Fletcher, should have expected that he should have driven him on to the mad attempt he made, but I know contrary."—Supplement, 161. The"mad attempt" was the part Fletcher played in the Monmouth Rebellion.

Fletcher had no formal education beyond what he learned under Burnet.—W.C. Mackenzie, Andrew Fletcher of Salton, Edinburgh, 1935, p.5. Like Burnet, he sided with Hamilton and opposed Lauderdale. It is difficult not to conclude that Burnet had a profound effect on the political attitudes of Fletcher. Buchan (op. cit, p. 7) says that Fletcher received from Burnet "a very pious and learned education and was strongly imbued with erudition and the principles of a free government..." Furthermore, we know that Burnet had encounters
Footnote 2 continued from preceding page:

with Fletcher, in 1685-88, in Holland during their exiles. —History Own Time, I, 630.

It is improbable that Burnet, keenly interested in political action, followed his own advice to refrain from teaching "policy; for this of all things makes them become arrogant... And woe to that land where the young nobility begin to think of policy, and mending the state." —Thoughts on Education, p. 50. Mackenzie, (op. cit., p. 4) said that the influence of Greek and Roman histories and the Lives of Plutarch are "written over the face of his (Fletcher's) character." We see that this is exactly the course prescribed by Burnet. —Ibid., p. 26; and History Own Time, II, 649, 50. Espinasse comments on the literary skill of Fletcher, "As a writer, he is superior to any Scotchman of his age." —D.N.E. Burnet wrote at the time he was tutoring Fletcher, "As for his letters, the first thing the Grecians and Romans thought on, was to teach their boyes the elegancies of their own tongue..." —Thoughts on Education, p. 38.

The Greek ideal of the political unit in the City state is evident in Fletcher's discussions. —Vide, Somer's Tracts, No. 12, 505, and Scottish History Society, 11, 2nd Ser., pp. 137-9; and Cunningham, History, I, 359-366. Fletcher it appears remained sympathetic to episcopacy. Reg. P.C. III, 3rd ser. p. 184; and Mackenzie, op. cit., p. 341. William Atwood, a presbyterian, inveighs against Fletcher for not supporting the "best of the clergy of Scotland", we assume he means presbyterian, in Scotch Patriot Unmasked, 1705, passim. The full outline of Fletcher's political views are found in the draft act which contained the limitations, or conditions, of government upon which the Estates would receive the Successor to the Scottish Crown. —Vide, An Account of the Proceedings of the Parliament of Scotland which met at Edinburgh, May 6, 1703, p. 132. Fletcher's "violent Republican" views, to use his tutor's phrase, are nearly parallel in every way to Burnet's 1688 political treatise, An Enquiry Into the Measures of Submission to the Suprem Authority; and of the grounds upon which it may be lawful or necessary for Subjects to defend their Religion, Lives and Liberties. Fletcher concludes the limitations by saying their infringement, on the part of the Sovereign, is grounds for resistance. Burnet makes law supreme, and concludes that an invasion of law that insures security of property is fundamental to all law and justifies resistance. (Fletcher, in J.M. Graham, The Stair Annals, I, 203-8; Burnet, Measures of Submission, pp. 125-129.)
Accommodation Conferences

In the midst of his four years as a professor of divinity, Burnet was actively engaged in several Accommodation Conferences superintended by Leighton. These conferences, and subsequently their failure, had some lasting effect on Burnet which relate to his understanding of the ministry. The historical time-table explains the unsurmounted problem faced by moderates in the Scottish episcopate who sought measures of reconciliation with non-conformist presbyterians. Charles II landed in England on 29 May 1660. Scotland was presbyterian, but only in a limited sense of the Melvillian essence of presbyterianism, for the General Assembly was defunct since 1651. Middleton, was High Commissioner to the Scottish Parliament, Glencairn, Chancellor, the Earl of Crawford, Lord Treasurer, and Lauderdale, the Secretary of State. These met with Hyde, Southampton, Monk, and Ormond in June and July of 1660. The

1. Leighton-Burnet Letters, Bodl. MSS Add. D. 23, f. 34-54: These eleven letters indicate that Leighton was not in the least appreciative of the burden of leadership. He found in Burnet an aggressive, robust personality, though young and perhaps at times indiscreet, a kind of comfort: speaking of this he said, "...since our first acquaintance when I remember (as often I have) how great a relief it was to me all along ye pain and unpleasantness of that station wherein I was engaged."—MS Add D. 23, f. 34, January 12, no year, between 1675-1684.
arrests of Argyll and Swinton indicated the directions to be taken by the Restoration government. The Lords of Articles declared the Solemn League and Covenant null and void on 22 January 1661. On 28 March the Act Recissory nullifying all acts of parliament since 1633 was passed. Presbyterian order was abolished. The Lord Chancellor read a letter from the King to the Privy Council, 5 September, intimating his desire for the establishment of episcopacy as the government of the Church. In August of the previous year the King had pledged to uphold the "Church of Scotland settled by law". In the last month of the year 1661, four bishops were consecrated at Westminster Abbey, and contrary to the precedent of 1610, two who had presbyterian orders were re-ordained. By royal mandate, no judicatories could meet without the consent of the bishop, from 21 December 1661. On 8 May, 1662, nine bishops took their seats among the Lords of the Articles and just less than three weeks later episcopacy was restored. Abjuration of the Solemn League and Covenant and allegiance to the new government had to be pledged by all office holders by 1 November 1662.

At this point the moderation of Leighton was faintly expressed. There were three methods suggested for dealing with the disestablished ministers: Leighton thought that none should be removed, no subscription enforced, and that the episcopate should make no show of pomp or status that would offend the "tender conscience." Sharp at the outset advocated a course of gradualism.

1. Bishops Wallace, Forbes, and Haliburton of the first episcopate were not re-ordained.
 Middleton wanted the Royal Supremacy asserted. The Act of Uniformity was another ominous sign to the presbyterian party. By 1665, Leighton attempted to resign as a reaction to the Privy Council's tactics. Airy describes the situation:

With Rothes, extortion appears to have been the only object, and brutality the only method. Hamilton, Dalziel, and Drummond were of one mind with him. Sharp, partly from spite against adherents of the Kirk which he had betrayed, partly out of desire, natural to his base temper, to plot against the hand that had raised him, and Burnet the Archbishop of Glasgow, out of real honest bigotry, joined the Holy Alliance, which had for its object the maintenance of military rule, the unflagging suppression of all opposition to the Episcopal Church, and the establishment of an influence independent of the Secretary.¹

Burnet says that the measures of the government were "plainly the setting Episcopacy on another bottom, than it had been ever on in Scotland before this time: For the whole body of the Presbyterians did formerly maintain such a share in the administration, that the Bishops had never pretended to any more, than to be their settled Presidents with a negative voice upon them."² Burnet's description of the new form of episcopacy is misleading. In fact his own experience in the Haddington Presbytery supports the fact that moderation existed in the second episcopate for which he gives

2. Burnet, History Own Time, I, 143.
no credit. Burnet correctly stated that the second episcopate was constitutionally an innovation, but he does not mention that the limitation placed on the presbytery was never exercised. Henderson points out that the central difference between the second episcopate and the previous presbyterian administration was the matter of State authority.

In the Presbytery of Haddington, there is only scant traces of episcopal authority, and no interference with the traditional duties of presbytery such as the trial of candidates, supplying vacant pulpits, administering discipline, and visitation of parishes. The continuity is expressed in the personalities as well, for example, James Carmichael was instituted at Athelstaneford in 1614 under the first episcopate. He held that charge through the

1. It could even be argued, as E.A. Knox does, that the lack of decisiveness and firm leadership, in other words the neglect of a strong and effective episcopate, was a major factor in its failure. For example, on 14 November 1669, Leighton preached to the Parliament, "Do not trouble yourselves about the things of time. Set your hearts on eternity."--E.A. Knox, Robert Leighton, Archbishop of Glasgow. A Study of his Life, Times and Writings, London, 1930, p.201. The earthly minded parliament proceeded to pass the Assertory, Militia, and Clanking Acts. The evaluation, post-mortem, that Leighton gives the failed accommodation: vide, Historical MSS Commission 11th Report. Part IV, Appendix.

2. Cf. Royal mandate forbidding the meetings of the judicatories without episcopal permission: Source Book of Scottish History, III, 156.

covenanting days and after the restoration of episcopacy. John Dalzell of Prestonkirk had that living from 1619 until 1669; Robert Lauder of Whitekirk was unaffected by the national crisis and ministered there from 1636 to 1674. In spite of the fact that a member of that presbytery was the first deacon to be ordained in Scotland, one week before the famous riot at St. Giles, the strong episcopal and royalist support in the local area showed few signs of disturbance. The deacon, John Trotter was instituted at Dirleton parish kirk. When Robert Balconquhal of Tranent was deposed by Commission fiat in 1649, the congregation called his son who had the same royalist views. Seven of the twenty-six parishes in East Lothian had ministers deprived under the terms of the Solemn League and Covenant. By comparison, when episcopacy was restored, the bill abolishing the 1649 Act concerning patronage, which Wodrow described as one "sealed with blood and many tears of people who had their beloved pastors torn from them and scattered into strange lands," was to the contrary quietly acknowledged in East Lothian. Only two of twenty-eight pastors were removed. Three of the pastors from that area became bishops; Patrick Scougal of Aberdeen, Andrew Wood of Caithness, and Burnet of Salisbury. The real blow to episcopacy, which Burnet does not differentiate from the events of the 1660's, at least in the Haddington area, was the pushing of the Royal Supremacy to its ultimate by the injudicious wording of the 1681 Test Act. But among the pastors, episcopacy

2. Ibid. p. 75.
3. Ibid. p. 78.
continued strongly, as shown by the fact that fourteen of the twenty-six beneficed clergy were deprived in 1690 with the re-establishment of presbyterian order.

The agenda for the Haddington Presbytery meetings before and after the restoration of episcopacy are similar with one exception. The "bishop's letter" was read at all meetings after 1662; however, the letter, meant as an authorization of duties, was often submitted after the official business, including matters of discipline, had been dispensed. A typical agenda included: the roll, visitation report, discipline cases, gifts to the poor, examination of candidates, the bishop's letter, and parish reports. This official business usually followed a theological lecture led by a member of the presbytery. While the covenanters called the presbytery courts the "meetings of the Bishop's committe", their functions, excepting ordination rites, were exactly the same as under the presbyterian order. The Haddington Presbytery demonstrates many ways in which the presbyters were autonomous. For example, through the presbyters direct intervention to Lauderdale, the ministers of

1. Ibid. p. 79.
Athelstaneford and Tranent, who did not conform, were able to maintain their livings. It was in the midst of the inter-order relationships accomplished in the Haddington Presbytery, such as the presbyterian and episcopal ministers sharing the collegiate church pastorate in Haddington, that Burnet wrote A Memorial of Diverse Grievances, a bitter attack on the violent methods of Rothes and Sharp who imposed the measures like the Conventical Act with unmitigated severity employing the dragoons of Sir James Turner.

One of the few differences to be observed in the nature of the Haddington Presbytery, as a judicatory, under the different church governments, is that it met more frequently under presbyterian order, than at any time during the second episcopate.

1. Scott, Fasti, vide, index on both parishes. Hadd. Presby. Rec. 13 Apr. 1665, Burnet on committee of two that presented the issue on behalf of the presbytery to the bishop.

2. Vide, Mis. Scot. His. Soc. II, 340 ff. The indirectness of the Bishop Wishart's letters to the presbytery impress the reader with his knowledge of the innate objections to episcopal control. The letter was very brief, formal, and polite. The bishop "desires ye presbyterie" to see something done is a rare occurrence. Parish matters were never investigated by the bishop during the five years that Burnet was at Salton. Often the presbytery asked for particular "session books" for review.—Hadd. Presby. Rec. 30 Mar. 1668. The presbytery was the de facto episcopi of the church.

3. Hadd. Presby. Rec., for 1649, twenty-five meetings; average for the five years during Burnet's tenor there, fourteen meetings; in 1695 the same presbytery convened nineteen times. One of the few references in the records to the political strife in Scotland states that there was no meeting of the presbytery from 17 July 1650 to 13 August 1651, "in respect of the present troubles and violence of warre." The Case of the Present Afflicted Clergy, 1690, "preface", claims that no noticeable changes were made in the juridical structure of the presbytery.
The minor changes in the presbytery, under episcopacy, were probably not noticeable in the actual setting of the time. Even for matters such as appointments to the university Visitation Commission, the bishop asked for the presbytery's nominations. The presbytery, not the bishop, appointed the supply of the Salton pulpit when Burnet resigned in 1669. Ministers who absented themselves from the presbytery were given episcopal notice through the presbytery itself. Cases of discipline referred to the presbytery were handled with freedom from episcopal jurisdiction.

The modus operandi of the Scottish church's judicatories hardly had any parallel in the Anglican scene, and yet it was from this background that Burnet came, and it certainly had some influence on the formation of his opinions about the ministry. He recalled the circumstances of 1666, the offensive proceedings of Rothes, Sharp, and Archbishop Burnet, that they caused the episcopal clergy "to read Church history, and to "observe so great

1. Ibid. CH 2. 185. 7.
2. Ibid. 18 Nov. 1669.
3. Ibid. 13 April, 1665.
4. Ibid. 11 January 1665, e.g., Isabel Wishart, adulteress with Wm. Wilson" was sentenced to "14 Sabbaths before the congregation in ye place of repentance" and the presbytery desire "yt she might be absolved" and "remitted her to the session." On 19 December 1667, the Presbytery examined and prosecuted ten cases of discipline. These cases along with "commissions appointed to reform the papists" consumed much of the time of the presbyters. Burnet never reported papists in his parish, but his successor discovered "certain papists" there. —Ibid., 21 July 1670.
a difference between the constitution of the Church under those Bishops and our own, that they seemed to agree in nothing but the name." Leighton wrote to Lauderdale, "I believe t'were little damage to Church and State, possibly some advantage to both, if we should all retire." In 1674, a paper drawn up by Burnet, was submitted by Leighton to the government:

(1) That the King should consider whether Episcopacy should be maintained at the rate of the trouble it has cost and whether it should not be given up. If it is to be maintained, religion and order should not be neglected, and offences against churchmen should be punished. (2) The laws concerning the Church are too severe to be executed and should be revised and be made practicable. (3) A synod should be called to settle the Church.3

1. Burnet, History Own Time, I, 215. The powers of the episcopate included: diocesan administration, appointment to vacancies, seat in the Articles, discipline of clergy, appointment of Commissary judges, excommunication, approval of the meetings of the judicatories, appointment of moderators of presbytery, and acting as a court of appeals, licensing of clergy.—Foster, op. cit. pp. 45 f. In a few cases the bishop had civil powers, such as in Aberdeen where they appointed the bailies, provosts, and civil officers.—Records of Old Aberdeen, I, 21-22. The bishops were nominated by the Crown and a congé d'élire was sent to the corresponding dean and chapter authorizing an election, and the naming the person to be elected, according to the Act of Parliament 1617 "Anent the Electioun of Archbishops and Bishops".—Cf. Dunkeld, op. cit., I, 49; Misc. Scot Hist. Soc. I, 252. For the commissary court, vide Acts of Parliament VII, 433; Source Book of Scot. Hist. III, 59, and Leighton in Lauderdale Papers II, 239.

2. Lauderdale Papers II, 238.

3. Hist. MSS. COMM. Rep. XI, Pt. VI, App.; Leighton's comments on report in Butler, op. cit. p. 476. There was probably a number of members of the episcopal bench, having been nurtured by the moderate thought of the Forbesian tradition, who would have supported the path of conciliation. John Paterson, Bishop of Ross, William Scroggie, Bishop of Caithness, and William Rait were trained by Forbes and Baron.—Scott, Fasti, VII, 333, 337, 356, and V, 331.
Burnet's criticism of the episcopate in Scotland, a criticism begun in 1666 and sustained through the final revision of the *History of His Own Time*, did not spring from too low a view of the historic episcopate. His letter to the Scottish bishops, "A Memorial of Diverse Grievances and Abuses in this Church," was a bold and indiscreet tract, and yet forthright. His apology, sent to Wishart, retracts none of the theses of the Memorial: "That any action of mine should occasion the least displeasure of trouble to my superiors cannot but much vex myself. The judging a reformation to be necessary is a thought I cannot avoid." The fellow presbyters of Burnet supported his position.

"There is a time to speak", are the morally earnest opening words of the Memorial. He immediately launches an attack on the infidelity of the bishops in Scotland by comparison to the alleged high standards of the primitive church. That a presbyter could manage this kind of insubordination without incurring an official censure, or worse, reveals both the favorable position of the presbyter in Scotland, and the social and political handicap under which the episcopate labored. There are a number of features in


2. Transactions of the Society of Antiquaries of Scotland, Edinburgh, 1812, pp. 353, 355. Scougal, who helped soften the blow of retribution on the young presbyter, received some lucid criticism from Burnet. He suggests that great piety and prudence, marks of Scougal's character, needed to have been complemented by responsible resistance to the high-handed tactics of Sharp.—*History Own Time*, I, 217.

the Memorial that indicate Burnet’s early view of episcopacy. To the bishops he writes:

Some of you preach scarce ever, others only when you are at your own houses, and some of you have their dwellings without the bounds of their dioceses.

There is another great evil also among you, you have enslaved yourselves wholly in the affairs of State and secular business...

Concerning the ministry, he challenges the episcopate to emulate the historic standards of episcopacy:

Our want of Deacons is as essential as any relating to Government can be: for I am assured more can be said for proving you to be jure divino than Bishops; and were there a true zeal for framing things according to the primitive pattern this could not be forgotten. Further if in your Ordinations ye followed St Cyprians rule, you would ordain plebe praesente et diligente, and go to the Churches where they are to serve and there marry you to their people.

Burnet is not against episcopacy, but critical of a limited episcopacy, which he emphasizes in his editorial about the lack of episcopal discipline in the church, “except for some ragged relics of Presbyterie we have none”. His concern for a liturgy is much closer to Anglican than Scottish sentiment. Under the Scottish episcopate the worship is extremely flat in all the parts of it. Our Church prayers are long without any order and often very dull. I must say this Church is the only one in the world which hath no rule for worship. Even the Presbyterians had their directory...The compiling of a grave lyturgie, the prayers whereof shall be short and Scriptural and fitly depending one upon another, should be no inconsiderable service to the Church. Were such a composure proposed without any ceremonies (which are of no necessity and give great occasion of stumbling) and without imposing of it upon any one person it should certainly at long runne turn to our great advantage. It were good the form of our praises were amended: these slow long tunes whereby but a few lines at a time are sung, are not the best way. And why we have no Gospel hymns as well as the gloria patri I see no reason.1

1. The politicians were concerned that a new liturgy would cause a rebellion.—Lauderdale Papers II, Appendix xxx. Burnet makes no mention of this prospect, Supplement, p. 471.
A more catholic form of worship was needed, he said, in which communion was regularly served, thereby avoiding such a crowding as makes the most solemn part of worship very confused. I shall not need to tell yow how frequent it is in all the Churches of God except Scotland. Four times a year in every Church it ought to be celebrated, yt the more devout may frequently partake of these holy mysteries. And if the minister be not satisfyed concerning the knowledge of all the Commons, let at least those he hath examined and does know, receive.

Another criticism he offered concerns the "too scholastic" catechism which was insensible to the average people. A "plain and practicable" one ought to be written. It is not unlikely that Burnet's students, who were strongly loyal to episcopacy, were given training in the historic views of the threefold ministry reflected by the Memorial of Grievances. The teachings of the Fathers are more comprehensively quoted in this than any other work. When Lauderdale, in 1669, forced the retirement of Archbishop Burnet of Glasgow, Leighton was appointed to hold that see "in commendam" with his bishopric of Dunblane. Burnet became directly involved in the accommodation conferences sponsored by the new Archbishop.

The conferences offered a concrete test of Burnet's view of the church's ministry, inasmuch as parity or imparity of ministers was a central issue, or so Burnet thought. Five of the six


2. Alexander Burnet returned to Glasgow when Leighton retired in 1674, and was translated to the Archiepiscopal chair at St. Andrews in 1679 when Sharp was murdered.
representatives of Bishop Leighton who were sent into the southwest country on a program of pacification were from the Haddington Presbytery. Response to the program varies according to the interpreter. Tweedale thought Burnet's reception was as popular as the famous preaching of William Guthrie, a cousin of the martyr. Wodrow, who writes flattering remarks of Burnet's ability, did not think he made any progress in the effort. Kirkton said that Burnet was "more disdained in the west country than followed at London." Burnet himself was not impressed with the results: "The people of the country came generally to hear us, tho' not in any great crowds. We were, indeed, amazed to see so poor a communality so capable to argue upon points of government, and on the bounds to be set to the power of princes in matters of religion." Burnet was concerned that the central act of worship in the Christian religion, the celebration of the Eucharist, was nearly obliterated from the practice of large groups of parishioners in the southwest of Scotland. The high hopes of Leighton's accommodation efforts

1. Leighton's reliance on Burnet in this and other matters is evidenced in a letter to the same, Misc. S.H.S. II, 359.
2. Tweeddale to Moray: Lauderdale Papers, No. lxxxix, Sept.27, 1670.
5. Burnet, History Own Time, I, 293; Butler, gives a full picture of the preaching mission, Life of Leighton, pp.437 ff. It may be pointed out that only two of the eighty-one "King's Curates" had not received a university degree, which is contrary to the opinion of Burnet concerning the educational standards of those allowed into the episcopal ministry to serve parishes in the southwest.
were not reinforced by government policy, noted by the passing of the "Clanking" Act, 12 August 1670, and the 3 August Act, anent Deponing, putting controls on armed conventicles. Accommodation efforts were probably not possible at that late date in any case, due to the Assertory Act passed in the previous year, 16 November, after which Lauderdale could say, "The King is now Master here over all causes and persons." Burnet's attitude to the High Church party in the English post-Revolutionary scene began to take shape in this transitional stage of episcopacy in Scotland. There he saw the "high party" resist all of Leighton's efforts and support the controls of the government which excluded toleration for the non-conformists.

The first conference to discuss the possibility of accommodation was held 9 August at Edinburgh. Leighton said, according to Burnet's reports, that he was "persuaded that Episcopacy, as an order distinct from Presbyters, had continued in the Church ever since the days of the Apostles; that the world had everywhere received the Christian religion from Bishops, and that a parity among Clergymen was never thought of in the Church before the middle of the last century..."; Burnet mentions the fact that Leighton

1. Lauderdale Papers, II, 151; Lauderdale called the conventicle act the "Clanking Act", Ibid. II, 200. Burnet, upon refusing a bishopric, was not simply being modest, but wise: "I saw counsels were altering above."—History Own Time, I, 298.

2. Burnet, op. cit., I, 298.

knew nothing of the Conventicle Act until it had been passed, which illustrated a major cause in the failure of the conferences, i.e., the lack of official support and coordination in the effort on the part of the government and the established church.

Burnet states his interpretation of the presbyterian case:

All I hear objected against it (the accommodation) is, in short, this: "That they judging a Bishop and a presbyter to be one and the same office in the Scripture sense, and that no other office can be added by any human authority, they do not well see how they can concur with a Bishop, who seems to be and behaves himself as a distinct officer from an ordinary officer." 2

And he answers the case for the parity of ministers by the example that

the Presbyterians of England judge an Episcopacy attempered with presbytery not inconsistent either with the Presbyterian principles or Covenant: as may be made appear from what themselves published as their opinion under this title: Two Papers of Proporals Humbly Presented To His Majesty by the Reverend Minister of the Presbyterian Persuasion, Printed at London, anno 1661. Wherein, at p. 5, they 'humbly represent to his Majesty that although upon just reasons we do dissent from the Ecclesiastical Hierarchy or Prelacy disclaimed in the Covenant, as it was stated and exercised in this Kingdom, yet we do not nor ever did renounce the true ancient primitive Episcopacy or presidency as it is balanced or managed by a due commixtion of presbytery therewith.' 3

1. Leighton was of course not aware of the secret Treaty of Dover in which the English were committed to accept French support in a contest with the Dutch. York was an avowed Roman Catholic, Clarendon was deposed. Comprehension was not in the court's interest in Scotland.


3. Burnet quoting Richard Baxter, in Butler, op. cit. pp. 425, 25. Baxter continues in his Two Papers to support the view of episcopacy of Archbishop Ussher, his Reduction of Episcopacy into the Form of Synodical Government Received in the Ancient Church. The complete circle of moderate school of thought is made in this example of Burnet. Ussher was indebted to Forbes, likewise Burnet. Here Burnet follows the moderate Anglican view that is backed up by Burnet's own Scottish tradition.
Burnet reminded the Scottish presbyterians that Baxter was prepared to accept a fixed presidency, *durante vita*, and that the oath to the Solemn League and Covenant, forever binding for the conscientious, would not be broken on the grounds that the prelacy objected to in the covenant terms did not exist. Leighton's proposals are not recorded or published by himself, and the only record comes through the interpretation of persons like Burnet, or McWard, a presbyterian. A summary of Leighton's views demonstrates a very close parallel to John Forbes' *melius esse* episcopacy, in his *Irenicum*. Scripture does not command a particular form of church government and does not require ministerial orders. The office of a fixed presidency is not contrary to the general principles for the ministry laid down in Scripture. No command in Scripture can be given for the parity of ministers, in fact the imparity of persons performing a ministerial function is described, though not prescribed in Scripture. Imposition of hands is only a rite signalling an admission to an office; it does not imply that an exclusive ministerial authority is thereby transmitted. The early church practised an imparity of ministers.


The conference moved from Edinburgh to Paisley, 14 December, and back to Edinburgh during the month of January, 1671. Tweeddale, Hamilton, Leighton and Burnet met the presbyterian group, six ministers, headed by Hutchinson. Leighton made extensive concessions with jurisdictional matters relating to the episcopate, but the proposals were rejected. The presbyterian case differs in context. They were more concerned with the rejection of Erastianism than moderate episcopacy, which is evident in Robert McWard's *The Case of the Accommodation Conference Examined*. The second episcopate, according to the presbyterians, was more than a government of the church. It was a political entity partially existent outside of the judicatories of the church. Royal Supremacy therefore was a usurpation on the Kingdom of Christ. There can be no assurance against the misuse of the prerogative. Bishops who are subordinate to the Crown cannot be free to exercise pastoral oversight. The presbyterians wanted to see a place for the ruling elder in the judicatories.

The effects of Leighton's scheme on a doctrine of the church's ministry would be, first, that the church is visible, and spiritual independency is not warranted by Scripture or history. Second, there is no divine right for episcopacy. Third, doctrinal differences are not necessarily impediments to conciliation. Fourth,

the validity of presbyterian ordination was beyond question. These positions are generally supported in three works of Burnet written during his professorship. In Observations on Two of the Apostolic Canons, he demonstrates that episcopacy had an evolutionary development, but there is no universal pattern of its growth. There were places that apostolic succession seemed to follow directly from the Apostles through a succession of bishops. Burnet accepts the account of Eusebius who looked upon the bishop as the "chief depositary of the faith" for the reason of his being in a personal succession. In a thorough-going Erastian work, A Vindication of the Church and State, Burnet answers the presbyterian objections raised at the Faisley conference. He agrees that the diocesan bishop evolved from a parochial office, but that by the time of the Council at Nice, the term applied quite consistently to diocesan rule, and that metropolitan bishops, "Prima Sevis Episcopum", were recognized. He disputes the presbyterian who said that Augustine, being a "coadjutor to Valerius", illustrated the argument that diocesan bishoprics were not widely recognized even by that late date. Burnet quotes Augustine's condemnation of the usurpation of episcopal rule. He says that Theodoret had oversight of 800


2. Burnet, A Vindication of the Authority of the Church and State, p. 348: He quotes the Areopagite as a legitimate source here, but later this error is recognized. Vide, discussion, supra, on his revolt from scholasticism.

parishes, revealing the rapid growth of the diocesan bishop's jurisdiction. Burnet supports Leighton's view on ordination entirely, that it is schismatical to ordain without a Bishop, where he may be had, yet I am not to annul these Ordinations that pass from Presbyters, where no Bishop can be had: and this lays no claim to a new Office, but only to a higher degree of inspection in the same Office; whereby the exercise of some acts of Jurisdiction are restrained to such a method; and this may be done either by the Churches free consent, or by the King's authority.

The key to the contention in the Scottish presbyterian's position concerned the authority of the Crown in the government of the church. Leighton missed the point, and Burnet's view was contrary to the fundamental political fibre in covenanters. He wrote:

"Here I lay down for a Principle, That whatever is determined by the law of God, cannot be reversed, nor countermanded by any humane law: For the Powers that are, being ordained of God, and they being his Ministers, do act as his Deputies: and the tie which lies on us to obey God, being the foundation of our subjection to them, it cannot bind us to that which over-throws it self: Therefore it is certain God is the first to be obeyed; and all the laws of men which contradict his Authority or Commands, are null, and void of all obligation on our Obedience."

1. Ibid, p. 348.
2. Ibid, p. 337.
3. Ibid, p. 164. The view of Samuel Rutherford epitomized the presbyterian position. He placed the church in a divine right status in the kingdom, and therefore it cannot submit to the dominical rule of the Crown—The Divine Right of Church-Government and Excommunication, 1646, is his refutation of Erastianism. Burnet's The History of the Rights of Princes in the disposing of Ecclesiastical Benefices and Church-lands relating chiefly to the Regale, London, 1682, is an interesting work that seems to prove the opposite of what Burnet says he is writing, i.e., the right of the prince is a determined historical evolution, but not a "divine" right recognized in the scripture as a right of the government over the church.
Leighton concluded that he was not pleased with the "exorbitancies" of presbytery or episcopacy but that they "doe much better together than either of them does apart." This ideal for including non-conformists under moderate episcopal order was not given up by Burnet in his future ministry.

A School of the Pastoral Care

Soon after his elevation to the episcopate in 1689, Bishop Burnet began a school at Salisbury for candidates to holy orders. The extant primary evidence regarding this five year experiment in a diocesan theological college is inadequate as a basis for sound conclusions; therefore, the significance of the training center at the cathedral city is somewhat problematic. He does mention that the purpose of the school answered his expectations only to a small degree, and that the competitive existence of such an institution so near to the University of Oxford created some defensive reactions. The ten students each year maintained at a cost of three hundred pounds are not mentioned in any diocesan record, nor is there any account of the school using a building in The Close. This points to the hypothesis that this experiment was a personal endeavour of Burnet, created and paid for by


2. Foxcroft's comparing Burnet's group of students to Wilberforce's Cuddesdon is an insecure conclusion. Burnet's philosophy of theological education may have anticipated Wilberforce's, but the foundation and success of Cuddesdon is of a different quality--Clarke and Foxcroft, op. cit. p. 292.


4. Rentals of such properties would have been recorded in the Chapter Munimenta, Diocesan Registry.
himself. One of the references corroborating Burnet's record of the school, occurs in the diary of Thomas Naish, who became Sub-Dean of Salisbury: "At Michaelmas my Lord Bishop was pleased to take me into the number of his students allowing me £30 per annum for the same, continued half a year." 

Standards of training for the ministry were criticized by Burnet in a number of his writings, but he only voices the sentiment of many Anglican churchmen in this regard. Hooper, in 1557, regarded the standards of education for the pastoral care as a serious dilemma. More clergymen and higher standards of qualification were needed at the same time. In an age preceding Burnet's

1. The Diary of Thomas Naish, ed. Doreen Slatter. Wiltshire Archaeological and Natural History Society. Devizes, 1965, XX, 2 August 1693; Diary printed from Bodl. MS. Top. Wilts. c. 7. Tillotson commends Burnet on a student he trained, but there is no direct evidence that the student was involved in the Salisbury experiment: "I have read a great part of William Wotton's book, which I think to be very extra-ordinary, both for the learning and judgment he has shown...This I believe will not be unwelcome to your Lordship, who had so great a hand in forming this great young man.--Letter 28 June 1694, in Thomas Birch, Life of Tillotson, London, 1752, p. 331, cf. p. 304.


time, the Caroline divines' fait accompli in the area of theological training was well known, as one observer said: "The clergy of the Reformed Church of England grew the most learned of the world." Whitgift was partly responsible for the development of an educated clergy in England when he made a university degree a minimal qualification for candidates. Burnet probably had many motives for initiating the diocesan centered project, not least of which were the tory politics commensurate with much of the environment of Oxford. His original version of his memoirs puts the issue bluntly: "The ill-education of the clergy who come from the universities know less than when they went to them, especially the servitors." Humphrey Prideaux, unlike Burnet in many other ways, agrees, "Young men frequently come to the universities without any knowledge or tincture of religion at all, and having little opportunity of improving whilst undergraduates." Swift, politically


2. Kennedy, op. cit., I, lxxxi. He even threatened to suspend any bishop who compromised these terms.

3. Burnet, Supplement, p. 500; cf. C. Campbell, Lives of Chancellors, Oxford, 1701, IV, 649, who says that Jacobite politics were the consuming interests at the University of Oxford.

4. Burnet, Bodl. MSS Add. D.24 f. 213: in the revision he at least gives the university the credit that the students "learned so very little..."—Supplement, p. 500.

an opposite of Burnet, concurs in this criticism of the educational deficiency in candidates for the ministry, and like Burnet, blames part of the problem on the impoverished conditions of many clergy and students.

Burnet's criticism of the university education was not only a political defence. He was a progressive in the new age of science and philosophy and revolted against the continuation of the scholastic methods and scholastic philosophy. Henry Dodwell, a Non-juror, in *Two Letters of Advice*, gave a definitive exposition of the "fundamental defect" of the school divinity taught in the university. The "Preface to the Reader" in the expanded second edition, 1680, states his argument on the inadequacy of scholasticism. A reform of the university curricula is essential to equipping the ministry. When primitive Christian writers gave interpretation and explanation to the revealed faith, their frame of reference was Platonic philosophy. To study this primary theology of the church through the Aristotelian context of school divinity was misleading.

He asserted that

the greatest and most Sacred mysteries of the Trinity and Incarnation are explained as to their Theological consequences from the principles of Peripatetick Philosophy, as borrowed by them from the modern Translations and Commentaries of the Arabsians. It is plain that all the use of Philosophy in affairs of this nature cannot be to discover any truth anew, but only to explain the sense of the authors delivering it; and that philosophy alone can be useful to this purpose whose language was observed by them; and that not Aristotle but Plato was then generally followed, not only by the generality of the Philosophers of that age, but in accommodation to

them, his Language observed by the Scriptures themselves, especially St. John I. and by the generality of the Fathers, those of greatest repute in both the Occidental and Oriental Churches.\textsuperscript{1}

John Locke's evaluation of the curriculum and university conditions follows a similar criticism, that it is outdated; but he lacks the theological dimension contained in the criticism of Dodwell.\textsuperscript{2}

In what seems to be a florid analysis of the condition of the clergy, Eachard underlines the need for reforming the educational standards. He bears out Burnet's contention that ignorance and poverty create a vicious circle with respect to educational standards.\textsuperscript{3} Unitarian John Toland in his State Anatomy of Great Britain, roundly blames the universities for the intolerable partisanship that characterized many of the clergy. Prideaux thought that the university degree ought to be withheld for ministerial candidates until they had satisfied examiners in the church that they professed the Christian religion as taught by the Church of England.\textsuperscript{4}

\begin{itemize}
\item[1.] Henry Dodwell, Two Letters of Advice, I. For the Susception of Holy Orders. II. For Studies Theological, especially such as are Rational, (Second edition Corrected and Improved). London, 1680, Preface, par. 13.
\item[3.] J. Eachard, Grounds and Occasions of the Clergy, London, 1705, p.2.
\item[5.] Sykes, op. cit. pp. 200, 1; from Life of Humphrey Prideaux, pp. 90, 91 and 227-232.
\end{itemize}
The idea of a school, under the oversight of the bishop, to prepare candidates for the pastoral care was not an innovation. While the Roman Catholic Church had few examples, the Second Toledo Council, in 527 A.D. recommended, as did Augustine, that such a policy, if implemented, would be a great advantage to the church. Hooker, a source carefully read by Burnet, alluded to a program of resident training under a bishop. The *Reformatio Legum Ecclesiasticarum* provided for diocesan colleges so that the educational qualifications of the pastor could be met. Bancroft and Hutton envisioned plans for such schools but these did not materialize. "A great seminary for young divines for the Diocese" was the wish of Granville. Next to Burnet, the closest realization of a diocesan training center was the work of Thomas Wilson, who trained candidates at the bishop's residence on the Isle of Man. This did not provide an academic program, and was intended as a


supplement to university training.

After the demise of his school, Burnet wrote that "Oxford looked on this as a publick affront" but the sentiments were mutual for Burnet thought that Oxford was politically offensive. Burnet's views of Oxford were colored by his political bias. Two of Burnet's three sons went to Oxford, and his namesake, who graduated Master of Arts in 1706, was a notable young divine who supported Hoadly in the Bangorian Controversy. His early death stopped short what was potentially a fine career, in the circumstances of the early eighteenth century Church of England.

While there are no official records of the experiment in pastoral training at Salisbury, a likely hypothesis may be drawn concerning the curriculum. Burnet's Discourse of the Pastoral Care, 1692, was published just after the school had begun. In this work Burnet outlines a curriculum for the preparation of a priest, that he distinguishes from the essential curriculum of a divine. Tully, the Latin satirists and moralists, particularly Plutarch, (Allestree's) The Whole Duty of Man, the Works of Sherlock, the Works of Scott,


3. Gilbert Burnet, Jr., wrote A Full Examination of Several Important Points Relating to Church-Authority...London, 1718.
commentaries on Scripture by Grotius, Hammond, Lightfoot, and expositions of the Creed by Pearson, Barrow, and Patrick: these preceded sources of systematic theology. He suggests two theological systems, one Calvinist, the other Arminian, viz., Turretin and Limborch. Deistic and atheistic philosophy was analyzed and answered; for this he suggests Wilkins, Grotius and Stillingfleet. The "practical teachers" studied included Sanderson, Barrow, and Hammond. Thomas à Kempis was mentioned as the key source of devotional studies. In comparing this outline to the curriculum of his own experience at Aberdeen, and the course of divinity at Glasgow, the most notable difference is the emphasis on the practical theology. In his Discourse of the Opposition to Rome, he notes that the outstanding defect in the Reformation was the omission of special encouragements for "devout life". While "vows" to ascetic callings can be required only at the expense of Christian liberty, he believes that a limited form of "recluse houses", of the monastic type, would be excellent training stations for initiating candidates for holy orders.

For the priest, Scripture is the linchpin of his studies. Burnet wrote that the Bible

is the Text of our Religion, that which we Preach and explain to others; therefore a man ought to read this so often over, that he may have an Idea of the whole Book in his Head, and of all the Parts of it. He cannot have this so sure, unless

he understands the Greek so well, as to be able to find out the meaning of every Period in it, at least of the Words and Phrases of it. 1

The priest will then be able to "state the Grounds of our Hope, and the terms of Salvation" and have a "ready view of the New Covenant in Christ Jesus." Daniel Whitby, Precentor of the Salisbury Cathedral, an office second to the Dean in the Old Order, assisted Burnet with the instruction. It is not unlikely that his students received a foretaste of his magnum opus, A Paraphrase and Commentary on the New Testament, published in 1704. Next to Scripture, the mystics and devotional materials were recommended, for "a great Measure of Piety, with a very small Proportion of Learning, will carry one a great way..." 2

The cardinal points of theology were the study of the Apostles Creed. Burnet recommended Pearson's Exposition of the Creed, published in 1659. Dodwell, as well, considered that the Apostles Creed is the basic confession of the church and therefore it should be the basis of theological knowledge. In order to achieve this, the divinity student must master Scripture in the original languages, and thoroughly study the early Fathers who give the true sense of the Scripture. Causistical theology, the knowledge of the major doctrinal controversies, and an analysis

1. Burnet, Pastoral Care, pp. 165, 6.

2. Ibid, p. 165.
of the cause of schism are prerequisite, in Dodwell's curriculum, to the explication of the Creed. Where Dodwell differs from Burnet with regard to the primary curriculum for a priest is the weight he places on studying the background of the New Testament writers, including rabbinical theology, pagan philosophy and Hellenistic thought.

The eclectic approach Burnet used in his Exposition of the Thirty-nine Articles in handling controversial doctrinal issues is evident in the divinity curriculum he recommended. He wanted to avoid two dangers, one, trying to master too many systems of divinity; the other, confining study to one point of view only: "I would advise him that studies Divinity, to read two larger Bodies, writ by some Eminent Men of both sides; and because the latest are commonly the best; Turretin for the whole Calvinist Hypothesis, and Limburgh for the Arminian, will make a Man fully the Master of all the Notions of both sides." Sykes has pointed out Wake's concern in the matter of training candidates in divinity from a letter the Archbishop addressed to Charlett: "Surely you may bring tutors to read some system or body of divinity to their pupils, and engage them to make them at least masters of the Greek of the New Testament, which I am sorry to tell you so few who come

2. Ibid., par. 15, 1680 ed. Preface. Bishop Bull concurs with Dodwell, but like Burnet does not support the axiom, Bonus textualis, bonus theologus, as the due preparation of "holiness". George Bull, Works, Oxford 1840.
to us for Holy Orders, or even for faculties, are! Edmund Gibson's suggestions of reforming theological education are very similar to Wake's. The General Catalogue of Books testifies to the ample number of works published on divinity during the post-Revolutionary period.

Aware that scepticism and deism were increasing, Burnet included apologetics as a major segment of his syllabus of studies. But by reason of that pest of Atheism, that Spreads so much among us, the Foundations of Religion must be well laid: Bishop Wilkins Book of Natural Religion, will lead one in the first steps through the Principles that he has laid together in a plain and natural Method. Grotius, his Book of the Truth of the Christian Religion, with his Notes upon it, ought to be read and almost got by heart. The whole Controversies both of Atheism and Deism, the Arguments both for the Old and New Testament, are fully opened, with a great variety both of Learning and Reasoning, in Bishop Stillingfleet's Origines Sacrae.

The Practical Catechism of Henry Hammond, and the practical theology in Sanderson's Sermons and Barrow's Sermons complete the basic program for priest. The course was intended for a two year period.

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1. Norman Sykes, Church and State in the Eighteenth Century, Cambridge, 1934, p.108, from Wake to Charlett, Ballard MSS. iii, f. 63. Charlett replied that he wished "his grace would recommend a systematic theology. Wake suggested expositions of the Catechism and the Thirty-nine Articles, not naming authors." Ibid. p.108. Burnet had written texts in both categories.


3. Robert Clavel, ed., The General Catalogue of Books, London, 1696--: e.g. in 1696, there were published nineteen issues in Hillary term, twenty-four in Easter term, forty-eight in Trinity term, and thirty-six in Michaelmas term.

of study in which the candidate may have been ordained deacon after
one year.

Burnet's Pastoral Care was an important textbook in the
history of Anglican works on that subject, but mainly due to the
political orientation of the bulk of the clergy, it was not, in
many instances, well received. William Bishop of Grays Inn
described the reaction of some presbyters in a letter to Charlett:

> My Unkle is mightly pleas'd with Mr Manners undertaking; and
is alsoe very glad to hear Ep Burnet is taken notice of by Mr.
Edwards, for Burnet's Book began to doe a great deal of mischief, especially among ye libertinarians & anti-Churchmen...
Ye Parsons & ye Clergy use to talk soe vehemently &
assert, yet now it appears yt even they ymselves don't believe
wt they threaten damnation to other people for not believing.2

The Pastoral Care was an offence in many ways; for example, Burnet
accused the clergy of being the obstacle to the continuation of the
Reformation and said that the regular clergy of the Church of Rome
were more devoted to the ministerial office. 3 When sceptics could
quote a bishop of the established church to fortify their prejudice
against the clergy, complaints about the bishop were inevitable.

The historic picture explains some of the problems relating
to the cure of souls in the second half of the seventeenth century.
In 1660 the beneficed clergy represented no single administrative
body. Some who had been episcopally ordained conformed to the

1. Ibid. p. 173.
2. Bishop to Charlett, 3 Jan 1694, Ballard MS 31. f. 3.
3. Burnet, Pastoral Care, pp. ix-xiii.
Protestorrate, others, ejected, were replaced by presbyterians, Baptists, and Independents. With the Restoration of Charles II, and the passing of the 29 December 1660 Act for "Confirming and Restoring of Ministers" those clergy who had lawful patrons, but were objectionable to Cromwell's Triers, were presented again to their livings. Through this action, 700 pastors were removed, followed by 1000 more in 1662, when the Act of Uniformity became effective. The pastoral care was a much needed science for which George Herbert's A Priest to the Temple and Richard Baxter's The Reformed Pastor were the only two English texts. With the exception of Jeremy Taylor's Rules and Advices to the Clergy of the Diocese of Down and Conner, 1661, the bishops of the Church of England produced no guidelines for the pastoral care. A layman, Henry Dodwell, published the first general study on this subject in 1672, his Letters of Advise. Simon Patrick, who had been ordained by presbytery, in 1648, was a distinguished rector of St. Paul's, Covent Garden, during the Restoration period. After he was elevated to the bishopric of Chichester in 1689 and translated to Ely in 1691, he wrote a number of "Letters to the Clergy" which comprise a wide range of directives for the pastoral office. Studies published by the "overseers" of the church's pastoral care, that followed Burnet's work, include, inter alia, Thomas Sprat's Discourse to the Clergy, 1696, George Bull's Companion to Candidates

1. Cited supra; the work was written for the son of Bishop Leslie of Clogher and published in Dublin, and in London, 1681.

for Holy Orders, probably written in 1705, and Thomas Wilson's Parochialia, 1708.

Burnet's Pastoral Care is a significant reflection of the tradition beginning with Gregory of Nazianzen through a source as late as Richard Baxter. He said that he was "often" with Baxter and found "great benefit" from his books. Beighton is given credit for most of the ideas in the Pastoral Care. But the primary source with which the work is most closely identified is Gregory Nazianzen's In Defence of His Flight to Pontus...with an Exposition of the Character of the Priestly Office. Three other sources which Burnet names are Chrysostom's Six Books of the Priesthood, Gregory the Great's Pastoral Care, and Bernard's Book of Consideration. These sources, as well, depended to a large extent upon Gregory Nazianzen. Concerning the Apologetic Oration, Schaff and Wace state that it was "used both by S. John Chrysostom as the foundation of his Six Books of the Priesthood, and by S. Gregory the Great as the basis of his Treatise on the Pastoral Rule. It has also furnished material to many of the best Ecclesiastical writers of all ages.  

1. Burnet, Supplement, 463.
2. Burnet, Pastoral Care, pp. 246, 7.
Not only the style but the content of Burnet's *Pastoral Care* is indebted to Nazianzen. In the *Apologetic Oration*, S. Paul is taken as the pastoral standard: "What of the laboriousness of his teaching? The manifold character of his ministry? His loving kindness? And on the other hand his strictness?... He gives laws for slaves and masters, rulers and ruled, husbands and wives, parents and children, marriage and celibacy..." The priest, according to Burnet, will find in the missionary Apostle a rule worthy of the pastoral care that is demonstrated by Paul's "labours, and sufferings, and care of all the Churches that lay on him; his becoming all things to all men, his gentleness where that was necessary, and his authority upon other occasions, his zeal, his patience, his constancy, and his prudence in fulfilling all the parts of his Ministry." Burnet's illustrations are often borrowed from Nazianzen; for example, he compares the discipline and wisdom involved in the profession of a physician with that of the pastoral care.

If then so long a course of Study and so much exactness and readiness in it, is necessary to these Professions; nay if every mechanical Art, even the meanest, requires a course of many Years, before one can be a Master in it, shall the noblest and most important of all others, that which comes from Heaven, and leads thither again; shall that which God has honoured so highly...be esteemed so low a thing in our Eyes, that a much less degree of Time and Study, is necessary to arrive at it, than at the most sordid of all Trades whatsoever?

2. Burnet, *op.cit.* p. 61. George Bull said, "I confess that here also (and I have as much reason to rejoice in it as most of my brethren) a latitude is to be allowed; and it were a cruelty worse than that of Procrustes, to stretch all men to the same giantlike proportion of knowledge that some attain to. But yet doubtless it is a wise and prudent severity, as Nazianzen speaks, 'to measure every teacher, and stretch him out to St. Paul's rules and canons.'"—Bull, *Works*, I, 152, "Visitation Sermon, 1714."
The original source, in Nazianzen, stated:

Again, the healers of our bodies will have their labours and vigils and cares, of which we are aware...And what is the object of all this? That a man may live some days longer on the earth...

But we, upon whose efforts is staked the salvation of a soul, a being blessed and immortal, and destined for undying chastisement or praise, for its vice or virtue,—what a struggle ought ours to be, and how great still do we require to treat, or get men treated properly, and to change their life, and give up the clay to the spirit.

The primacy of the Scriptures as the foundation of the priest's thought and practice is the common denominator of most texts on the pastoral care. Burnet said, "The words of God, seem to be so express and positive; that such as do not yield to so undisputable an Authority, will be little moved by all that can be brought out of Authors of a lower Form, against whom it will be easie to muster up many exceptions, if they will not be determined by so many of the Oracles of the living God." Bishop Bull, in a visitation address to the clergy, in 1714, stated, "I have all this while spoken nothing of the holy Scriptures, that deep and unsearchable mine, from whence the divine is to fetch all his treasure." In Priest to the Temple, Herbert writes, "They say, it

1. Gregory Nazianzen, op. cit. pars. 27, 28. Gregory the Great uses the same illustration, in the same manner, in his Pastoral Care, Part I, chp 1, and Part III, chp 37. In several lengthy extracts in the Pastoral Care, Burnet emulates Nazianzen. His collation of scriptural texts from many parts of the Bible and laid together in a theme, is similar to his ancient mentor. Both use the 34th Chapter of Ezekiel as a basis for a long exhortation to pastors; cf. par.66 and Burnet, op.cit. p. 21.

2. Ibid. p. 52.

is an ill Mason that refuseth any stone; and there is no knowledge, but in a skilful hand, serves either positively as it is, or else to illustrate some other knowledge....But the chief and top of his knowledge consists in the book of books, the storehouse, and magazine of life and comfort, the Holy Scriptures."

Nazianzen's definition of the purpose of the pastoral care had, by Burnet's time, become a classical description.

The scope of our art is to provide the soul with wings, to rescue it from the world and give it to God, and to watch over that which is in His image, if it abides, to take it by the hand, if it is in danger, to restore it, if ruined, to make Christ to dwell in the heart by the Spirit; and, in short, to deify, and bestow heavenly bliss upon, one who belongs to the heavenly host.2

The intercessory role of the parish priest in the pastoral care is explicated by Herbert in context of an expansive scene of God's creation, man's fall, Christ's redemption, and the priest's continuing that work of reconciliation: God "constituted Deputies in his place, and these are Priests."3 Baxter illustrates the purpose of the pastoral care by its immediate and final reason.

The ultimate end of our pastoral oversight is that which is the ultimate end of our whole lives; even the pleasing and glorifying of God, to which is connexed the glory of the human nature also of Christ, and the glorification of His Church, and of ourselves in particular; and the nearer ends of our office are the sanctification and holy obedience of the people of our charge; their unity, order, beauty, strength,


2. Gregory Nazianzen, op. cit. par 22.

preservation, and increase; and the right worshipping of God, especially in the solemn assemblies.1

In some way or other, nearly all the writers on the subject of the pastoral care describe the office in terms of its mediation and intercession between man and God. Taylor, another source used by Burnet, relates the pastoral office to the priest's duty before God in a unique way: "Remember that it is your great duty, and tied on you by many obligations, that you be exemplar in your lives, and be patterns and presidents to your flocks." Burnet's Pastoral Care is based on this raison d'être of the priesthood, namely, that the public and private functions of the priest are the instruments by which people learn of God. The priest by his Character and design of life, ought to be a man separated from the Cares and Concerns of this World, and dedicated to the study and mediation of Divine matters. Whose Conversation ought to be a Pattern for others; a constant Preaching to his People: who ought to offer up the Prayers of the People in their name, and as their mouth to God; who ought to be praying and interceding for them in secret, as well as officiating among them in publick: who ought to be distributing among them the Bread of life, the Word of God; and to be dispensing among them the sacred Rites, which are the Badges, the Union, and the Supports of Christians. He ought to admonish, to reprove, and to comfort them not only by his general Doctrine in his Sermons, but from House to House; that so he may do these things more home (sic) and effectually, than can be done from the Pulpit. He is to watch over their Souls, to keep them from error, and to alarm them out of their sins, by giving them warning of the Judgments of God; to visit the sick, and to prepare them for the Judgment and life to come.3

3. Burnet, op. cit. pp. 2, 3. Another way in which these writers of "Pastoral Care" texts follow the example of Nazianzen, is in the emphasis placed on self-sacrifice and self-abandonment. Burnet said that any one desiring the office of the priest must have in him "the Spirit of Martyrdom. He was to look for nothing in this Service, but Labour and Persecution: He was indeed to live to the Altar."—Ibid. p. 155. "With these thoughts I am occupied night
and day, "Naziansen wrote, "they waste my marrow, and feed upon my flesh, and will not allow me to be confident or to look up... A man must himself be cleansed, before cleansing others."--Gregory Nazianzen, op. cit. par. 71. Again, the pastoral charge of Bishop Bull: that "here remaineth knowledge, prudence, holiness, all three necessary requisites to make up a complete teacher, but the greatest of these if holiness."--Works, I, 155. Gregory the Great, whose Pastoral Care exerted a strong influence on Burnet, complemented this theme of humility in exhortations to pastors: "He must die to all passions of the flesh and by now Lead a spiritual life. He must have put aside worldly prosperity; he must fear no adversity, desire only what is interior..."--Gregory the Great, Pastoral Care, Part I, chp. 10. (Vide, F.H. Dudden, Gregory the Great, His Place in History and Thought, London, 1905, II, 299f, for an excellent study of his use of scripture as the basis of his philosophy of the ministry.) Bishop Wilson was distinguished in the careful pastoral work he accomplished in the diocese of Sodor and Man. In Parochialia, or Instructions to the Clergy, he underscores the theme of humility as a prerequisite to ministry.--Works, Oxford, 1863 ed., VII, 1.
Chapter III

DEVELOPMENT OF DOCTRINE IN A MINISTER'S THOUGHT

Natural Religion

An assessment of Burnet's conception of the Christian ministry involves an analysis of his method of thought appertaining to the development and explication of Christian doctrine. Both in doctrinal and homeletic statements, his thought was punctuated with the spirit of the new age, the scientific and philosophical revolution of the seventeenth century. The man of the new age, he said, has

a larger size of Soul, and vaster thoughts, that can measure the Spheres, and enter into the Theories of the Heavenly Bodies; that can observe the proportion of Lines, and Numbers, the composition and mixtures of the several sorts of Beings, this World, this Life, and the mad Scene we are in, grow to be but little and inconsiderable things, to one of great views and noble Theories: and he who is upon the true scent of real and useful Knowledge, has always some great thing or other in prospect; new Scenes do open to him, and these draw after them Discoveries, which are often made before even those who made them were either aware, or in expectation of them; These by an endless Chain are still pointing at, or leading into further Discoveries.1

For Burnet, who thought Bacon was "the first that writ our language correctly" and was still the "best author", the new intellectual climate was a divine gift. His empathy for the position given to free inquiry by the *buccinator novi temporis* was enthusiastic and seemingly without reservation:

In a word, this lets a Man into the Mysteries of Nature, it gives him both the Keys that open it, and a Thread that will lead him further than he durst promise himself at first. We can easily apprehend the surprizing joy of one born blind, that after many years of darkness, should be blest with sight, and the leaps and life of thought, that such a one should feel upon so ravishing a change; so the new Regions into which a true Son of Knowledge enters; the new Objects, and the various shapes of them that do daily present themselves to him, give his mind a flight, a raisedness, and a refined joy, that is of another nature than all the soft and bewitching pleasures of sense.

The "Searcher after Truth" is not deceived, Burnet concludes, from the example of the life and thought of Boyle, his friend of twenty-five years. Burnet had been introduced to Boyle by Robert Moray who also introduced him to the Royal Society to which he was...

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3. Burnet, Supplement, p. 464. An excellent study of Boyle, is an older source, R.K. Duncan, The New Knowledge, London, 1905, p. 139, who puts Boyle in an historic setting, the trends in chemistry; cf. E.A. Burtt's The Metaphysical Foundations of Modern Physical Science, p. 188, for reference to Boyle's religious life and its effect on his attitudes to science. Norman Sykes, From Sheldon to Seeker, p. 2, says that the changes in scientific and intellectual thought in the period after the Restoration was revolutionary and profoundly affected religion. H.M. Gwatkin, The Church and State in England to the Death of Queen Anne, London, 1917, p. 346, said that the Restoration with its many factors, was the most sudden change in English history since the Norman Conquest.
137.

1. Elected a fellow 26 March 1664. Boyle, according to Burnet, was one of the minority of men who, unlike the masses of "puppets" confined to a "mechanical life", gained emancipation through his "pursuit of Knowledge". Only a few persons

directed all their enquiries into Nature to the Honour of its great Maker; and have joyned two things, that how much soever they may seem related, yet have been found so seldom together, that the World has been tempted to think them inconsistent; a constant looking into Nature, and a yet more constant study of Religion, and a directing and improving of the one by the other. 2

Man's ability to probe nature and discover reality may seem to be "meerly the effect of thought, of labour, and industry, yet it is really the 'Gift of God'. The capacity of our Powers, and the disposition of our Minds are in a great measure born with us... 3

In 1663, Burnet was present with his uncle, Lord Warriston, at the time the covenanter went to the scaffold. He had witnessed the execution of Guthrie in Edinburgh. And it was in this year 5 that Burnet met Henry More who told him, regarding the disputes


3. Ibid., p. 11. "That which the Language of the World calls chance, ...or good stars... (is) to the more sanctified dialect Providence."

4. Domestic State Papers, Bk 15, p. 20, May 19, 1643, Burnet was admitted to the Tower. Robert Burnet's letter to Warriston in 1643, cited supra, was an ominous sign.

then on foot about church polity and liturgy, "None of these things were so good as to make men good, nor so bad as to make men bad, but might be either good or bad according to the hands in which they fell." Many of the circumstances around Burnet's life at that time were formative factors in the development of his thought. His association with Leighton and the moderate divines in Scotland, the results of his early education under his father and the influences of the Forbesian tradition, the stark realities of political executions and lesser forms of religious persecution—these experiences are a backdrop to his statement: "I staied some time at Cambridge and was much delighted with Dr. More's conversation." During that visit to England, he made contacts that effected the future course of his life: Cudworth, More, Whichcote, Boyle, Tillotson, Stillingfleet, Patrick, Lloyd, Wilkins. He had become familiar with Smith's Discourses through Nairn, in Scotland. The Cambridge Platonists, the Latitudinarians, and leaders in the Royal Society, like Moray and Boyle, were the personal forces that continued the development of his earlier life. "I easily went into the notions of the Latitudinarians" is an evaluation of Burnet's that is comprehended most fully in light of his nascent educational environment in Scotland. One of the most remarkable features of Burnet's early experiences in the Scottish scene, and later in England, is the continuity of his theological

2. Ibid.
3. Ibid.; History Own Time, II, 676.
development. There was no basic source of conflict between the influences on his life in Scotland and subsequently in England. One of the clearest examples of this is the person of Robert Leighton, a major influence on Burnet in Scotland, and who was himself indebted to the Cambridge Platonists. This factor is overlooked by Butler, but explained by Knox, in their respective biographies.

Burnet's reliance upon Cambridge Platonism is evident in one of his earliest books, composed as an irenic effort involving presbyterian non-conformists in Scotland:

If by carnal reason, you mean a sober examining things, by the dictates of Nature; see that you condemn not that, which is indeed the voice of God in us, and therefore is to be received. And if you make this contrary to Religion, you bring as great a stain upon Religion, as an Atheist could devise.

The Cambridge Platonists provided Burnet with a philosophy for searching out an authority and a method in stating the case for the Christian faith. This theological method was evident in his sermons as well as in doctrinal treatises. In one case Burnet described the instrument of means by which God providentially relates His will to man, not by the person of the Holy Spirit, but in terms of physico-theology: "Thus when this is once laid

1. Knox, op. cit., p.226: "There is no question, but that Leighton's true spiritual home was with Plato and the Cambridge Platonists, and that he is rightly called the English Plato." His library bears this out.—Ibid., pp. 227, 28.


3. S.P. (Simon Patrick), A Brief Account of the New Sect of Latitude Men; Together With Some Reflections on the New Philosophy, 1662, pp.4-5: the author defines "A Latitude-man" as a term "set up to encounter with for want of a real enemy; it is a convenient name to reproach a man that you have a spite to; 'tis what you will, and you may affix it unto whom you will; 'tis something will serve to talk to, when all
downe, that the act of the divine mind gives such motions to matter as it designs should form it into such a texture and that allwaies moves according to these, all miracles are easily apprehended.¹ That Burnet would speculate about the spiritual realities behind the phenomenal world and identify the essence of both in God, is a mark of the Cambridge Platonists. But, as Powicke points out, what probably interested divines like Burnet in that school of thought was the priority given to ethical idealism and religious experience that avoids entangling dogmaticism.² For the Platonists the "vitals of religion are few", a sentiment agreeable to a student of Forbes and Leighton.

Footnote 3 continued from preceding page.

other discourse fails," Burnet, in 1669, was accused of being a "Latitude-man" and a "Socinian"; A Modest Conference, p. 85.


Burnet defines, partially, the method and thought of Benjamin Whichcote as one who was repulsed from the systematic theology of Calvinistic Puritanism. He considered "religion as a seed of a deiform nature." "In order to this, he set young students much on reading the ancient Philosophers, chiefly Plato, Tully, and Plotin, and on considering the Christian religion as a doctrine sent from God, both to elevate and sweeten humane nature..." He describes the effect of this Christian Platonism on the disciples of the school:

They loved the constitution of the Church, and the Liturgy, and could well live under them: But they did not think it unlawful to live under another form. They wished that things might have been carried with more moderation. And they continued to keep a good correspondence with those who had differed from them in opinion, and allowed a great freedom both in philosophy, and in divinity: From whence they were called men of Latitude. 1

Part of the significance of this account, is that Burnet himself is described.

The ethical absolute, the dependability of man's thought process, and a charitable spirit are marks of the Platonists. Whichcote said that reason is an ultimate authority for religion, because God is the source of all reason. There is no inconsistency, therefore, between acts of grace and the acts of creation, between revealed religion and natural religion. When man answers the principles of his creation, "to fulfil natural light, to answer natural conscience, to be throughout rational" he finds his true

2. Ibid., I, 188
3. Dean Inge, Philosophy of Plotinus, II, 228-32.
self fulfilled. "The spirit in man is the candle of the Lord,
lighted by God, and lighting man to God." Reason and grace are not contradictory, "for God is acknowledged in both,—in the former as laying the groundwork of His creation, in the latter as reviving and restoring it." Burnet defines idolatry in the theological context of Platonism which regarded the rational faculty as the point of contact between man and God:

This is that which makes Idolatry so great a Sin, so often forbid by God, and so severely punished, not only as it is injurious to the Majesty of God, but because it corrupts the Ideas or Notions of God. Those Ideas rightly formed, are the Basis upon which all Religion is built. The Seeds and Principles of a new and Godlike nature spring up in us, as we form our selves upon the true Ideas or Notions of God.

Whichcote repeatedly used the phrase, "natural conscience", to depict the divine influence in man's rationale. This same description is picked up by Burnet in one of his earlier works where he says that the "conscience of Natural Religion" will assist man to awaken to his spiritual needs, and that the grace of God poured out by his Spirit does not coerce but invites man to freely choose the ethical life. Powicke's delineation of the term "faith" in the

2. Ibid.
3. Ibid. 371.
sense of the Cambridge Platonists, is appropriate to this statement of Burnet's: "Faith was the mind's assent to the evidence, intuitional or inferential, which reason brought forward." If faith is defined in this way, covenant theology, and its concomitant, the doctrine of election, is not a viable option unless of course the Platonists conclude, and they do not, that only God's elect are capable of rational thought. The Platonists held that the Imago Dei was never totally obliterated in man, and that "the candle of the Lord", his "natural conscience", was a universal point of contact between man and God. Scripture, and revealed religion, are not overturned by this method, but instead confirm what creation has done, and what natural religion understands.

One of the often repeated texts in Whichcote's preaching supports this opinion against the view of eternal decrees: "The Grace of God that bringeth salvation hath appeared to all men, teaching us that, denying ungodliness and worldly lusts, we should live soberly, righteously, and godly in this present world." This contention was reinforced by belief in an ethical absolute, a characteristic of Platonic and neo-Platonic philosophy. Whichcote said that the moral part of religion is immutable.

1. Powicke, _op. cit._ p. 27.
Moral Laws are laws of themselves without sanction by will; and the necessity of them arises from the things themselves. All other things in religion are in order to these. The moral part of religion does sanctify the soul; and is final both to what is instrumental and instituted.1

The relation of ethics to truth, in fact the identity of the two, is a prominent feature of Burnet's method. "The whole moral and practical part of Christianity, together with the modesty and reasonableness of its Worship, are great Inducements, if not Arguments, to believe all the rest of it." Not explaining why truth and goodness are mutually dependent, Burnet does say:

Truth is a rational nature acting in conformity to itself in all things, and goodness is an inclination to promote the happiness of other beings: so truth and goodness were the essential perfections of every reasonable being, and certainly most eminently in the Deity. 3

Natural Religion, according to Burnet's mentor, Whichcote, is not a burden, "but a remedy or a pleasure". "Religion is intelligible, rational and accountable; it is not our burden, but our privilege." 4 Rational, ethical idealism is stated unequivocally,

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1. Whichcote, Aphorism No. 221. in Moral and Religious Aphorisms collected from the MS. papers of the Rev. and learned Dr. Whichcote and published MDCCIII by Dr Jefferies, now republished, with very large additions, by Samuel Salter, D.D.... London, 1753.

2. Burnet, Four Discourse to the Clergy of the Dioceses of Sarum... by...Gilbert...Bishop of Sarum, London, 1694, p. 7, hereafter referred to as Four Discourses.


4. Whichcote, Aphorism, 220.
in Whichcote. "To go against reason is to go against God; it is the self-same to do that which the reason of the case doth require, and that which God Himself doth appoint. Reason is the Divine Governor of man's life; it is the very voice of God." Burnet follows this same method of epistemology: "We cannot be bound to believe any thing that contradicts our Reasons; for the Evidence of Reason as well as that of Sense is the voice of God to us."

He applies this basic conception of the identity of reason with the will of God in his discussion of the Roman Catholic Mass. Because it is unreasonable to change the order of nature, per transubstantiation, without God's revealing the purpose of such an extraordinary event, it cannot be valid. Had God intended the Mass to be meaningful, it would also be rational.

1. Whichcote, Aphorism 676.
3. Ibid. "They put Nature out of its channel, and reverse its fixed Laws and Motions..." Basil Willey states: "We are beginning to see, then that in its quest for truth the seventeenth century discovered two main kinds of certainty, one objective or external, the other subjective or internal. In respect of the external world, that account was 'truest' which explained the mechanics of causation; and the most 'real' of the properties of things were those which could be mathematically expressed. The internal certainties, as we have seen, were chiefly relevant in the regions of faith and of ethics, where truth came to mean that which is vouched for by the 'inner light', by 'Reason' and the 'moral sense', or by nature and 'good sense'."—The Seventeenth-Century Background, 1962 ed, p. 74.

This division of the ground of certainty, a bifurcated epistemology, is, perhaps, incorrect. It would seem that the Cambridge Platonists, who more than any other group represent the philosophy of the seventeenth century Willey refers to, make just the opposite postulation. Truth is one, the means of knowing truth is one, nature and grace are one, and as the above citation from Burnet shows, the scientific method is thoroughly and rigorously applied to spiritual reality. Whichcote would not support the contention that religious certainty is anything but "objective". That which is subjective, from Willey's reading, is in the Platonist the objectivity
Ralph Cudworth was perhaps the leading intellectual of the Cambridge Platonists. He was held in high repute by Philip van Limborch. Both Cudworth and Limborch were friends and correspondents of Burnet. Burnet used the Platonist's and the Arminian's works in a recommended syllabus of theological studies. Cudworth attempts to answer the atheist and the orthodox in his principal writings. The atheist is disproved by the argument that all motions are the effect of corporeal substance upon corporeal substance, which, regressing in an infinite chain, implies that a non-material substance, possessing "autokinesy", originated the motion. The orthodox apology for Platonism is important in the analysis of Burnet's thought, for if God is apprehended directly through the agency of cognition, what is the relevance and uniqueness of Jesus Christ? Cudworth answers in *The Union of Christ and The Church*, that Christ is the archetypal of the personality of man in union with a personal God. *The True Intellectual System of the Universe* was published when Burnet was the preacher at the Chapel of the Rolls. He attempts to provide a metaphysical system for Platonism. This system is evident in Burnet's discussion of the first article of his *Exposition of the Thirty-Nine Articles*. God's

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Footnote 3 continued from preceding page.

of nature. Two quotations representing seventeenth century thought, both used by Willey, bear this out. Locke said, "We have a more certain knowledge of the existence of a God, than of any thing our senses have not immediately discovered to us. Nay, I presume to say that we more certainly know that there is a God, than that there is anything else without us."--*Essay Concerning Human Understanding*, IV. 10.1, and 6. Bacon did separate metaphysics and inductive method, but for those who relied on secondary causes in nature, he said that "when the mind goes deeper and sees the dependence of causes and the works of Providence, it will easily perceive, according to the mythology of the poets, that the upper link of Nature's chain is fastened to Jupiter's Throne."--*De Augmentis* (Bohn ed.) pp. 31-2.
modes of being are unveiled in the finite world by a creative act. Man is given "ideas"—that correspond, in fact are created by—the "Intelligible Ideas" of God. These "ideas" are the essence of finitude, not the effect of motion on matter, as in Hobbes. The "consciousness" of the man makes him aware that he is a subordinate being. This is another mode of God's self-revelation. Ethical action, informed by the conscience, is a concomitant of truth, or the "Intelligible Ideas". The universal access of all men to these "ideas", which constitute the essence of finitude, is the philosophic basis of the unity of man. Therefore, it would be a contradiction of basic philosophy to find a disciple of the Cambridge Platonists who was not a champion of toleration. This philosophical stance was taken by Burnet in Scotland, in his attitude towards test acts; and, of course toleration interlineated a basic political issue that plagued the Church of England after the Revolution. That Burnet, like the Cambridge Platonists, was not consistent in the application of this rudimentary thought, is noted by the absolute intolerance they had for papists, a fact that gave some credence to Hobbes' theory, that after all, ethics are not immutable, but merely the decrees of the legislative unit and enforced by the magistrate.

Burnet's presupposition that "ideas" constitute the essential nature of finitude, and yet these ideas are so linked with man's being that he can act freely, is an argument very similar to

1. For Cudworth's discussion on motion and matter, and the deduction of "autokinesy", vide, Intellectual System, Chap. V. par. 4, 1845 ed.
Cudworth's theme in the Intellectual System. Cudworth argued:

Were existence to be allowed to nothing that doth not fall under corporeal sense, then must we deny the existence of soul and mind in ourselves and others, because we can neither feel nor see any such thing. Whereas we are certain of the existence of our own cogitations, and partly from that principle of reason, that nothing cannot act. And the existence of other individual souls is manifest to us from their effects upon their respective bodies, their motions, actions, and discourse. Wherefore, since the Atheists cannot deny the existence of soul or mind in men, though no such thing fall under external sense, they have as little reason to deny the existence of a perfect Mind, presiding over the universe, without which it cannot be conceived whence our imperfect ones should be derived. 2

Burnet is speaking to the clergy of his diocese when he warned of the perils of atheism, and he challenged the clergy to be prepared to defend the "foundation of our Faith and Hope." Then he laid out his own method of thought:

As a preamble to what is to come afterwards, let us look into our Natures, and see if we do not feel a Principle within us that both thinks and acts freely, which is totally different from matter, which neither thinks nor chuses. This Principle then feels that its thoughts do direct its freedom in all that it does, and therefore is capable of good and evil, of reward and punishment. The more distinctly that it thinks, and the more exactly that it follows those Truths which by thinking it discovers, it feels it self become the more perfect; the more that it can resist all impressions which arise either from the constitution of the Body, or from outward Objects and Accidents.

...There is also a Chain of Rules which arise out of these two qualities, that in the opinion of all Mankind are the best our Nature is capable of, which are Veracity and Goodness, which render all the Societies of men both safe and happy. 3

1. He is perhaps referring to Hobbes' Leviathan, Chp. 46.


3. Burnet, Four Discourses, pp. 3, 4: The last statement of the passage may be an allusion to Hobbes' thought that ethics evolve from the state, Burnet reverses the proposition, that the state exists because of the immutability of ethics. This view of ethics is a principle mark of Natural Religion, and the Cambridge Platonists.
That the nation was being torn apart by civil strife at the time of writing the Leviathan, is perhaps as important a factor in Hobbes' conclusions as the underlying philosophy of materialism. In Hobbes there is a rejection of mysticism and supernaturalism, particularly as it was spawned by Roman Catholic Aristotelianism. In Burnet too, as in most theologians of Natural Religion, there is a kind of reduction of supernaturalism.

Burnet's refutation of Hobbes is an example of his doctrinal method in which he deploys the arguments of the Cambridge school of philosophers. Hobbes said that "the universe, that is, the whole mass of all things that are, is corporeal" and "that which is not body is no part of the universe". He asserted a definition of the nature of mind and soul in material terms, to which Cudworth responded:

A modern atheistic pretender to wit hath publicly owned this same conclusion, that 'mind is nothing but local motion in the organic parts of man's body'. These men have been sometimes indeed a little troubled with the fancy, apparition or seeming of cogitation—that is, the consciousness of it, as knowing not well what to make thereof; but then they put it off again, and satisfy themselves worshipfully with this, that fancy is but fancy, but the reality of cogitation nothing

1. Hobbes, Leviathan Chp. 32: "For it is with the mysteries of our religion as with wholesome pills for the sick, which swallowed whole, have the virtue of cure; but chewed, are for the most part cast up again without effect." We have quoted Burnet, above, from his discussion on Article XXVIII, in which he rejects the scholastic arguments for the mass on the same grounds. It is a supernaturalist's view of reality, and incompatible with the rational faculty which is God's mode of being in man.

but local motion; as if there were as much reality in fancy and consciousness as there is in local motion. That which inclined these men so much to this opinion was only because they were sensible and aware of this, that if there were any other action besides local motion admitted, there must needs be some substance acknowledged besides body. 1

Burnet answered two objections raised concerning the Platonic conception of "immaterial substance". One, animals seem to possess the same qualities only in a lower degree. Burnet defines the distinctiveness of man as liberty to think and act, but animals appear to be captive to "organized" matter. The other alternative he does not totally reject, that is, animals may have the essential substance of "mind". Two, the mind is dependent on the body which is illustrated by illnesses of the body that disrupt, even destroy the capacity of the mind. Burnet says that the mind is essentially not effected by the body, not even by the deterioration of the body, for thoughts and ideas remain constant. He believes that the mind is distinctive, qualitatively so, from the corporeal substance, which he says is a better hypothesis than the alternative, that matter, in and of itself, can think. 2 Burnet believes further that the essential being of man, i.e., mind or consciousness, can exist apart from any corporeal substance, consequently, the meaning of angels in the Scripture. These he calls "Intellectual Substances". 3

3. Ibid.
Burnet views the New Covenant, in some instances, in the light of Platonistic thought. Rather than a form of personalism in which the Christian is bound to God by the Person Jesus Christ, there are scattered cases in which the Christian faith is depicted in the terms of ethical absolutes. Like Cudworth's "intelligible ideas", or Whichcote's "candle of the Lord" that enlightens the conscience, the terms of the faith are obedience to the rules given to man by Christ: "...these Rules must bind all those to whom they are proposed, whether they are enacted by Law or not: For if we are assured that they are a part of the Law of the King of Kings, we are bound to believe and obey them, whether Human Laws do favour them or not; it being an evident thing, that no subordinate Authority can derogate from that which is superior to it; So if the Laws of God are clearly revealed, and certainly conveyed down to us, we are bound by them, and no Human Law can dissolve this Obligation."  

John Smith's Select Discourses were Burnet's introduction to the Cambridge Platonists. The Discourses, never completed, were intended to be a system of divinity. Burnet's first contact with the work came before his ordination trials, and it has already been pointed out that he had no formal training in divinity. For one who, in the spirit of his age, was reacting against scholasticism, Smith's system of theology would have been very appealing. Principally,

2. "Intra te quaere Deum": Smith, Select Discourses, 1673 ed. I, 3:
   For the excellent introduction by Matthew Arnold to Smith's works, vide, W.M. Metcalfe ed., Paisley, 1882.
Smith argued that all reason and knowledge emanate from within the soul, or mind, i.e., the doctrine of innate notions. Knowledge is not limited to sensory experience. Platonic conceptions of reality converge on three subjects in the "system" of the Discourses: immortality of the soul, the nature of God, and the knowledge of God through Christ. It is a theology without dogmaticism or debate, but with a serious and concerted criticism of Puritan theology. Smith's death in 1652 cut short the plan for ten Discourses.

For the Platonists, and largely, it follows for their disciples, the Latitudinarian divines, an emphasis on moral perception and obedience is the key to their method of doctrinal discussion. The identity of truth and goodness in rudimentary Platonic thought is illustrated by Smith: "Were I to define Divinity, I should rather call it a Divine Life, than a Divine Science: it being something rather to be understood by a Spiritual sensation, than by a Verbal description." This philosophy would have been in close harmony with the "quietistic movement" associated with the "North-East Mystics" of Scotland, who had some effect on Burnet, another illustration of the continuity in Burnet's intellectual environment and development from his Scottish through his English experience. Smith defines true religion as

1. Ibid., Discourse II, passim, Smith does not answer the thought of Hobbes at this point.

2. Of the six, first published in 1660, Dean Inge said they were the "best University sermons" he knew. —The Platonic Tradition, p. 58. Smith delivered the Discourses in the capacity of Dean and Catechist for Queens College, Cambridge. —Powicke, op. cit. p. 88ff.

a new nature informing the souls of men; it is a godlike frame of spirit, discovering itself most of all in serene and clear minds, in deep humility, meekness, self-denial, universal love of God, and all true goodness, without partiality and without hypocrisy; whereby we are taught to know God, and knowing Him to love Him, and conform ourselves as much as may be, to all that perfection which shines forth in Him. 1

Burnet repeatedly emphasized the need for moral goodness coupled with true thought, for example, in his report of conversations with the Earl of Rochester.

He comprehended the dictates of reason and philosophy, in which as the mind became conversant, there would soon follow as he believed, a greater easiness in obeying its precepts: I told him on the other hand, that all his speculations of philosophy would not serve him in any stead, to the reforming of his nature and life, till he applied himself to God for inward assistances. 2

The influence of Plotinus on Smith is unmistakable as he applies this formula of the identity of truth and goodness to the Christian faith. When God is discovered within, ethical consciousness is found as well. God is more than logical reason, he is "energy" within man. "God has so copied forth Himself into the whole life and energy of man's soul, and that the lovely characters of Divinity may be most easily seen and read of all men within themselves." 3 Burnet relates that he told Rochester, the deathbed repentant, that "if the order of the universe persuaded him to think there was a God, he must at the same time conceive him to be both wise and good, as well as powerful, since these all appear'd equally in the creation." 4


In contradistinction to Augustinian and Calvinistic theology with its emphasis on divine will, the eastern Fathers and the Cambridge Platonists place the emphasis on divine goodness. If this goodness is part of the "reason" implanted in man, the communication of theology depends as much on ethical life as correct thought. The result of this method of doctrine in Burnet, for example, is an abounding emphasis upon moral exhortation which permeates his sermons, and to a degree even his historical interpretation is affected by this presupposition. Burnet is well aware of this, for he writes in the Preface to the History of His Own Time, "My chief design in writing was to give a true view of men and of counsels, leaving publick transactions to Gazetts and the publick historians of the times. I writ with a design to make both my self and my readers wiser and better, and to lay open the good and bad of all sides and parties..." Neither Smith, nor Burnet, allow the total identification of man's reason with the being of God, thereby causing the eclipse that occurs in non-religious humanism. But Smith's thought leads in that direction when he states that God has "copied forth Himself into the whole life and energy of man's soul"; however, he warns in a later passage: "When we reflect upon our own idea of pure and perfect reason, we know that our own souls are not it, but only partake of it."

1. Burnet, History Own Time, I, 2.
2. Smith, Select Discourses, 1821 ed. V, 134 and V, 137.
Henry More attacks the thought of Hobbes and Descartes in 1671 as atheists and materialists, because the distinction between spirit and matter is lost in their thought. From More's point of view, Descartes' conception of spirit makes it impossible for God to operate in the material world. He argues from the idea that matter is contingent, but contingency implies another order that is superior. This order of being that is self-existent, is not therefore contingent, and if not contingent it is not matter, but spirit. Burnet said, "More was an open hearted, and sincere Christian philosopher, who studied to establish men in the great principles of religion against atheism, that was then beginning to gain ground, chiefly by reason of the hypocrisy of some, and the fantastical conceits of the more sincere enthusiasts." More's accrediting reason as a final criterion of authority in his method of philosophy is explained in the Preface to Conjectura Cabbalistica... first published in 1653:

For mine own part, reason seems to me to be so far from being any contemptible principle in man, that it must be acknowledged in some sort to be in God Himself. For what is the divine wisdom but that steady comprehension of the ideas of all things, with their mutual respects, one to another, congruities and incongruities, dependences and independencies which respects do necessarily arise from the natures of the ideas themselves; both which the divine intellect looks through at once, discerning thus the order and coherence of all things. And what is this but Ratio stabilis, a kind of steady and immovable reason, discovering the connection of all things at once? 3

1. Henry More, Enchiridium Metaphysicum, 1671, c. 9, 10.
3. More, Preface to Conjectura Cabbalistica, or Attempt to interpret the Three first Chapters of Genesis in a threefold manner -- literal, philosophical, and mystical, or divinely moral, in Collection of several philosophical writings, London, 1712-3.
The Achilles' heel of the Cambridge Platonists was discovered by Burnet when he made application of this fundamental conception of perfect essence as the "intelligible idea" of God stamped on man. A metaphysical determinism results from applying More's view of Ratio stabilis to the cognitive faculty of man; is it free thought, or determined directly by God? Burnet says that "distinct thoughts" are plainly an imperfection;

there is indeed a vast difficulty that arises here; for those Acts of God are supposed free; so that they might have been otherwise than we see they are: And then it is not easy to imagine how they should be one with the Divine Essence; to which necessary Existence does certainly belong. It cannot be said that those acts are necessary, and could not be otherwise: For since all God's Transient Acts are the certain Effects of his Immanent ones, if the Immanent ones are necessary, then the Transient must be so likewise, and so every thing must be necessary: A Chain of necessary Fate must run through the whole Order of Things.

His conclusion does not reflect the unqualified certainty of thought usually associated with Natural Religion. "Thus there are such great difficulties on all hands in this matter, That it is much the wisest and safest course to adore what is above our Apprehensions, rather than to enquire too curiously, or determine too boldly in it." Burnet's conclusion seems to mean that reason as the "voice of God" is not entirely audible.

Revealed Religion

Revelation was an essential category in Burnet's theological method:

That religion is chiefly designed for perfecting the nature of man, for improving his faculties, governing his actions and securing the peace of every man's conscience, and of the societies of mankind in common, is a truth so plain, that without further arguing about it all will agree to it. Every part of religion is then to be judged by its relation to the main ends of it; and since the Christian doctrine was revealed from heaven, as the most perfect and proper way that ever was, for the advancing the good of mankind, nothing can be a part of this holy faith but what is proportioned to the end for which it was designed. 1

Natural Religion provided only a partial foundation in his method of doctrine on which he could state and sustain a case for the Christian faith. He had to choose among several alternatives: one, to become a thorough-going rationalist, such as Richard Bentley who confutes atheism, in the first series of Boyle Lectures, without once referring to Scripture as an authority. This was the beginning of a new trend in a century when the authority of Scripture was nearly undisputed among a wide variety of thinkers from Laud, Cudworth, and Milton to Locke and Hobbes. Two, he could have committed his thought to the explication of morality and avoided basic theological issues that have given rise to contention, such as the doctrines of Christology, Trinity, and Election. Tillotson more or less represents this position. Burnet said of Tillotson,

He was in great doubt, whether the surest way to perswade the World, to the belief of the sublime Truths that are


contained in the Scriptures, concerning God the Father, the Son, and the Holy Ghost, and concerning the Person of Christ, was to enter much into the discussion of those Mysteries.... He thought the maintaining these Doctrines as they are proposed in the Scriptures, without entering too much into Explanations or Controversies, would be the most effectual way to preserve the Reverence that was due to them, and to fix them in mens belief. 1

Three, a synthesis between natural and revealed theology, reason and faith, was the method Burnet chose to delineate the ground and structure of Christian doctrine. This method aligned him with the Anglican tradition of reformed theology represented by Hooker and Chillingworth. The influence of these leading Anglican divines on Burnet has been illustrated. Chillingworth, he said, had the 'best style' of all English theologians, and Hooker's *Ecclesiastical Polity* was the most important study in theology he encountered before his ordination trials. 2

While Burnet affirmed the place of reason as a test of truth in theological statement, he did not reduce mystery, such as Toland did, to the confines of reason. He said that the mysteries of God and Christ are exalted above the reach of our faculties, but even reason itself teacheth that it must be so; since if there be a God, he must be infinite and incomprehensible; and therefore it is not to be wondered if the scriptures offer some mysteries to us about God and Christ, which choke and stifle the impressions we are apt to take of things. 3

1. Burnet, *A Sermon Preached at the Funeral of ...John... Archbishop of Canterbury... November 30...1694*. London, 1694, p. 20, hereafter referred to as *Funeral Sermon*.


The nature of the Christian faith is "distinctly plain" because of the relationship of faith and reason. For the first Christians, their faith rested on the evidence of miracles which was sense data. Burnet rejects Hobbes on the grounds of revealed religion which is denied by the hypothesis of the "Leviathan," that makes Law to be Religion, and Religion to be Law, that is, that obliges Subjects to believe that Religion to be true, or at least to follow that which is enacted by the Laws of their Country."

The inter-action between faith and reason, revealed and natural religion, has been stated variously: Sherlock wrote against Socinians that

we must believe nothing that contradicts the plain and express dictates of natural reason, which all mankind agree in, whatever pretence of revelation there be for it. Well, say they, then you must expound Scripture so as to make it agree with the necessary principles and dictates of reason. No, say I, that does not follow. I must expound Scripture according to the use and signification of the words, and must not force my own sense on it, if it will not bear it. But suppose then that the natural construction of the words import such a sense, as is contrary to some evident Principle of Reason? Then I won't believe it. 2

But the "reasonableness" of the faith does not involve a dissipation of incomprehensible elements in belief by the exercise of logic. He said, "The Fundamental mystery of the Christian Religion is the stupendous Love of God in giving His Own Son, His only begotten Son, for the redemption of mankind." 3 Henry More did not commit

3. Ibid. p. 238. This excellent tract represents part of the argument of the Latitudinarians in the Trinitarian controversy. W.R. Sorley said, "The time was ripe for the discussion of the content and basis of Protestant Theology," referring to the Post-Revolutionary period.—History of English Philosophy, Cambridge, 1920, p. 145.
Scripture to reason, but reason to Scripture. "Suppose there be a place of Scripture about some notion that doth transcend the reach of human reason, and which is knowable only by divine revelation; and divine revelation is comprehended in a form of words that I cannot fully comprehend; in this case I refer myself to God, and believe that that is true which God intended in those words. This I call an implicit faith." Taylor was critical of reason as a criterion of truth and an ultimate authority in matters of doctrine: "Reason is such a box of quicksilver that it abides nowhere; it dwells in no settled mansion; it is like a dove's neck, or a changeable taffeta."

In the later years of Burnet's career, he said that he had never departed from the "principles laid down" by Hooker. There does not seem to be any basic intellectual conflict between the philosophies of Hooker and the Cambridge Platonists vis-à-vis, Plato and Aristotle. Hooker used the format of Aristotle to establish the reasonableness of the constitution of the church to the Calvinistic Puritans who desired to throw off civil controls. The doctrine of innate ideas in the Cambridge Platonists corresponded to the cautious empiricism of Aristotle. The element of intellectual ecstasy that gave the Platonists a view of reality akin to mysticism, however, is absent in Hooker. While the two

1. More, Aphorisms 981: This is an example that "reason" for the Platonists is not merely logical deduction, but obedience to conscience.
systems of thought have philosophical distinctions that conflict, it is not inconsistent to find in the thought of Hooker and the Platonists broad agreement. In respect to the question on basic method and authority in doctrine this agreement is manifest. Hooker like the Platonists resisted theological controversy that tended "to lurk under shifting ambiguities and equivocations of words in matters of principal weight." 1 There is a kind of finality in the authority ascribed to reason, that would emphasize other influences on Burnet's training in theology. Reason can determine good and evil. "That, which by right exposition buildeth up Christian faith, being misconstrued breedeth error; between true and false construction, the difference reason must show." 2 Unlike the rationalists, Hooker does not give reason an exclusive seat in the tribunal that judges good from evil, reality from unreality. But in the context of what is revealed in Scripture, reason is able to distinguish truth from falsehood. Hooker makes a synthesis of revealed and natural religion. For example, the Scriptures "profess to contain in it all things that are necessary unto salvation; yet the meaning cannot be simply of all things which are necessary, but all things that are necessary in some certain kind or form; as all things which are necessary, and either could not at all or could not easily be known by the light of natural discourse; all things which are necessary to be known

1. Hooker, Ecclesiastical Polity, VIII, i. 2.
2. Ibid., I. vi. 5.
3. Ibid. III. viii. 16.
that we may be saved; but known with presupposal of knowledge concerning certain principles whereof it receiveth us already persuaded, and then instructeth us in all the residue that are necessary." Burnet illustrated the method of synthesis in the example of Jesus. "No Appeal was here made to Tradition, or to Church-Authority, but only by the Enemies of our Saviour. Whereas he and his Disciples urge these passages in their true sense, and in the consequences that arose out of them. They did in that, Appeal to the rational Faculties of those to whom they spoke." Burnet's Platonism complements the notion of Hooker that reason interprets the Scripture. Burnet adds that the mind is governed by God who "has dealt with our Understandings as he hath dealt with our Wills: He proposes our Duty to us, with strong Motives to Obedience; he promises us inward Assistances, and accepts of our sincere Endeavours."  

For Hooker the purpose of Scripture is discovered in the "main drift of the whole New Testament" which is captured in one text of the fourth Gospel: "'These things are written, that ye might believe that Jesus is Christ the Son of God, and that in believing ye might have life through His Name.' The drift of the Old that which the Apostle mentioneth to Timothy, 'The Holy Scriptures are able to make thee wise unto salvation.' So that the

1. Ibid. I. xiv. 1.
2. Burnet, Exposition Thirty-Nine Articles, p. 77.
3. Ibid.
general end both of Old and New is one; the difference between salvation through Christ that should come, the New by teaching them consisting in this, that the Old did make wise by teaching that Christ the Saviour is come, and that Jesus Whom the Jews did crucify, and Whom God did raise again from the dead, is He."

Burnet reveals his impressions of the character of the age when he states the purpose of revelation in Scripture: "The main articles of the Christian religion, as it is distinguished from all other religions, are those which relate to the person and sufferings of Christ; and therefore it is of the last importance for us to have our notions concerning these, right and truly stated: and that the rather, because in the Age in which we live, the laughing at every thing that is resolved into a Mystery, passes for a piece of Wit, and has the Character of a free and inquisitive mind."

Phillip Limborch was highly respected by Burnet and impressed the young theological student with his Arminian doctrinal views and toleration for differences of opinion. Burnet first encountered the Dutchman during continental travels prior to his ordination. He writes succinctly of the Arminians he met on that occasion: "the clearest heads", "the best tempers", and "they had


2. Burnet, *Four Discourses*, p. 77: In *An Exposition of the Church Catechism for the Use of the Diocese of Sarum*, published 1710, p. 41. (hereafter referred to as *Exposition Church Catechism*), Burnet turns the formula around and states that we believe Christ and worship him because it is stated in Scripture.
an excellent sense of the practical parts of religion..." Burnet is not the first Scot who was strongly influenced by his travels on the continent, and it is a mistake to assume that Burnet had to change his theological position before accepting Arminian tenets of doctrine. Limborch defines his terms clearly in his systematic divinity, beginning with religious belief in general. Religion is "the right way of knowing and serving the true God, upon the hopes of obtaining everlasting life." But specifically he builds the


3. In her biography Foxcroft has an excellent selection of the letters between Burnet and Limborch. She deposited copies in the Bodleian Library. Foxcroft does make this mistake concerning Burnet's theological background. As a biographer who investigated thoroughly the English scene of Burnet's life, the following assumptions of his Scottish heritage are made: "... it was probably his relations with the Dutch Arminians in 1664 which had first shaken Burnet's hold on his ancestral Calvinism."--Life of Burnet, p. 225. "His own conversion from Calvinistic views had been gradual...he could not abhor the doctrines to which Leighton had always clung."--Ibid., p. 365. Burnet's theological alliance with the Latitudinarians, his early discipleship to Smith, Cudworth, More, and Hooker, are hardly signs of "ancestral Calvinism". When Burnet says that he was "well acquainted with the Remonstants, particularly with Foelenburgh," it indicates his theological direction.

case for Christian religion: "Religion is either Natural or Revealed. Natural religion depends on the dictates of right reason, stamped by God on the minds of men: Revealed Religion depends on those manifests which God has made of himself, in the various dispensations under the Old Testament; and by the full declaration of his will, by Jesus Christ, under the New. This we call the Christian Religion." Limborch discusses a synthesis of reason and faith in a way similar to Hooker: "...from the light of reason and natural principles, we may arrive at the knowledge of God; yet the clearest proofs are drawn from the divine revelation." Limborch calls the rationalists "opponents" of the faith when they attempt to explicate miracles in terms of natural theology, or the laws of determinism of a mechanical universe. They "overlook the distinction between the power of nature and the power of God, who is the author of nature." "The rule of religion is the holy Scripture, or the Books of the Old and New Testament, wherein God has revealed his will to mankind..." Knowledge or reason works within the context of faith. What God reveals is not contingent upon reason, but reason makes clear the meaning of the revelation. "Knowledge is that intellectual virtue, by which we have just ideas of those things that are necessary to salvation." Like the

1. Ibid.
2. Ibid. I. 11. 4.
3. Ibid.
4. Ibid. I.iii.1.
5. Ibid. V.v. 1.
Platonist, he cannot condone an attempt to separate truth from goodness, knowledge from moral obedience: "For a mere knowledge of God and Jesus Christ is not sufficient to salvation, without a due worship of both, and a strict conformity to the divine precepts, as an evidence of our love to God."

In his Four Discourses, Burnet brings the argument for the central doctrine of Christ and His work into this setting of a synthesis between faith and reason. The New Testament makes it clear that God did not "intend to give the world such an undeniable Evidence, as that it should be out of their power to disbelieve."

Similar to the pattern of Limborch, he suggests that sufficient reason to acknowledge the validity of revealed religion is a concomitant of the content of revelation.

Therefore to make our Faith to be both well grounded, and also highly acceptable to God, it is enough that there are sufficient Reasons offered to us, to persuade our belief, and that there is no good reason to the contrary, tho' we may start possibilities of imaginary reasons against it.

It is not necessary, according to Burnet, to make reason stretch to the outer limits of faith. In this context his clearest statement on authority in doctrine is made. If the authority is valid, then it is only necessary to trust the authority, but not to comprehend the metaphysical nature of the object of belief. Reason tells us that this formula is sound, for we "can frame no distinct Idea of that Infinite Essence, and it were not Infinite if we could."

1. Ibid.
2. Burnet, Four Discourses, p. 55.
3. Ibid.
"Great difference is to be made between the believing a thing, and the apprehending the manner of it. If we have sufficient Authority to guide our Belief, it will be no just objection against it, that the manner of it cannot be explained."¹ The authority for this belief is the Bible. He mentioned the great difference between the mystery of God in Christian doctrine, and mystery in pagan religions. In the latter case, the mysteries were merely "secrets" kept from "the herd", but in the Christian faith, the mystery of Christ is a gift to all believers.

A concise summary of divinity is given in Burnet's **Discourse wherein is held the opposition...to the Roman Church**, first published in 1688. In setting out his definition of the nature of the Christian faith, it is evident what methods of doctrinal authority he uses. Christianity is described under "four branches". "The first is, to give us right apprehensions of the nature and attributes of God, that we may conceive aright of him and adore him suitably to his nature and according to his will, and thereby be partakers of the Divine nature."² This "apprehension" that overtly appears to be similar to the "Intelligible Ideas" of Cudworth's **Intellectual System**, is more closely aligned with Limborch. The basic idea of God which results in man's worship of God, is not natural, but revealed in Christ. The second aspect of the

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1. Ibid. p.89.
2. Ibid. p. 79.
4. Ibid. p. 3.
Christian religion is the method of man's reconciliation to God. Burnet defines this in the terms of revealed theology, viz., Christ is the mediator who has the power and authority to "grant pardon, give grace, and confer eternal life on all that believe on him..." The third aspect is the perfecting of the believer's life through his knowledge of the "Divine rules". Lastly, the purpose of the faith is unity of mankind. This is done in part by the power of the revealed religion to "associate" men into "one body, called the church; wherein we are to worship God jointly, and to be coupled in one by the use of the sacraments, which are the ligaments of this body." Burnet's method of doctrine that explicates this comprehensive definition of revealed religion is based on several marks or characteristics of the faith, the first of which is its "verity", the second, its "simplicity and perspicuity". "All its doctrines are clearly and distinctly held out to us..." A synthesis between reason and faith is attempted on the principles inherent in the thought of both Hooker and Limborch. Within the enveloping context of faith, God's revelation to man, is a place for reason. While this reason is man's work, it originated as a gift of God. Reason is one aspect of God's unveiling himself to man. "Reasonableness" is a mark of the Christian religion, which contains "none of these absurd incredible

1. Ibid., pp. 3, 4.
2. Ibid., p. 4.
things, which abounded among the heathens; nor of these rites of Judaism, the reasons whereof, besides the will of God in enjoining them, could not be assigned, but both the doctrines and precepts of the Christian religion are fitted for mankind, and so congenial to his nature, that they well deserve the designation of reasonable service, or rational worship, God having made our souls and them of piece."

The Scripture, then, is the "compleat" rule of the faith. Burnet establishes this point by the authority that Jews placed upon sacred writings, by the illustration of Jesus who used Scripture as the authority against the tradition of the Pharisees, and by the example of the apostles whose message was documented by the sacred writings. He agrees that a depositum of faith existed apart from canonical writings in the first period of the church, but the Fathers themselves tested the essential confession and creeds of the church by the written word. Burnet emphasizes the authority of the Bible over the testimony of the Fathers in the same way that Jewel did. Jewel's thought is significant, for Burnet considered him to be the best theologian of the English Reformation period. Jewel warns against canonizing the words of the church.

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1. Ibid., p.5. Limborch says, "Faith is not a single act, but comprehends knowledge, assent, and assurance, with its consequent act, obedience, which is not only a constituent part, but the immediate effect, and that which renders faith lively."--op. cit., V.vi.1. One of Burnet's final letters to Limborch commended the Arminian for his compelling arguments for searching the Scriptures to find the simple Christian faith. Clarke and Foxcroft, op. cit. pp. 454-55.
3. Ibid., p. 74.
4. Ibid., p. 75.
Fathers, using a reference from Augustine, "'Take away from amongst us any of our own books, let the book of God come amongst us; hear what Christ saidth, hearken what the truth speaketh.'" The Scripture as an indisputed authority needed to be explained. Burnet attempted to argue a divine dictation theory that is somewhat vague and deterministic:

When we talk with one another, a Noise is made in the Air that strikes with such Vibrations on the Ears of others, that by the motion thereby made on the Brain of another, we do convey our Thoughts to another person: So that the Impression made on the Brain is that which communicates our Thoughts to another. By this we can easily apprehend how God may make such Impressions on mens Brains, as may convey to them such things as he intends to make known to them.

Inspiration he says, is qualitatively divided into three degrees: law, prophecy, and writings. The New Testament, excepting the Book of Revelations, is of the highest degree of inspiration, i.e., law.

William Beveridge develops an explanation of Christian doctrine on the authority of Scripture, reason, and testimony of the church Fathers. There is little difference between this High Churchman's doctrinal method and that of Burnet's. Unlike Burnet, he does not attempt to delineate the problem of inspiration, but he does accept the inspired Word unequivocally, in which "it pleased his sacred Deity to interpret, and to explain his own will by several histories of things past and prophecies of things to come, and other holy writings as himself thought fit, all which we call the holy


2. Burnet, op. cit. p. 86.
Beveridge rejects any special authority in persons standing in the succession of the Apostles beyond what is written in Scripture:

Wherefore, as ever ye desire to be saved, ye must be sure to be steadfast in the doctrine which the Apostles of Christ by His order and commission delivered at first by word of mouth, and afterwards in writing, that all generations might know it, by which means we are now as fully assured of what the Apostles taught, as they could be which heard them speak it, -- their doctrine being transmitted to us by the infallible testimony of the Holy Ghost, by which they spoke and writ it in that Holy Book which we call the 'New Testament,' so that whatsoever we there read, as taught by the Apostles, we are sure was their doctrine and therefore are bound steadfastly to believe it and diligently to frame our lives according to it; but what we do not find there written, we can never be sure that they taught it and therefore cannot be obliged to believe or observe it. 2

Whatever their differences in church politics, Burnet and Beveridge were of one accord at the level of method and authority in doctrine. In 1704, Burnet responded, as he had done several times, to the challenge of deism and rational theology. The "authority of Scripture" and the "certain Evidence of the Inspiration of those who delivered Revealed Religion to the world" should be the basis for a clergymen's study of contemporary controversy. "The corruption of the present Age carrying many to question the first Principles of Religion, and the Authority of Revelation, makes it indispensible necessary for you to study well the Foundations of all


Religion: the Being of God, a Future State, and Morality of our Actions..." An interesting contrast to Burnet and Beveridge's definition of Scripture as the authority of doctrine is the statement of Thomas Rogers, a Calvinist in his exposition of the Thirty-Nine Articles: "The holy Scriptures to be sufficient to instruct us in all things necessary to be known and believed for man's salvation, the Word of God teacheth."

Scripture, in Burnet's thought, is not a standard in and of itself, but a true testimony of the Apostles and companions of the Apostles:

The Authority of those Books is not derived from any Judgment that the Church made concerning them; but from this, that it was known that they were writ, either by men who were themselves the Apostles of Christ, or by those who were Assistants and Companions, at whose Order, for under whose Direction and Approbation it was known that they were written and published.

Beveridge spoke of the authority of Scripture in quite the same way. It testifies to the essential content of the revealed religion, and the revelation contains with it the gift of reason that makes possible rational assent to the primary doctrines of salvation:

And what Scripture affirms, reason cannot but subscribe to: as first, that the Son was begotten of the Father, is plain, otherwise he would not be a Son, nor the other a Father, Secondly, that he was begotten from everlasting is plain, otherwise he would not be God; God, as I have shown, being everlasting, both from and to eternity. But, thirdly, that

2. Thomas Rogers, A Treatise upon Sundry Matters contained in the Thirty-Nine Articles of Religion which are professed in the Church of England, London, 1639, p. 27.
Jesus Christ is God, very God, is as plain as either of the former. For as he could not be called a Son, unless he were begotten, so he could not be called Jesus, unless he were very God. 1

The teachers and writers who influenced Burnet's thought most, were in agreement as to the authority of Scripture, but there were variations in the methods of interpretation. Leighton, a Calvinist, said that the "Spirit of God within brings evidence with it, and makes itself discernible in the Word—this all arguments, all books and study cannot attain unto." Hooker said, "The Scripture could not teach us the things that are of God, unless we did credit men who have taught us that the words of Scripture do signify those things." 2 Stillingfleet and Burnet, like the

1. Beveridge, Ecclesla Anglicana, p. 115. Beveridge, like some other Anglican divines, makes a subtle switch on the formula of Augustine: "No sober man will think or hold an opinion against reason, no Christian against the scripture, and no lover of peace against the church."--de Trin. Lib. iv., c.6. For Augustine the Scripture was authority, Beveridge, Burnet follows here too, makes it out that no sober man would hold an opinion against Scripture. Laud makes this point clearly when he says, "Though reason without grace cannot see the way to heaven nor believe this Book in which God hath written the way, yet grace is never placed but in a reasonable creature, and proves by the very seat which it hath taken up that the end it hath is to be spiritual eye-water, to make reason see what 'by nature only it can not'."--Laud, A Relation of the Conference between William Laud, ...and Mr. Fisher, the Jesuit... Simpsonson ed, London, 1901, p. 86. Pearson is an exception at this point, cf. An Exposition of the Creed, Oxford, 1864, p. 25.

2. Leighton, Works, Commentary on the First Epistle of Peter, 1: 10-12.

3. Hooker, op. cit. II. vii. 3. cf. Chillingworth: "They that err and they that do not err may both be saved. So that those places which contain things necessary, and where no error was dangerous, need no infallible interpreter, because they are plain; and those that are obscure need none, because they contain not things necessary; neither is error in them dangerous."--Works: The Religion of Protestants, a Safe Way of Salvation, Oxford, 1838., II, 170.
Cambridge Platonists, believed that reason is trustworthy as an interpreter of the rule of faith. Stillingfleet said that the Word of God being the only code and digest of divine laws, whatever law we look for must either be found there in express terms, or at least so couched therein, that every one, by the exercise of his understanding, may, by a certain and easy collection, gather the universal obligation of the thing inquired after. 1

Turning to a specific case in which Burnet applies the authority of Scripture and reason to explain the doctrine of God, his theological method is demonstrated. His first step is to identify particular aspects of belief that are essential to salvation. He says, "Here a necessary distinction is to be remembered between Articles of Faith, and Articles of Doctrine: The one are held necessary to Salvation, the other are only believed to be true; that is, to be revealed in the Scriptures, which is a sufficient Ground for acknowledging them true.... These are not many, and in the Establishment of any Doctrine for such, it is necessary both to prove it clearly from Scripture, and to prove its being necessary to Salvation, as a mean setled by the Covenant of Grace in order to it." Scripture is the only authority, interpreted by reason, that can be used as a criterion of separating essential from nonessential doctrines. He illustrates the argument by the example of the Judaisers who accommodated Mosaic tradition

2. Burnet, op. cit., pp. 6, 7.
to the Christian faith, which may be tolerated, but the demand that obedience to the Mosaic laws was essential to salvation was intolerable. Burnet sets the whole *Exposition of the Thirty-Nine Articles* in this context, i.e., unity in essentials and diversity in nonessentials. He states in the Preface that he began the project on the Thirty-Nine Articles thirty years before its publication as a reaction against the dogmatism of many systems of divinity that allowed little diversity in matters that were debatable. Limborch offered ideas for an irenic theology, in fact his own systematic divinity is an effort in this direction:

The knowledge of God is not to be considered as confined to speculative views of the Almighty, but as subordinate to divine worship, and this sense, necessary and useful: 'For how shall they believe in him of whom they have not heard;' which knowledge ought always to attend the worship of God, as a line drawn from the circumference to its proper centre. 1

Theological explication of doctrine, in Burnet's thought, is intended primarily to be a peace-making effort, and secondarily, a useful statement of doctrine. Burnet did not feel that another theological system was needed. His work intended

to offer at the best means I can for bringing men to a better understanding of one another, and to a mutual forbearance in these matters...The only possible way of a sound and lasting Reconciliation, is to possess both Parties with a Sense of the Force of the Arguments that lie on the other side; that they may see they are no way contemptible; but are such as may prevail on wise and good men. 2


2. Burnet, *op. cit.* pp. vi, vii. Foxcroft explains Burnet's participation in the comprehension scheme of Leibnitz for uniting all of Western Protestants. Few considered this seriously, but Burnet certainly had the temperament and idealism for such a grandiose vision. It is doubtful that this affected the text of the *Exposition* to any great extent, which Foxcroft suggests, rather this work is the result of a long range view.—vide, *Life of Burnet*, pp. 363, 4.
Belief in God, Article One, is argued on the basis of reason first, then on the grounds of scripture.

The Natural Order of Things required, That the First of all Articles in Religion should be concerning the Being and Attributes of God: For all other Doctrines arise out of this. But Title appropriates this to the Holy Trinity; because that is the only part of the Article which peculiarly belongs to the Christian Religion; since the rest is Founded on the Principles of Natural Religion. 1

Before the Scripture can be employed as an authority in doctrine "we must believe Three Propositions antecedent to that": that there is a God, that all his words are true, that the Bible contains his words. Beveridge takes a slightly different tact on the problem of expounding Article One. "Hence, I say, it is, that in the determining of the distinct and fundamental articles of faith professed by our church of England, it would have been altogether superfluous to have them made the existence of a Deity any of them; that being no more than what is undoubtedly acknowledged in all nations, and necessarily supposed in all religions..." 3 Burnet begins by recasting traditional philosophical proofs for the existence of God, of which one example is given:

If this World was neither from all Eternity in the state in which it is at the present, nor could fall into it by Chance or Accident, then it must follow, That it was put into the state in which we now see it, by a Being of vast Power and Wisdom. This is the great and solid Argument on which Religion rests. 4

1. Ibid, p. 17.
2. Ibid, p. 23.
From the cosmological argument he moves to a moral argument for the existence of God used often by the Cambridge Platonists. If there is a God, if man has an idea of the "good", then are there any manifestations of God confirming these "intelligible ideas" stamped on man's nature? Yes, according to Burnet. Miracles, it can be said "without hesitation", are "beyond Natural Powers". The proof of miracle rests upon the Biblical witnesses, and the proof of their reliability rests upon the moral integrity of their lives and the large number who corroborated the primary evidence of the events around the person of Jesus.

There is another difference in the method of Beveridge regarding this primary doctrine. Beveridge's work was not published until eight years after his death. One of the editors suggests this is due to his "characteristic modesty" in deference to the publication of Burnet. It may also be the result of fearing an involvement in the controversy aroused by the exposition of Burnet, a whig bishop taking an audacious step to interpret the Articles of the Church whose clergy were predominately High Church and tory. Beveridge, a moderate High Churchman, explained his method of thought: "The method I propounded to myself in this Discourse, was first to shew that each Article for the sum and substance of it is grounded upon the scriptures, so that if it be not expressly contained in them, howsoever it may by good and undeniable consequence be deduced from them. Having shewn it to be grounded

1. Ibid. p. 22.
upon the scriptures, I usually prove it to be consonant to right reason too, such a truth, that though scripture did not, reason itself would command us to believe it. And lastly, for the further confirmation of it, I will shew each Article to be believed and acknowledged for a truth by the Fathers of the primitive church. ..."  

Unlike Burnet, Beveridge believed Scripture sufficiently proves the existence of God; "there is scarce a page that I can cast mine eye upon in my first opening of the Bible, but would furnish me with sufficient arguments for it." Rogers, a chaplin to Archbishop Bancroft, commented on the first Article: "That there is but one God, who is, & c., is a truth which may be gathered from the all-holy and sacred Scripture: and is agreeable to the doctrine of the reformed Churches." The difference between approaching theology proper through Scripture, or through rational religion, is seen by the contrast offered in Tillotson's statement on this subject. He said that the Being of God can not be proved mathematically, nor by sense data, "because God being supposed to be a pure Spirit cannot be the object of any corporeal sense". He suggests the inquirer should begin with an assumption of an infinitely wise, good, and powerful God. How can he be known? First by the "internal impression of the notion of a God upon our minds", and

1. Beveridge, op. cit. p. x; editor's notes on the publication, p.iv.
2. Ibid. p. 5.
second, by observing the effects in creation that could only originate in a cause that is God.

Burnet concludes that Rational Theology is inadequate for the task of Christian thought. The central affirmation of the Creeds cannot be explicated without accepting revelation. Discussing the doctrine of Trinity, he says:

It is a vain attempt to go about to prove this by Reason: For it must be confessed, that we should have had no cause to have thought of any such thing, if the Scriptures had not Revealed it to us. There are indeed Prints of a very Ancient Tradition in the World, of Three in the Deity; called the Word, or the Wisdom, and the Spirit, or the Love, besides the Fountain of both these, God: This was believed by those from whom the most Ancient Philosophers had their Doctrines. The Author of the Book of Wisdom, Philo, and the Caldee Paraphrasists, have many things that show that they had received those Traditions from the former Ages; but it is not so easy to determine what gave the first rise to them.

Clear "proofs" for the Trinity can be taken from the New Testament, but in a former work he defined the limited nature of this "proof":

"When I say Explain, I do not mean that I will pretend to tell you how this is to be understood, and in what respect these Persons are believed to be One, and in what respects they are Three. By

1. John Tillotson, Works: Sermon on the text Job 28:28, London, 1728, I, 17ff. By comparison, Dodwell, a Non-juror, said, "The light of the faculty is absolutely necessary for the improving all that is objective, whether natural or supernatural." Dodwell, Two Letters of Advise, p. 134. He was critical of the Schoolmen who used reason for "outwitting their adversaries" rather than for light giving "satisfaction" to their conclusions. Whitby applied a similar attack on the sceptics of his day who renounced the "Mysteries of the Christian Faith" but did not apply their own logic to the notions of the universe about them.—Danial Whitby, An Endeavour to evince the Certainty of the Christian Faith, Oxford, 1671, "Preface". Cf. Newton's apologetic for the existence of God, Principia II, 310.

2. Burnet, Exposition Thirty-Nine Articles, p. 36.
explaining a Mystery, can only be meant the shewing how it is laid down and revealed in Scripture." Hooker, approaching this topic cautiously, stated that "our safest eloquence concerning Him is our silence, when we confess without confession that His glory is inexplicable, His greatness above our capacity and reach." Burnet's conclusion regarding the creedal statements on the Trinity, is that they are to be accepted as revealed by Scripture on the basis of its authority, not reason. Bernard of Clairvaux, studiously examined by Burnet from his earliest education, said:

Knowledge rests on reason, faith on authority, while opinion is obliged to content itself with a mere semblance of the truth. The first two have assured truth, but faith has it hidden and wrapped up, knowledge has it unveiled and manifest. Opinion, on the other hand, being devoid of certainty, instead of apprehending the truth searches for it among probabilities. 3

Burnet explained that the church holds in this doctrine the view of three subsistences in one essence, and that the three have a real diversity: "If this carries in it somewhat that is not agreeable to our Notions, nor like any thing that we can apprehend; to this it is said, That if God has Revealed that in the Scripture which is thus expressed, we are bound to believe it, though we can frame no clear apprehension about it....We cannot bring our Minds

1. Burnet, Four Discourses, pp.497.


to conceive them, and yet we must believe that they are so."

Beveridge introduces the subject of the Trinity with a certain amount of trepidation that he may not fulfill the requirements of orthodoxy: "Hence it is that I shall not use many words about it, lest some or other slip from me, unbecoming it." He claims that the two "infallible witnesses" the Law and the Gospel will "establish" this doctrine, but concludes that the doctrine cannot be proved. Beveridge and Burnet alike defend the creeds on the grounds that they are expanded baptismal formulae, and the sine qua non of the Christian doctrine of the Trinity, but only so, as they accurately state the meaning of the Trinity revealed in the Scriptures.

G.N. Clark makes a sweeping evaluation of the "late seventeenth century" when he writes that it "handed on to the eighteenth the reasonable and colourless belief of deism, 'a constitutional monarchy in heaven'." The conception of reason

1. Burnet, Exposition Thirty-Nine Articles, p. 37. Hooker as well, thought proofs for the Trinity inadequate, but definitions necessary. "In which indivisible unity, notwithstanding we adore the Father as being altogether of Himself, we glorify that Consubstantial Word which is the Son, we bless and magnify that co-essential Spirit eternally proceeding from Both, which is the Holy Ghost." -- op. cit., V. li. 1.

2. Beveridge, op. cit. p. 80.

3. Ibid. pp. 82, 89.


held by one who wrote a contemporary defence of the Latitudinarians, is that reason is identified with revelation: "For Reason is that faculty whereby a man must judge everything, nor can a man believe anything except he have some reason for it; whether that reason be a deduction from the light of nature and those principles which are the candle of the Lord, set up in the soul of every man that hath not wilfully extinguished it; or a branch of divine revelation in the oracles of holy Scripture..." Sykes comments on the task of the Latitudinarians who were called upon to face both a revolutionary change in the intellectual outlook of educated Englishmen and a condition of post-Restoration society characterised by a disregard for morality and the restraints of good conduct. Against this dual challenge they struggled with courage, sincerity and ability; and if the degree of their success in both spheres was partial and qualified, the difficulty of their task should be remembered in extenuation of their failures.

Burnet's method of doctrine attempted to make a synthesis between revealed and natural religious belief. The Bible is a divinely inspired book and therefore an unquestionable authority, but reason too, is trustworthy and essential to interpreting the meaning of the revealed truths in Scripture. If the Scripture reveals what cannot be apprehended by natural religion, the revelation is to be unequivocally trusted.

1. A Brief Account of the New Sect of Latitude-Men, together with some Reflections upon the New Philosophy, 1662, (probably Simon Patrick) the passage defending their method, pp. 5 - 10.

2. Sykes, From Sheldon to Seeker, p. 149.
A Doctrine of Christ

The keystone to Christian theology, according to Burnet, is the doctrine of Christ, on which the doctrines of the church and its ministry depend. In his explication of this doctrine Burnet encountered virulent attacks from the High Church side of the party divisions within the Church of England. At times political sentiment diffused theological criticism. The intensity of the partisan spirit tended to over-balance the integrity of the theological discussion. Burnet's thought regarding the doctrine of Christ is an illustration of this problem. John Hutton lashed out at Burnet in particular, and the whig bishops in general, in the midst of the convocation controversy, in 1701: "God in Heaven Defend our poor church from a bench of treacherous latitudinarians." The high-flyers would have it that orthodoxy was at stake, and the test of orthodoxy rests with the Christological formula. Hooker's concise statement on the doctrine of Christ may be used as a standard of comparison: "To gather therefore into one sum all that hitherto hath been spoken touching this point, there are but four things which concur to make complete the whole state of our Lord Jesus Christ: his Deity, his manhood, the conjunction of both, and the distinction of the one from the other being joined in one."

Burnet, who was accused of supporting an Arian or Socinian view of Christ, gave a strongly orthodox exegesis of the second

2. Hooker, op. cit. V. liv. 10.
chapter of the Epistle of Paul to the Philippians, a favorite text of the Arians. He said that Christ's being in the "form of God" is parallel to the phrase, "in the form of a servant" and must be interpreted "that he was truly God." "But the following words, That 'he thought it not robbery to be equal,' or 'be held equal' (for so the word may be rendered) 'with God', carry such a natural Signification of his being neither a Made nor Subordinate God, and that his Divinity is neither precarious, nor by concession, that fuller words cannot be devised for expressing an entire Equality." While Burnet does side with the Eastern Fathers regarding predestination, he disagrees with the figurative sense given to this passage by the "Eloquent Greek Authors". Furthermore, he rejects the moral interpretation given to the text by the Socinians, "they will import, That we are persuaded to be humble from the Example of Christ, who did not affect an Equality with God." Burnet adds an interesting conclusion to the Socinian argument, i.e., to aspire to be like God in the sense of this passage would be the result of "Diabolical Pride". He argues for the deity of Christ from the setting of the New Testament events in a Jewish background in which there could be no mistake but that ascribing Christ "Lord" would be interpreted, in the positive sense, as praise of Christ as God. Burnet concludes that Christ is God and therefore

1. Burnet, Exposition Thirty-Nine Articles, p. 46.
2. Ibid. preface.
3. Ibid. p. 46.
pre-existent, which is certainly an anti-Socinian supposition:

If the Son or Word is truly God, he must be from all Eternity, and must also be of the same Substance with the Father, otherwise he could not be God; since a God of another Substance, or of another Duration, is a Contradiction. 1

That Burnet affirms the deity of Christ in full terms seems unequivocal, and yet Jonathan Edwards, through a circuitous interpolation of Burnet's Exposition insinuates that Burnet may have supported the Socinian doctrine of Christ:

For, if the 'actual presence and inhabitation' of the Godhead be a sufficient ground of adoration, as the Exposition saith it is; then we can have no just reason to be offended with them for worshipping Christ tho' a meer man, 'in whom dwelt the fullness of the Godhead Bodily', that is, saith the Bishop, 'in a corporeal appearance', as it formerly did in the Cloud of Glory. And tho' by this Hypothesis to be sure the Bishop never designed either to excuse or extenuate Pagan or Popish idolatory: yet that he had not the Socinians in his view, I cannot with the same confidence affirm." 2

Burnet's Four Discourses, published in 1694, was a major theological statement. The discourses were prepared for several conferences the bishop held for the clergy of his diocese. Burnet's affirmation of the orthodox doctrine of Christ was clearly stated. After refuting the position of the Arians, who

1. Ibid. p. 50.

were a challenge to the doctrine that Christ was "truly God", he said

that the Godhead by the Eternal Word, the Second in the Blessed Three, dwelt in, and was so inwardly united to the humane Nature of Jesus Christ, that by vertue of it, God and Man were truly one Person, as our Soul and Body make one Man. And that this Eternal Word was truly God, and as such is worshipped and adored as the proper object of Divine Adoration. 1.

In spite of this, the writer of Tempora Mutantur, probably George Hickes, answered the Four Discourses with the implication that Burnet was a Socinian. Not one complete sentence of the Four Discourses is cited as evidence, and the anonymous writer, a Non-juror, says that Burnet's work is negligent for not defining the doctrine of Christ in the terms of the Communicatio Idiomatum. Burnet gave a summary of the doctrine of Christ that contains the "four things which concur to make complete the whole state of our Lord Jesus Christ", according to Hooker's formula:

This ingeneral is the sum of the Received Doctrine; That as there is the One God, so in that undivided Essence, there are Three that are really different from one another, and are more than only three Names, or three outward Economies; and that the Second of these was in a most intimate and unconceivable manner united to a perfect Man; so that from the human and Divine Nature thus united, there did result the Person of the Messias, who was both God and Man. 3

1. Burnet, Four Discourses, p. 96.

2. n.a. Tempora Mutantur, London, 1695, pp. 2 ff. This definition represents the "school divinity" rejected by Burnet. He did comment in the Four Discourses that he would steer clear of the "subtil Contexture of Legal Metaphysics, of which the Scripture is silent." "It best becomes us to take our Notions from the Scriptures themselves."—Burnet, op. cit. p. 136.

3. Ibid. p. 102.
Burnet affirms the meaning of the doctrine of the "Hypostatical Union" but is not sure that this terminology renders the doctrine more meaningful.

Had the Cambridge Platonists and Rational Theology been the only theological background of Burnet, perhaps his doctrine of Christ would have been incomplete. Whichcote's statements on Christ emphasize the work of Christ as mediator without much mention of the doctrine of the person of Christ:

...What more satisfaction can there be to the reason of our minds...that God, to whom we are so liable and obnoxious by transgression and sin, is the most lovely, placable and reconcilable being, of Himself, through the perfection of His own nature; and that in the grace of the Gospel, He is absolutely resolved and engaged, by His voluntary determination and promise to pardon sin, in and through Christ, to all who repent and believe the Gospel? And this, and nothing less than this, is the matter of the Gospel. This is to be accepted in and through Christ; this is the true explication--God in, and through Christ, will pardon sin to all that leave off sin, and ask Him forgiveness, and return to duty. 1.

In one of his earlier essays, Burnet acknowledged his sympathy with Episcopius that the best theological statements are a simple rendition of the Scripture; however, there is a point in which debate is essential, where controversy is not merely speculative but practical, and that is the doctrine of Christ.

"If Christ be only a Man, we cannot have that veneration for Him, that confidence in Him or love to Him, which we offer to the great God. For there can be no Idolatry in the World so great, as the

1. Whichcote, Sermons, op. cit. III, 75.
worshipping a mere Man with the same adoration, both inward and outward, that we offer up to the Father. He chides those who belittle the magnitude of the Christological controversies in the early church, including the "Modern Plotinians".

I suppose no body can be so shallow as to think it was about a Letter, the one being for the homousia the other for the homoeisus, for then the anomocis differed but in another letter, that made Christ totally unlike the Father... Either He is God by his Nature and Substance, or not; if He was not God by His Nature, then his was but a cheat and title, they gave him: but God's honour was not so to be given to another. If he was God by his Nature and Substance, then he must either be of the same substance with the Father, or of a different substance: if of the same substance, they gained what they desired: if he was of another substance, then there were more God than one; if there were two different substances, that were both truly God's in substance which was gross Polytheism. I must acknowledge I shall very much suspect any man's reasoning faculties are sound, that sees not a necessary series of truths hanging closely together in this contexture. So that it is plain the Arians and our Modern Plotinians (who are indeed more ingenuous than the Arians were) did not think 'the Word that was made Flesh, was truly God'. And now let any Man judge if there can be a greater and weightier matter, than whether Jesus Christ were God by Nature, or only a Creature. Nor can a mistake rise higher than to believe Him to be a mere Man, who is the Eternal Son of God, or Him to be the Eternal Son of God, who was only a mere man.

Burnet's orthodoxy vis-à-vis Socinus is unquestionable. If the high-flyer, Edwards, was serious about a theological criticism of Burnet's exposition of Article Two, while he was probably aware of the popular Modest Survey of the Naked Truth, he must have encountered Burnet's own confutation of Socinianism in the Exposition. Burnet

1. Burnet, A Modest Survey of... a Discourse... entitled Naked Truth... London, 1676, pp. 5, 6.
2. Ibid.
related the heresy to the Arian position and concluded that both were untenable on the grounds of their own authority for doctrine, viz., Scripture, "it being most express to shew both that his Nature had a Subsistence before his Incarnation." He concludes, "That if Christ is to be worshipped, and that this Honour belongs to him neither as an Angel, nor as a Prophet, That then it is due to him because he is truly God."  

An attack by the Lower House of Convocation, in 1689, on a pamphlet, entitled Brief Notes on the Athanasian Creed, alleged to be written by Stephen Nye, marked the beginning of a protracted controversy in which the political differential between the High Church clergy and Latitudinarian bishops was exploited. The results of this tension for the church were negative, and as Burnet says, the Socinians, purported to be the object of the initial attack, gained. Nye was one of the forerunners of Unitarianism in England. Because Nye speaks of the "Person" of God in terms of the "modal Distinctions" he is probably closer to the thought of Sabellius. Nye was a friend of Thomas Firmin, who in turn was associated with Archbishop Tillotson, one of the prime targets of the High Churchmen. Tillotson's connection with Firmin, a wealthy

1. Burnet, Exposition on Thirty-Nine Articles, pp. 50, 51.
2. Ibid.
London merchant, was probably limited to their mutual concern for charity projects. Firmin, according to Burnet, was reputed to be a Socinian, but Burnet thought he was actually an Arian, a mute distinction. When Sherlock, converted from a Jacobite to a pro-government position, wrote against the anti-trinitarians, Burnet said that his refutation looked like "plain Tritheism". Sherlock's *Vindication of the Doctrine of the Holy and Ever Blessed Trinity*, was answered by Robert South, in *Animadversions upon Dr. Sherlock's Book* ...; the treatises were published respectively in 1691 and 1693. Arthur Bury, Rector of Exeter College, Oxford, wrote *The Naked Gospel*, in 1690, as an attempt to clear the theological debate of controversial theology commensurate with the Post-nicene period. Bury's work, too, was condemned by the Convocation. Francis Fullwood, who held the benefice at Litton, near Dorchester, in 1693, wrote, *The Socinian Controversie Touching the Son of God, Reduced, in a Brief Essay, to prove the Son One in essence with the Father, upon Socinian Principles, Confessions and Reason*. He patronized Bishop Burnet in this work and complimented him for the *Pastoral Care* that had appeared the year before. He challenged Burnet and the "rest of the Venerable Fathers" to stop the "Socinian leaven". Fullwood gave Burnet the credit for an illustration he used supporting orthodoxy against the Socinians. It is far more reasonable to believe that God could reveal himself in

1. Burnet, op. cit. II, 211.
the Man, Jesus Christ, then to believe, as the Socinians do, that 1 a man may have been elevated to be the Son of God. The following year, Burnet's *Four Discourses* were published, a major part of which was aimed as a refutation of Socinian theology. Burnet's correspondence with Limborch, in 1694, indicates his acute awareness of the rational philosophy of the Unitarians and the heterodoxy of the Socinians. He urged Limborch to disassociate himself from any tendencies in Arminianism that could be interpreted as Socinian. Burnet explains why heretical works embarrassed the whig bishops particularly:

At this time some Atheists and Deists, as well as Socinians, were publishing Books against Religion in general, and more particularly against the Mysteries of our Faith. These expressed great zeal for the Government: which gave a handle to those, who were waiting for all advantages, and were careful of increasing and improving them, to spread it all over the Nation, that the King, and those about him, had no regard to Religion, nor to the Church of England. 3

Stephen Nye was a singular example of the embarrassment created by a compliment. He, who held views similar to some who were executed in the previous century, was naturally inclined to be grateful to Burnet, "the Eusebius of our Age". Burnet, an advocate of toleration, took a negative view of capital punishment for theological opinions of any kind. That Burnet is diametrically

2. *Bodl. Eng. th. c. 23*, Burnet to Limborch, 18 November 1694, copy by Foxcroft.
opposed to Nye's theology of Christ is evident in comparing any of Burnet's statements on Christology, outlined above, to Nye's thought: "The Word was with God; i.e. The Word (or Divine Wisdom and Power) is not something different from God; but being his Wisdom and Power, is God." And again, "Our Lord Christ is by sacred Writers, so 'distinguished from, and opposed to' God, that it amounts to as much as an express denial that he is God."

Nye's eulogy of Burnet was immediately picked up by the high-fliers. It is not surprising to find Charles Leslie impugning Burnet for providing Nye an exegesis of the first chapter of the Gospel of John. The fact that a modern writer accepts this same pattern of guilt by abstraction is less accountable. George Every said that Burnet's discourse on the Person of Christ, in 1694, "spoke in a most disparaging manner of the traditional doctrine of the hypostatic union of God and Man in Christ's incarnation." Every substantiates this claim on the basis of one incomplete quotation:

1. Nye, op. cit. p. 27.

2. Ibid. p. 5. In this tract, Nye uses a number of biblical texts associated with Unitarian thought: "My Father is greater than I," "The Head of Christ is God," "I ascend to my Father, and your Father, to my God and your God," "The Father which sent me, he gave me a Commandment, what I should say," "As the Father gave me Commandments, so do I."

3. Charles Leslie, The Charge of Socianism against Dr. Tillotson Considered...Some Reflections upon the Second of Dr. Burnet's Four Discourses, Edinburgh, 1695, p. 17.


5. He gives the wrong reference as well, instead of Four Discourses, "p. 33," it should be pp. 102, 3; vide, Every, op. cit., p. 78.
A Hypostatical Union was proposed as a term fit to explain this by, that is to say, the Human nature was believed to subsist by the Subsistence of the Word; but it was not easy to make this the more intelligible, by offering a notion fully as unintelligible as itself, to explain it by.

Burnet's thought regarding the first aspect of the person of Christ, according to Hooker's formula, His deity, has been given, but it seems likely that Every accepts the evidence of Samuel Hill's reference to Burnet. He says it throws "some real light on the relation between Burnet's views and those of Nye and Bury. Nye wished the Church of England to adopt a Unitarian explanation." Not only does Every connect Burnet with Nye, whom he calls "the father of Unitarianism", and Bury, whose book was burned for heresy, but he states without giving evidence that Burnet's "language certainly seemed to imply a Sabellian view of the Trinity."

Every does make an allowance for Burnet's theological maturation:

A comparison between the Exposition, published in 1699, and the Four Discourses of 1694, seems to me to show that Burnet had become theologically more in harmony with the main body of the High Church party as a result of the development of the Trinitarian controversy. He certainly spoke with more decision and conviction than before on the union of the divine and human nature in the person of Christ... 3

Every's deductions seem to be imbued with the same kind of high-flyer opinion Burnet encountered in the seventeenth century. He probably did not know that Burnet began writing the theological

2. Ibid. p. 78.
3. Ibid. pp. 102, 3.
discussion of the *Exposition* thirty years before its publication, or that Tillotson *inter alia*, read a "finished" manuscript of the *Exposition*, as early as 1694, and at that time wrote, "I have with great pleasure and satisfaction read over the great volume you sent me, and am astonish'd to see so vast a work begun, and finish'd in so short a time."

The orthodoxy of the Latitudinarian bishops can be tested against a publication composed by several whig bishops, in 1695 and receiving the royal imprimatur, namely, the *Directions To the Archbishops and Bishops for the Preserving Unity in the Church and Purity of the Christian Faith Concerning the Holy Trinity*. There is an indirect reference to the questionable orthodoxy of Locke, whose *Reasonableness of the Christian Religion*, had just been

1. *Bodl. MS Add. D. 23 f. 61*, Tillotson to Burnet, Lambeth House, Aug. 23, 1694. This is a copy. Every's treatment of Burnet is symptomatic of a prejudicial attitude effecting his conclusions: for example, Burnet's theology was better if it reflected "High Church" views, which is hardly a theological criterion. And while a major conclusion of Every about the period is slightly ambiguous, it strongly implies that "Whig supremacy" caused the "decline in religious belief". This conclusion, even if correct, does not give any notice to the revolutionary change in the climate of opinion, and the suddenness of the philosophical challenge thrust upon the church, both "high" and "low" parties.--Every, *op. cit.* p. 169. Concerning the timing of the publication of the *Exposition*, Burnet said that Tillotson urged its production: "I set about it, and by the helps my former writings and papers gave me, I finished it within a year."--Supplement, p. 507. Tennison, Sharp, Stillingfleet, Patrick, Hall, and Williams had read the MS. before the 1699 publication.--Ibid.

published. Samuel Hill, the Rector of Kilmington, near Warminster in the diocese of Burnet and Charles Leslie were the chief voices of the high-flyers with respect to Burnet. Leslie says that Burnet's view of Christ is such that Christ cannot be worshipped without practising idolatry. He states that Burnet's Christology in the *Four Discourses* "would make any Christian ear tingle" but proceeds to quote Unitarian Nye. The scurrilous nature of this criticism is to impose on Burnet, and other whig bishops, the condemnation he holds for the theological statements of Nye: "And this they do, with all their Socinian Brethren in a most palpable manner, by the account they give of the Death of Christ. For upon their ground of the no necessity to satisfie God's Justice for sin. They cannot find out any Reason why he should die."

Burnet answered the high-flyers' comments on his orthodoxy concerning the person of Christ:

> I call God to witness, how unjust, as well as black this Accusation is. If I did not sincerely Believe this Doctrine, I should think it a horrid Prevaricating with God and man, to make Confessions which I do not Believe, and to join in Acts of Worship which I think Idolatrous... The blackest part of the charge of Idolatry which we lay on the Church of Rome, is a mild thing compared to this, if true.

The doctrine of the Trinity is the mark of true Christianity:

> So as to this great Point, all those who worship God as One, and who do also worship the Son, and the Holy Ghost,

2. Ibid. p. 22; Cf. discussion, *infra*, on Atonement and Ministerial absolution.
together with the Father, as God, have truly the same Religion, the same Acts of Piety and Adoration. 1

Hickes explains the sentiments of the High Church party after reading Burnet's vindication of himself.

The liberty of printing which our adversary's enjoy, but we want, gives them a great advantage over us. By ye benefit of it their Books are printed in great numbers, & publickly dispersed about ye World, while ours are confined to small impressions, & only handed about in private to such inquisitive persons, whose consciences or curiosity obliges them to see how we defend our selves in ye two great controversy's, which have been occasioned by ye Revolution...

We combat with them in this respect at a great disadvantage & were it not for ye Goodness of ye causes, wch they force us to defend, & ye great advantage, that gives us over them, we could not have born up thus long with so much patience & bravery against them. We contend for principles & truths of natural and revealed religion, for Justice, & common honesty, & ye obligation of Oaths, & every thing, that is sacred in human society's .... 2

The Parliament passed a Bill for the "effectual suppression of blasphemy and profaneness" 5 July 1698. This was mainly due to the whig bishops. Four kinds of blasphemy were enumerated by this attempt to place legislative control on the broadcasting of theological opinion: to deny the truth of the Christian Religion, or the Divine Authority of the Sacred Word; to affirm polytheism; to deny the divinity of any One of the Persons of the Trinity. Burnet did not answer the question raised by Limborch regarding


2. George Hickes, Rawlinson MS. D. 841. f. 2.
this legislative act, whether or not it worked.

Concerning the second branch of Christology, the perfect humanity of Christ, Burnet writes: "This will not need any long or laboured Proof, since the Texts of Scripture are so express, that nothing but wild Extravagance can withstand them. Christ was in all things like unto us, except his miraculous Conception by the Virgin: He was the Son of Abraham and of David."

The third aspect of Christology, the indivisible "conjunction" of the Deity with the Humanity of Christ, was an issue taken up by Edwards in his criticism of Burnet. By using one illustration from Burnet's exposition of Article Two, and drawing consequences

1. Statues of the Realm, 9 Will. III, cap.xxxv.; cf. proceedings in the House of Lords Journals, Feb. 26, March passim, xvi, 252b; 257b; 262b; 267a; 271 2; 274b; and for May and June, 296a; 2982; 306a; and 348a. Burnet to Limborch, Clarke and Foxcroft, op. cit. pp. 346, 7. One of the moderate positions in the Trinitarian Controversy is taken by Francis Gastrell, Bishop of Chester, in Some Considerations Concerning the Trinity, London, 1696. He extracts all "problem" statements from the Trinitarian formulae and concludes that these must be settled by Scripture, not philosophy. --Ibid. p. 9, 10. This is precisely the conclusion of Burnet, vide, Burnet, op. cit. p. 87: "But all that I aimed at in this part of my Discourse was, that if any such things should happen to be revealed to us in Scriptures, that then we should be bound to believe them.

2. Burnet, Exposition Thirty-Nine Articles, p. 51. There was no issue, according to Burnet, to make this a significant problem. For Chrysostom, whose writings Burnet studied carefully, the question of Christ's humanity was primary.
from it, he makes the unlikely post hoc case for Burnet's doctrine of Christ. In turn the whig bishop is suspect of "Arianism", "Nestorianism", "Socinianism", "Fantheism", and "Popery". The illustration from Burnet's Exposition was the Old Testament figure of the "Cloud of Glory". Burnet used it in an attempt to build a conception of the Hebrew mind towards the worship of anything concrete, viz., the historical and Incarnate Lord. His view of the doctrine of Christ has no bearing whatsoever on this illustration, but Edwards applies Burnet's discussion of the Jewish experience of God in the figure of the Cloud of Glory to the nature and person of Christ.

Now then, if union, viz., local, presence, inhabitation, relation to God, be sufficient ground for worship, as the Papists sometimes affirm of their Images and Crucifix, and the Bishop of the Cloud of Glory within the Temple; then let any cunning Sophister shew me a reason what a man may not as lawfully worship any part of the world, supposing God to be the soul of it, as the wiser Pagans pretended. But next, Edwards makes a statement relative to Socinians that is true, but his essay is contra-Burnet, thereby implying that Burnet's doctrine is heretical.

That the mystery of the Incarnation denotes something of a higher and a far different nature, than the presence and indwelling of the Godhead in our Saviour; the Nestorians and Socinians will allow this, and yet fall short of a personal union. The consequence of which is, that the indwelling of the Godhead of old in the Cloud of Glory, is no just resemblance of the union of the divine and human nature in Christ.

Burnet did expound the Second Article very differently than the

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2. Ibid. p. 8.
3. Ibid. p. 21.
extrapolation of the high-flyer infers. When the party spirit and factionalism within the communion of the Church of England that Burnet knew, was compounded with prejudicial rendering of primary theological issues, the breach between the two parties became nearly insurmountable. Burnet did explicate the "personal union" of Christ in the Godhead in clear terms; and in the very context from which Edwards drew his material:

If the Son or Word is truly God, he must be from all Eternity, and must also be of the same substance with the Father, otherwise he could not be God; since a God of another Substance, or of another Duration, is a Contradiction.

...In the Person of Jesus Christ the Human Nature was entire, and still acted according to its own Character; yet there was such an Union and Inhabitation of the Eternal Word in it, that there did arise out of that a Communication of Names and Characters as we find in Scriptures.

... That though the Human Nature in Christ acted still according to its proper Character, and had a peculiar Will; yet there was such a constant Presence, Indwelling, and Actuation on it from the Eternal Word, as did constitute both Human and Divine Nature one Person. And these are thus so entirely united, so they are never to be separated. 1.

Letter to a Convocation Man, published in 1697, that decried the subversion of the historic catholic tradition in the Church of England, and the reiteration of High Church party's tenets by Atterbury in 1700, in The Rights, Powers, and Privileges of an English Convocation stated and Vindicated, were two symbols of the protracted convocation controversy. This is mentioned by way of illustrating the timing of Burnet's Exposition of the Thirty-Nine Articles,

published in 1699. The election of George Hooper as Prolocutor of the Lower House of Convocation, 10 February, 1701, was a sign of the High Church victory in that house. When the Lower House sent up a report of censures on Toland's book, Christianity Not Mysterious, the bishops, appointing an investigating commission, agreed to consider that book and the High Church party's views in Essays Upon the Balance of Power. When the Convocation was prorogued on 8 May, with the continuation of intermediate sessions, the committee of the Lower House refused to meet with the five representative bishops in a joint-session. The bishops adjourned until 30 May at which time the intention of the Lower House to present a complaint against Burnet's Exposition was lodged. On 6 June Burnet demanded that specific charges be made. Seventeen illustrations were provided on 13 June. Through successive prorogations of Parliament, from 24 June until Parliament was dissolved in November, the case was not judicature. The Narrative of the Lower House of Convocation relating to Prorogations and Adjournments, 1701, does not itemize the censured excerpts. Burnet's statement on the general censure of the Exposition concurs with the account of the Narrative of the Lower House:

First, That it allowed a diversity of Opinions, which the Articles were framed to avoid. Secondly, That it contained many Passages contrary to the true meaning of the Articles, and to other received Doctrines of our Church. Thirdly, That some things in it were of dangerous consequence to the Church, and derogated from the honour.

1. The setting of the controversy and its effects on the church is discussed in several of Syke's works, e.g., Church and State in England in the XVIIIth Century, pp. 284-379; passim; and by G.V. Bennett, White Kennet 1660-1728 Bishop of Peterborough, London, 1957, pp. 26-56.

2. Vide pp. 58ff, p. 64, the 17 examples are not mentioned.
of the Reformation. 1

The personal feelings of the High Church clergy regarding Burnet's Exposition are evident in a letter from John Hutton to Charlett, dated 24 May 1702:

I have finished my visitation in Lincolnshire where I visited 40 churches parochially; Order'd one Church warden (for examples sake) to be prosecuted for perjury: And I hope to put ye churches, before I leave off, in posture more Agreeable to ye Church of England yn I found ym God knows, I signed 5 schedules of pennance, gave a Publick caution to my clergy in reading ye Bp of Sarums Exposition of ye 39 Articles . . . & finally recommended to their case a good choyce of Loyal Parliam-t & convocation men. 2

Edmund Gibson regarded the censures appertaining to Burnet's Exposition in a different light:

Convocation matters begin to be too nice and critical to be related by one in my Circumstances. The Resolutions against the Bishop of Sarums' Book were receiv'd the last Sess'n, at the earnest desire of the Bishop himself; but with this condition, That the Lower house bring in their Specialities; for what they have already offer'd is only in general, without references to ye particular places upon wch they ground their several Resolutions. But as to the hard words that they say have pass'd losely in both Houses, I don't care to think of ym, nor is it for the credit of our Order, to have them known. 3

It appears that the Lower House censures of Burnet's Exposition were as general, and misleading as the inaccurate criticisms of Edwards. One of the clergy who spoke against Burnet

2. Ballard MS. 35. f. 93.
in the Lower House, said,

I made my complaint of his Exposition of ye 39 Articles, as done agt the design of framing those Articles wch was to hinder diversity of opinions & as consisting of many particulars not agreeable to the doctrines contained in them. 1

The vagueness of the High Church party's complaint about the Exposition resolved around intangibles, such as Burnet's conception of the "design of framing" the Articles, and the "sense" in which one subscribed. William Bishop wrote, "Wn it was objected to these Bps, how they came about to subscribe to the Articles, Rubrick & Canons of ye Church, their answer was, as Dr. Clark's in print, they subscribed, according to their own interpretation, so that nothing can bind them." Edward Binckes relates the wide spread interest aroused by the Exposition:

There hath not perhaps been anything of late Years publish'd in Divinity, that hath longer continu'd to be the Common Topick of Discourse, or hath given greater Offence to the Generality of the Clergy, than a late Book, Entituled An Exposition of the 39 Articles of the Church of England, by Gilbert Bishop of Sarum. 2

Binckes too, does not refute an exceptional doctrine expounded by Burnet, but emphasises the unacceptable nature of his "Latitude of Opinion" and the "nature of subscribing". Were Burnet's Exposition accepted, the Articles would be "no sort of Barrier against any Adversary whatsoever; which consequently would more effectually open a way to Comprehension than any thing that hath yet been

1. Ballard MS 34 f. 56, Peter Birch to Charlett, 17 May 1701.
3. Edward Binckes, A Prefatory Discourse to an Examination of a late Book, Entituled an Exposition of the Thirty-Nine Articles... With an examination of some Passages in the Preface to the Exposition... By a Presbyter... London, 1702.
thought of." This reveals the real issue that fomented the storm, viz. Burnet's political views on toleration, a rudimentary whig vis-a-vis Tory party issue.

Comparing Burnet's statement on the meaning of subscription with other Anglican theologians reveals a general proximity of views. Burnet described two points concerning subscription; one, that it imports "Assent to the Article"; two, the Article "being conceived in such general words, that it can admit of different Literal and Grammatical Senses, even when the Senses given are plainly contrary one to another." In concluding the *History of His Own Time*, Burnet succinctly phrases his sentiment: "Churches and Societies are much better secured by Laws, than by Subscriptions." Bramhall's treatise, *Schism Guarded*, a reply to a Roman Catholic, offers the same latitude as Burnet regarding subscription:

We do not suffer any man 'to reject' the Thirty-Nine Articles of the Church of England 'at his pleasure'; yet neither do we look upon them as essentials of saving faith or 'legacies of Christ and of His Apostles'; but in a mean, as pious opinions fitted for the preservation of unity. Neither do we oblige any man to believe them, but only not to contradict them.

Chillingworth went no further than the interpretation of Burnet, when he said "I am ready to subscribe to all that in my opinion is or can be intended by subscription. I belong to the Church of

England. I have not only no wish to renounce her communion, but I am willing to be her minister, supposing that it is enough that I approve generally of her doctrine. This approval is what I design by subscribing the Articles." 1

The fourth criterion of a statement of Christology, according to Hooker, concerns the two Natures, Deity and Humanity, continuing distinctly in One Person, Jesus Christ. Burnet, called to defend his orthodoxy by the innuendoes of the Lower House, and the pamphleteers such as Binckes, Leslie, and Edwards, responded in his Visitation address to the clergy of Salisbury, in 1704:

The Council of Ephesus was sound and true, That there was such an Union of the two Natures in Christ, as Constituted one Person, fitly resembled to the Union of the Soul and Body, which Constitution one Man: And this I solemnly declare, I did always and do still firmly believe. 2


2. Burnet, A Charge given at the Triennial Visitation... in October 1704... London, 1704, p. 28; cf. Hooker, op. cit. V. liv. 10; Burnet had made a very clear statement defending the position taken by the Council at Ephesus, in his Four Discourses, in 1694, pp. 96, 102; Edwards, op. cit. p. 17, moves from calling Burnet a Socinian on the first branch of Christology, to a Tritheist on the fourth.
A Doctrine of The Church

A conception of the Christian ministry depends not only on a doctrine of Christ, but as well on a doctrine of the church whose Head is Christ. What constitutes a person's membership in the true church, Burnet said, is

first his union to Christ as his Head, together with a dependence on him for growth and nutriture; and next, his being knit to all others who are thus united to Christ; which is first, the inward union of Divine charity, by which he loves all who cleave to Christ as their head; and next, his associating himself with them in outward visible acts of worship, which every Christian is bound to do, with all that worship God in spirit and truth. 1

This definition makes allowance for the radical separation within the historic body of the church at the time of the Reformation. If worship according to the rules of a "society of Christians" leads to idolatry, "it can be no departing from the church to adhere to Christ and his true worship, and to separate from the corruptions which are brought in upon the Christian religion." 2 When this proposition is consistently acted upon, dissent would never create schism in the Church, but only withdrawal from false worship.

Pearson's Exposition of the Creed, which Burnet prescribed for theological students, sets out the definition of the church in the context of New Testament exegesis, which he said is "the only way to attain unto the knowledge of the true notion of the Church." 3

2. Ibid.
"For the single persons professing faith in Christ are members of the particular Churches in which they live, and all those particular Churches are members of the general and universal Church, which is one by unity of aggregation..."; this according to Pearson is the Holy Catholic Church. Sherlock, whose complying to the terms of the oath in 1690, in Burnet's words, "much disturbed the Jacobit party", wrote a theological definition of the true church that was, considering the time, loaded with political subtleties. The Jacobites, Burnet relates, had counted on Sherlock to be one of their chief writers.

The Catholic Faith, I grant, is so called with relation to the Catholic Church, whose Faith it is, and the Catholic Church is the Universal Church, or all the true churches in the world, which are all but one whole Church, united in Christ their Head. The profession of the true Faith and Worship of Christ makes a true Church, and all true Churches are the One Catholic Church, whether they be spread over all the world, or shut up in any one corner of it, as at the first preaching of the Gospel the Catholic Church was nowhere but in Judaea.

He reiterates the meaning of "Catholic" church, saying it is "down right popery" to relate it to the geographic extent of the church, when its only criterion is "sincere belief and profession".

Non-juror, George Hickes, by contrast, provides another definition of the church: "A Society founded by Christ Jesus in a

1. Ibid.
3. Ibid.
manner independent on the Powers of the World." Hickes separates the powers of the "spiritual" and "ecclesiastical" from the "temporal" and "regal". The church, of a unique and distinct order from God, is found where the true priesthood in the "sacerdotal office" exists under the authority of "Bishops, the Delegates, or Viceregents of Christ in his Kingdom upon Earth." Burnet, similar to the pattern of Sherlock and Pearson, defines the "true" church in terms of faith, not order: "A true Church is, in one sense, a Society that preserves the Essentials and Fundamentals of Christianity: In another sense it stands for a Society, all whose Doctrines are true, that has corrupted no part of this Religion, nor mixed any Errors with it." Again, the true Church is maintained in the "Association" of Christians by their use of the Sacraments. For these are given by Christ to the Society as the Rites and Badges of that body. That which makes particular men Believers, is their receiving the Fundamentals of Christianity; so that which constitutes the Body of the Church, is the Profession of that Faith, and the use of those Sacraments which are the Rites and distinctions of those who profess it.

Because the church is defined by belief, its authority lies in the object of the belief, in Christ. Limborch, whose theology had some influence on Burnet, carefully outlined the nature of belief as a prerequisite to understanding the essential nature of


2. Ibid., pp. 66, 7.


4. Ibid.
the Church: "It is a society of men called by the preaching of the gospel, to shew that the church is not constituted of all men promiscuously, but of such as are called by the gospel, and obey that call by believing in Christ, and doing those good works which are commanded by him." There is no question in his systematic divinity, but what true belief was the sole basis for the constitution of the church. The form of church government and ministerial order did not enter the system of doctrinal discussion at this point. Hooker adds to this definition of the church, that it is not only the society of true believers, but "that very mother of our new birth". Burnet said the sacraments and the profession of faith in the church "makes particular men Believers". Hooker explained the relation of church and belief: "As many therefore as are apparently to our judgment born of God, they have the seed of their regeneration by the ministry of the Church which useth to that end and purpose not only the Word, but the Sacraments, both having generative force and virtue."

The marks of the true Church are the marks of faith in Christ, none other. Burnet disputes the integrity of the fifteen marks of the true catholic church put forward by Bellarmine. These marks do not prove the infallibility of any church, the central doctrine for the Church of Rome, nor can an infallible source be found to prove the validity of these "true marks". For example,

1. Limborch, op. cit. VII. x. 1.
Bellarmine said that "Sanctity of Doctrine" is a mark of the church. Burnet replied to this supposition: "Some standard must be fixed on, by which the Sanctity of Doctrine may be examined; they must also be allowed to examine what was the Doctrine of former times; and here it will be natural to begin at the first times, the Age of the Apostles." The Apostolic standard of faith is the true character of the church, in the reformed theology of Hooker, as well as Burnet. Hooker wrote:

We have from the Apostles of our Lord Jesus Christ received that brief confession of faith which hath been always a badge of the Church, a mark whereby to discern Christian men from Infidels and Jews. 'This faith received from the Apostles and their disciples,' saith Irenaeus (Iren. lib. 1:3) 'the Church though dispersed throughout the world, doth notwithstanding keep as safe as if it dwelt within the walls of some one house, and as uniformly hold, as if it had but one only heart and soul; this as constantly it preacheth, teacheth, and delivereth, as if but one tongue did speak for all.' 2

Burnet said the mark of the apostolic faith is found on the Church of England. When the ends of religion are contemplated we must needs be convinced that we need go nowhere else out of this church to find them; but are completely instructed in all parts of it, and furnished with all the helps to advance us to that which is indeed the end of our faith, the salvation of our souls. Here we have the rules of holy obedience, and the methods of repentance and reconciliation for past sins, clearly set before us; we believe all that doctrine which Christ and his apostles delivered, and the primitive church received; we have the


comfort of all those sacraments which Christ instituted, and in the same manner that he appointed them; all the helps to devotion that the gospel offers are in every one's hand. 1

Because of the emphasis on faith, vis-à-vis, order as the true mark of the catholic church, Burnet considers authority in the body of Christ to rest primarily in Christ. Subsequently, each individual member is responsible to Christ, whose authority is exercised through the believer's conscience. This interpretation of doctrine is consistent with Burnet's attitude toward Natural Religion and its emphasis on "consciousness" as the Imago Dei. Such a view was instrumental in the conclusions Burnet reached regarding the church and toleration of those restricted from its communion by test acts. The authority of the church is governed by the "precepts" of Christ in Scripture, therefore, the Church is subject to the Scripture, and the individual members by the rule of Scripture to Christ:

He, as King of the church, hath given her laws and precepts, to whose obedience she is obliged; to which none can add without they acknowledge another head, and whose obligation none can untie or dispense with; for Christ's dominion consists in this authority he hath over our consciences, which he hath vindicated into liberty, by delivering us from the bondage of corruption. If then any pretend a power of obtruding new articles on our belief, or obligations on our consciences, these must be confessed to be injurious to the dignity wherewith Christ is vested. 2


This conception of the church, with its authority in Christ, and each member obligated to Christ, places a strong emphasis on the necessity for Christian ethical life as a sign of that inward relationship. Burnet's thought relative to the Cambridge Platonists, who insisted on a moral absolute, and moral goodness, reinforced his doctrine of the church. He said, "Our wise and worthy progenitors reformed our doctrine and worship, but we have not reformed our lives and manners; what will it avail us to understand the right methods of worshipping God if we are without true devotion, and coldly perform public offices, without sense and affection, which is as bad as a bead-roll of prayers in whatever language they be pronounced?"

Another effect of this doctrinal conclusion that church authority resides in Christ, who is known individually by the members of the church, concerns the ministry and government of the church. The ministry has no sacerdotal rôle to play:

We apply our souls to no intercessor but Christ, and trust to no satisfaction but his; and we acknowledge him the only King of his Church, whose laws must bind it to the end of the world. Neither do we acknowledge another authority but his over our consciences. It is true, in things indifferent he hath left a power with his church to determine in those matters which may tend to advance order, edification, peace, and decency; but as the church cannot add to our faith, so neither can it institute new pieces of worship, which shall commend us to God, or bind any load upon our souls. 2

2. Burnet, Discourse on the Opposition to Rome, pp. 64, 5.
The equality of believers in Christ, reduces the authority of persons in charge of the government of the Church. He wrote that the Apostles ordained pastors in every church, retaining the chief authority to themselves, in which they were succeeded by bishops; they make every church a body within itself, not subject to any other church; and they asserted an equality among themselves, and that all Christians were alike, or had equal privileges in Christ, so that he was all and in all. 1

The church has no authority in matters of faith that are essential to salvation. His rejection of the doctrine of purgatory illustrates his theological method: "For if the Scriptures ought to be our Rule in any thing, it must be chiefly in those Matters which relate to the Pardon of Sin, to the quiet of our Consciences, and to a future State." Again, "If from the Scripture we go to the practice and tradition of the Church, we are sure that this was not thought on for above Ten Centuries, all the Indulgences that were then known, being only the abatements of the severity of the penitentiary Canons. ..." 2 Like John Cosin, Burnet thought that the sign of true catholicity in the church was in the use of the Bible as the rule of faith. Burnet followed the pattern of reformed theology that said the Church was subservient to doctrine, not doctrine to the authority of the Church: "...we are first to examine the Doctrine, and according/that, to judge of the Purity of

1. Burnet, An Exposition of the Church Catechism, p. 73. In this latter instance, Burnet applied this doctrinal criterion with such rigour that it appears to support congregational polity.


a Church." The ground on which that judgment of Scriptural doctrine is made, is reason. In this regard, Burnet differs from Hooker to a degree. Hooker asserted:

By experience we all know that the first outward motive leading men so to esteem of the Scripture is the authority of God's Church. For when we know the whole Church of God hath that opinion of the Scripture, we judge it even at the first an impudent thing for any man bred and brought up in the Church to be of a contrary mind without cause. 3.

But the difference is slight, as Hooker had said that reason is a "necessary instrument" if one would "reap by the Scripture's perfection that fruit and benefit which it yieldeth." The synthesis of Scripture and reason as the grounds for determining essential doctrine, is much the same in Hooker as found later in his disciple Burnet.

1. Ibid. p. 175.
2. Ibid. He calls reason here "the Light and Faculty of Judging."
4. Ibid. III, viii. 10.
5. Ibid. II. vii. 3. Hooker said, "For whatsoever we believe concerning salvation by Christ, although the Scripture be therein the ground of our belief; yet the authority of man is, if we mark it, the key which openeth the door of entrance into the knowledge of the Scripture. The Scripture could not teach us the things that are of God unless we did credit men who have taught us that the words of Scripture do signify those things." Cf. Ibid. III. viii. 12. "...knowing by reason that the Scripture is the word of God"; and Burnet, the only time reason submits to church authority is when that authority is expressly from the Bible, Exposition Thirty-Nine Articles, p. 175.

Stillingfleet's discussion of the ratio regimenis ecclesiasticci, states that no church government is of divine right, but human discretion, "the law of nature binds indispensably."--Irenicum, 1662 ed., p. 11.
Burnet concludes that church authority is limited to matters nonessential to the gospel covenant, but that it has no judicial control over matters of doctrine. There is a legitimate and important function of authority in what he calls the church's "witness" vis-à-vis its authority as a "Judge":

But here a great difference is to be made, between the carrying down a Book to us, and the Oral delivering of a Doctrine.... The Books being in many hands, spread over the whole Churches, and read in all their Assemblies, makes this to be a very different thing, from discourses that are in the Air, and to which every man that reports them, is apt to give his own Cause.

... A great difference is also to be made, between the Testimony of a Witness, and the Authority of a Judge.

... As to matters of Faith, it is certain, That everybody of men is bound to study to maintain its own Order and Quiet, and must be authoris'd to preserve it; otherwise it cannot long continue to be one Body. 1

Burnet was acutely aware of the High Church criticism of his doctrine of the church. 2 In fact Binckes said that it was Burnet's intention to "bring our Church upon the level with some Churches abroad which are after Calvin's Model, which at the same time very much detracts from the Honour of our Reformation..." 3

Contrary to Binckes' misrepresentation, Burnet carefully discussed that the church has authority to rule and order itself in conformity to the Scripture in matters essential to salvation, and beyond that the church has the freedom to maintain order, and union. He emphasizes the distinction between infallible authority, and an authority of order. Binckes stated that "according to the

1. Burnet, Four Discourses, pp. 245 & 250; cf. a similar argument in Discourse in Opposition to Rome, p. 18.
Bishop's Largeness and Equity, it is easy to suppose notwithstanding a Man's subscribing to this Article, that the Church hath really no power to enforce the Observation of Rites or Ceremonies." In juxtaposition, Burnet actually declared: "We ought to acquiesce in such Rules as have been agreed on by common Consent, and which are recommended to us by long Practice, and that are established by those who have the lawful Authority over us. Nor can we assign any other Bounds to our Submission in this case, than those that the Gospel has limited." Burnet's definition of "Lawful Authority" is directly opposite Binckes' interpretation:

That which we believe to be Lawful Authority, is that Rule which the Body of Pastors, or Bishops and Clergy of a Church, shall settle, being met in a Body under the due Respect to the Powers that God shall set over them: Rules thus made, being in nothing contrary to the Word of God, and duly executed by particular persons to whom that care belongs, are certainly the Lawful Authority. 3.

When Burnet considered the position of the Church of Rome regarding church authority, he was typically repulsed. His whole intellectual development was set against any attempt to control

3. Ibid. p. 258. Burnet is probably the anonymous writer of An Answer to the Prefatory Discourse, 1703, which refutes Binckes. The high-flyer assumed, or wished, that the framers of the Articles intended a divine right of episcopacy. Rogers, a Calvinist, interprets Article XX, as follows: "The Church's authority to decree rites, or ceremonies is warranted in the Word of God; first by the example of the Apostles, who did ordaine rites and ceremonies."— Rogers, op. cit., p. 99.
freedom of thought and expression of faith. Reason was "born to liberty" and cannot be enslaved, but will "defy all the severe rigours of Tyranny." "Reason is nothing but a communication of Divine light to make me understand those propositions, of which some hints were born with my soul, and the rest are offered to me in sacred writings, if I throw off this, and betake myself to the dictates of others, I exchange the sun for the moon." Dodwell's discussion of infallible authority in the church was just as critical as Burnet's. He said, "The God of peace allay the heats and destroy the dividing principles of Christendom, among which perhaps there are no principles more malignant than false pretences to infallibility." The constitution of the reformed churches are secure, Burnet replied in a review of Bossuet's Variations, because the authority of the church does not arise from itself:

...a just Recrimination destroys the whole bottom on which the Roman Church is founded, for the certainty of Tradition, and the Infallibility of the Church, being their Foundation, if Variations are proved among them, these are shaken; and so their whole Fabrick falls: but Variations even proved among us, signifie nothing, they only prove that the Reformers were Men, subject to mistakes. 3


2. Henry Dodwell, An Account of the Fundamental Principle of Popery as it is a Distinct Communion, London, 1688, p. xii. Cf. Burnet's Four Discourses, p. 173, 'In all Constitutions among men, the most evident thing is this, Where rests the Supreme Authority of that Constitution?' He accuses the Romans of thinking God has devolved one of his divine attributes on their communion. If the church proves the church is infallible, 'this is impossible, as if a Father should beget a Son, and should be afterwards begotten by that Son.' --Burnet, Exposition Thirty-Nine Articles, p. 177; Burnet's exegesis of Matt.18:17, in Discourse of the Opposition to Rome, p. 19.

3. Burnet, A Letter to Mr. Thevenot,...Containing...A Censure of Mr. de Meaux's History of the Variations...London, 1689, p. 31.
Throughout his ministry Burnet maintained that the only grounds for dissent from the established church were if communion in that church caused sin. He was aware of the objection that it "sets up a private judgment, it gives particular persons a right of judging Churches: Whereas the Natural Order is, That private persons ought to be Subject and Obedient to the Church." But the alternative was some form of coercion. This was not consistent with his basic view of religion, as he confided in Limborch, "I have often marvilled at the effrontery with which the Reformed Churches, to whom Ecclesiastical Infallibility is abhorrent, can require from all their members these forms of subscriptions; by which one is bound to acquiesce in every proposition which has found place in the Confession of Faith; though it is not easy for an honest man, however devoutly set on cherishing the interests of peace, to swallow, at a gulp, a complete system." Freedom of judgment was better than any form of ecclesiastical authoritarianism. Once again, his empathy with the philosophy of the Cambridge Platonists effects a major conclusion about doctrine. He is not afraid of private judgment because, "God has given us rational Faculties to guide and direct us: And we must make the Most of these that we can." Reason, as well as Scripture, was an authority for personal judication of the true doctrine of the church:

1. Cf. Burnet, Free and Modest Survey, p. 4; and History Own Time, II, 635.
2. Burnet, Exposition Thirty-Nine Articles, p. 182.
We must judge with our own Reasons, as well as see with our own Eyes: Neither can we, or ought we to resign up our Understandings to any others, unless we are convinced that God has imposed this upon us, by his making them infallible, so that we are secured from Error if we follow them.

All this we must examine and be well assured of it, otherwise it will be a very rash, unmanly, and base thing in us, to muffle up our Understandings, and to deliver our Reason and Faith over to others blindfold. Reason is God's Image in us; and as the Use and Application of our Reason, as well as of the Freedom of our Wills, are the highest Excellencies of the Rational Nature; so they must be always claimed, and ought never to be parted with by us, but upon clear and certain Authorities in the Name of God, putting us implicitly under the Dictates of others. 1

Investigating Burnet's doctrine of the church and its relationship to the state opens up a Pandora's box of emotional political tracts and animadversions. In 1677, Burnet delineated his thought on church-state relations in a defence of the validity of the English Ordinal. A Roman Catholic antagonist had said the ordinal was invalid, inasmuch as the authority for its composition came from the parliament. Burnet responded,

By the authority they derived from Christ, and the Warrant they had from Scripture and the Primitive Church, these Prelates and Divines, made those Alterations and Changes in the Ordinal; and the King and Parliament, who are vested with the Supream Legislative Power, added their Authority to them to make them Obligatory on the Subjects.

Which is all that is imported by the word Lawful in the Act of Parliament; the ordinary use whereof among Lawyers is 'A thing according to Law'. 2

This statement is significant as it represents his pre-Revolution views. His decisive support of the cause of William III, of course,


reflected a change in his thinking. It is difficult to ascertain when the change took place, nevertheless, the Jacobites had a strong case against Burnet, regarding his views of church-state relations. One High Church devotee lamented that the whigs demanded passive obedience to the government of William III, but were adverse to apply the same standards to the cause of the Non-jurors. The inconsistency is evident not least of all in Burnet who preached in "A. D. 1674, on ye text Rom. 13.5., printed A.D. 1675, a very Loyal Sermon, very full for a non resistance, passive obedience, if it were reprinted would doe as well to be joyned to some of his late Trade...."

In 1713, Burnet described Latitudinarians as persons who "know of no unalterable or indefeasible Right, but what is found on the Law." He states that there is a "full Power in the Legislature to settle the Crown, and to secure the Nations". Spiritual independency of the church, as advocated by Hickes, is not an attack on the royal supremacy, but "on the Supremacy vested by Law in the Crown". Burnet had advocated submission to the state before the Revolution and declared that "the Apostles condemned all resistance; for indeed words can scarce be found out that are more express and plain than theirs are upon the subject." Again, before changing his doctrine of the state, he asserted that the King and the parliament have the supreme legislative authority in the realm, and

3. Ibid. p. 11.
"over the Ecclesiastical state". The King does not exceed his rights when the power to invest "Legal Authority" on a churchman is reserved to himself, but "he cannot make a man a Bishop or priest nor annul his ordination." Burnet's conception of the supremacy of law, stated in 1713, does not alter radically from his view of law in the early period, the most marked change is his reaction to the problem when law is subverted. James II's use of the dispensing power was a case of such subversion, according to Burnet. As late as 1683, Burnet was an advocate of nonresistance. This view was explained by Leighton who recognized that a Christian was at times faced with the choice of obedience to God or man. There was no place in the most exceptional circumstances allowing resistance; "We must give passive obedience and suffer, for it is better to suffer than sin..." Probably the crux to the issue that stood

between the presbyterian non-conformists and their acceptance of Leighton's liberal plan for accommodation lay with this doctrine of church-state relations.

Burnet maintained that his views had never changed. It is not possible to judge whether this line was taken to protect the constitutionality of the Revolutionary settlement, or whether he was sincerely wrong about his own attitudes. There is in this problem an important feature related to the ministry. Should a

1. A basic philosophical difference in the training of Burnet and that of the covenanters helped to exaggerate the gulf between their views. A disciple of Hooker, and a student of Natural Religion, Burnet would have emphasized that natural order, of which the state is a part, was given by God and confirmed by revelation and grace. The covenanters, through Calvin's influence, followed the nominalists and the Augustinians. Naturally, they disagreed with this fundamental doctrine of nature. For Augustine one became a true member of the society of God by strength of his membership in the church (De Civitate, xv. 2.). Calvin thought that natural law, and order, could not be trusted, that reason was prone to error (Institutes, II.2.22). The covenanters believed therefore, in counterdistinction to Burnet, that the state must be subject to the church, as the state was the result of the fall, or weakness of man. In England, Hooker used an Aristotelian format, accepting the place of reason and nature in synthesis with grace and revelation, to counter-balance the Calvinists such as Cartwright. (vide, Whitgift, Works, Parker Society ed., I, 273 ff). Cartwright thought the state should be the "handmaid of the church." (Ibid. I, 390). Burnet did not change his opinion on the place of natural order in society, but whether physical force ought to be employed against the misuse of law.
Christian take up arms against the state? Burnet answers, after the Revolution:

Nor have I in this departed from my former principles, for I am still as much as ever, fixed in that persuasion, that the Christian Religion gives us no warrant to defend it by armes, but on the contrary forbids all resistance but still it is to be understood that if this Religion has lawes on its side, in a legall Government, where the King's Prerogative is shut up within such limits, then as the right of professing that Religion, comes to be one of the civil liberties, so the King by breaking thro' all the limits of the Law, assumes an authority which he has not, and by consequence he may be withstood. 1

In this passage he divides the individual's responsibility between that of a Christian and that of a citizen. His implication is that a Christian can be obedient to both God and man even when the action is contradictory. Burnet's reason for changing his opinion on resistance is problematic. It may be related to his continental travels in the years 1685 and 1686 in which he encountered firsthand the effects of monarchial tyranny coupled with papal authority. He projected what he saw in Louis XIV's persecution of the Huguenots following the revocation of the Edict of Nantes, on the English scene: "I have a much stronger inclination to say somewhat, concerning the Persecution which I saw in its Rage and utmost Fury; and of which I could give you many Instances, that are so much beyond all the common measures of Barbarity and Cruelty....And what I saw and knew there, from first hand, hath so confirmed all the Ideas that I had of the Cruelty of that Religion, that I hope the impression that this hath made upon me, shall never

1. Burnet, Supplement, p.524; Vide, excellent discussion of Burnet's views at this point by Foxcroft, Appendix I, Supplement, pp. 515ff. Miss Foxcroft disagrees with Von Ranke that Burnet's change was gradual. Burnet never espoused the divine right of the doctrine of passive obedience.
end but with my life."

In 1676, Burnet had said: "We also hold, that the civil powers are of Christ, whose gospel binds the duty of obedience to them more closely on us; and therefore if they do wrong, we leave them to Christ's tribunal, who set them up, but pretend to no power from his gospel to coerce or resist them." However, he told the clergy of his diocese after the Revolution, "It is not so very clear to state the subordination in which the Church is to be put under the Civil Power..." This gave rise to the heated remarks of a high-flyer to call Burnet "with all the rest of the Swearing Clergy" the "Synagogue of Satan, who falsely pretend to be of the Church of England". In An Essay Towards a New Book of Homilies, published in 1713, Burnet alluded to a very different conception of law than he asserted before the Revolution. His philosophy of Natural Religion and the innate trustworthiness of the natural

1. Burnet, Some Letters; containing an account of what seemed most remarkable in Switzerland, Italy, etc. (Written to Robert Boyle) Amsterdam, 1687 ed., pp. 254, 55. He blames popery, not Louis XIV for the action, p. 357, for Rome's doctrine of "extirpating heretics"; cf. Burnet on Bellarmine on this doctrine, Eighteen Papers, A Collection, London, 1689, p. 27. Sykes said that 50,000 reformed Christians were granted asylum.—From Sheldon to Secker, p.133. William Nicolson, Bishop of Carlisle, defended the Revolution, and changed from the tory to the whig party, partly on basis of securing Protestantism.—James, op. cit., p. 48.


4. n.a. Tempora Mutantur, The great change from 73-93. In the Travels of a Prof. of Theo. at Glasgow, from the Primative and Episcopal Loyalty, through Italy, Geneva, to the Deposing Doctrine, under the Papistico-Phanatico-Prelatic Colours at Salisbury..., 1694, p. 4.
order is consistently advocated through the years, but the emphasis shifted from the natural right of the royal supremacy to the natural right of law.

Our Government is a legal one; The King's Authority is founded on Law. No Man is Prosecuted or Punished but for the Violation of some Law. It is the Law that directs the Succession to the Crown... Thus a Subversion of the Law, is the destroying that on which the King's Authority is Founded, and by which it is maintain'd: So the Turning a legal Government into an Arbitrary one, did put the Subjects to such Straits, that they saw they must either be Slaves, or try how their Liberty could be preserved. 1

In spite of his change regarding resistance, and his ambivalence in explicating the Christian ethic towards the state when the established religion is threatened, there are several factors affecting Burnet's total outlook that were somewhat consistent guidelines to his development of doctrine. A synthesis between nature and grace, reason and Bible, form the foundation of his method. Revealed religion in the Scripture is accepted as the final authority, even in matters of doctrine, such as the Trinity, that cannot be proved by reason. Christ, who is truly God and


2. A list of writers Burnet recommended to theological students has been given, as well as a list of books in the Salton Parish Library, Chapter II, supra. A list of authors Burnet referred to in his own major writings will provide an idea of the sources to whom he referred. These references are only those marked out by Burnet, of course he often used the basic ideas of sources, such as Hooker, without giving references: Bramhall, Mason, Laud, Wendelin, Turretin, Grotius, Barclay, Bellarmine, Charmier, Descartes, Gassendi, Aquinas, George Keith, Baxter, Epictetus, Teresa, Sarpi, Bacon, Limborch, Thomas à Kempis, Le Clerc, Episcopius, Foelebnough, Augustine, Calvin, Daille, de Thou, Aristotle, Smith, More, Cudworth, Whichcote, Plato, Plotinus, Hooker, Leighton, Binnius, Chillingworth, Pearson, Lightfoot, Hammond, Stillingfleet, Zuicker, Tully, Jansenius, Cassin, Hobbes, Tillotson, Patrick, Lloyd, Jewel, Reynolds, Humphries, Whitaker, Cyprian, Chrysostom, Gregory Nazianzen, Gregory The Great, Bernard, (among many other Fathers).
perfectly man, is the Head of the Church as demonstrated by Scripture and reason. The Church has the freedom given by God to order itself in matters not essential to salvation and in a manner agreeable to the Scripture. The criterion of responsibility in the use of this freedom is reason. Burnet's aversion to popery and his loyalty to the Protestant succession had significant influence on his interpretation of doctrine, especially the relationship of the church to the state.

1. Sykes illustrated the "distinguishing character of a whig" from a letter of Gibson to Walpole in 1733: they were "for thirty years together" constituted by "the settled principle of maintaining the Protestant Succession, the church establishment, and the Toleration."—Church and State in England in the XVIII Century, p. 33. Sykes concludes that the Non-juror position can be defined ultimately by political thought: "The non-juror protest was therefore political in principle, looking backwards to the obsolescent doctrine of divine indefeasible hereditary right."—Ibid, p. 287.
Chapter IV
THE CHRISTIAN PRIESTHOOD

Episcopacy

Some of the High Church party believed themselves to be the standard-bearers for episcopacy, vis-à-vis an episcopal bench that was predominantly Latitudinarian. Charles Leslie, in whose eyes Burnet was extremely objectionable, wrote of the Low Churchmen:

"They think Episcopacy an Indifferent thing, and only a State-point amongst us. They have no Notion of God's having Appointed any Order of Men to Represent Him, to Transact betwixt Him, and the People, to Sign and Seal his Covenants with them, and to Bless in His Name. Or, they think That any One may take this Honour to Himself, or be Impower'd therunto by the People, by any of the Vilest of them. They think that this can be Conferr'd without Episcopal Ordination, which has been from the Apostles Days the Way of the Whole Earth; and the first who Broach'd the Contrary, Aerius an Ambitious Presbyter in the Fourth Century, was Condemn'd as an Heretick. Whose Heresie is now Reviv'd among Us."

1. Charles Leslie, The Wolf Stript of His Shepherd's Cloathing, London, 1704, pp. 5, 6. George Every writes concerning Burnet's episcopal views: "It is one of the ironies of history that so typical a Latitudinarian should be the first to introduce to the Anglican clergy the researches of the French Oratiorian Jean Morin..."--Every, op. cit. p. 16. The only "irony" is that Every accepts the 17th century High Church view of Burnet, which would make Burnet's strong defence for episcopacy seem "ironical".

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Burnet's method of doctrine is illustrated fully in his conception of ministerial order in the church. If the form of government is not settled by God, and therefore not revealed in Scripture, then the church, according to the dictates of reason, must accept its authority from Christ to order itself decently for the peace and harmony of the church. Burnet unequivocally defends the cause of episcopacy in which ministerial authority is derived from Christ. In juxtaposition to the episcopacy in the Church of Rome, Burnet said, "We own a ministerial authority in all the pastors of the church, which they derive from Jesus Christ, and not from any visible head on earth, and therefore they are only subject to Christ." The ground of his doctrine of the ministry is, in this definition, the authority of Christ whose Word is given to the church through a ministerial agency. His doctrine of ministerial order is consonant with his doctrine of the church. No vicar of Christ stands between His Lordship and the individual members of His body. It is on this basis of reformed theology that Burnet's criticism of the validity of the Roman Catholic order was lodged. "Churchmen ought to be the guides and pastors of souls", but Rome, he said, in spite of their correct ministerial order, is negligent at the primary point of "feeding souls". The reason he gives for this charge is the neglect of preaching, exactly the thesis of Patrick Forbes. Episcopacy is not a mark that distinguishes the true from the false church, as he believed that the Church

2. Ibid. p. 47.
of Rome was anti-Christian. The primary test of a valid ministry is preaching the Word and dispensing the sacraments, and he thought that the popes, as "chief pastors", did not meet this criterion. "When do they preach the gospel, or dispense the sacraments?" From the Scripture, or Revealed Religion, Burnet took this standard, of dispensing the Word in preaching and sacraments, the sine qua non of valid ministerial orders; but from "Natural Right" he deduces the form in which this authority was executed by the pastors:

As to Rituals, it is certain that there are many little circumstances and decencies that belong to the Worship of God, the Order of Religious Assemblies, and their administrations; and that in these, the Pastors of a Church, by the Natural Right that all Societies have to keep themselves in order, must have a Power to determine all things of this nature. This becomes yet clearer in Christian Societies, from the Rules that the Apostles gave to the Churches, 'To do all things in Order', and for the ends of 'Edification and Peace'. There is not one of the Rules laid down in Scripture, concerning the Sacraments, or the Officers of the Church, to which many circumstances do not belong; now either these must be all left to every man's liberty, which must needs create a jarring disagreement in several parts of this Body, .... or there must be an Authority in the Pastors of the Church to meet together, and to settle these by mutual consent. 2

Burnet, following in the pattern of Hooker and Forbes, did not defend a case for the divine right of episcopacy, but rather a divine authority for ministry. Hooker asserted a similar notion which demonstrates his synthesis of reason and revelation:

The ministry of things divine is a function which as God did himself institute, so neither may men undertake the same but by authority and power given them in lawful manner, That God is no way deficient or wanting unto man in necessaries, and hath therefore given us the light of his heavenly truth, because without that inestimable benefit we must needs have wandered in darkness to our endless perdition and woe .... 3

1. Ibid. 2. Burnet, Four Discourses, p. 255.
The authority for ministry rests on Christ, but the Church is responsible for its own order, being faithful to Christ. Hooker stated that God has ordained certain men "to attend upon the due execution of requisite parts and offices therein prescribed for the good of the whole world, which men thereunto assigned do hold their authority from him, whether they be such as himself immediately or as the Church in his name investeth..." In like manner, Patrick Forbes defended Scottish reformed ordinations, because the ministry is consecrated to Christ, at His command. To forsake the authority of a Roman Catholic bishop by whom some reformers were ordained was not to forsake one's calling from Christ, "so cleaving still to Christ, whose I am, I do not fall way from the prerogative of my calling." But the administration of this calling is given by Christ to the church, for "lawful ordination is a good and proper action of the Church of Christ." Forbes did not believe that his doctrine made way for sectarianism. Ordination must be regular and proceed through the visible ministerial authority of the Church. "We would no otherwise account of him than of a seditious and turbulent spirit, who either fanatically presuming of graces would vainly despise order, or from some infirmities and defects would arrogantly and uncharitably break the unity of the Church."

1. Ibid.
3. Ibid.
Limborch, who represents another important influence on the development of Burnet's thought, related the authority of the ministry to the doctrine of the church in quite the same way as Forbes. The church depends on Christ as its sole Head, but his will is directed to the church, not in a "power of the spirit operating apart from the word", but "by the word, as being always in it." The minister administers that word to the church. Among those who influenced Burnet's thought, the concensus regarding this primary principle of the ministry is largely equated with the doctrine that Christ appoints the ministry whose essence depends upon a faithful delivering of His Word to the church. The consideration of ecclesiastical and ministerial order is subordinate to this central thesis. Baxter, still another who impressed Burnet at a formative stage in his life, said that the New Testament concept of a pastor or bishop is that of an officer of the church "appointed by Christ for the ordinary teaching and guiding a particular church and all its members, in order to their salvation, and the pleasing of God." Again, "Christ appointeth the office itself by His laws." Placing the minister in a position of interpreting and dispensing the Word is a "high" view of the ministry Burnet explained:

Since I look upon the sacramental actions as the highest of sacred performances, I cannot but acknowledge those who are empowered for them must be the highest office in the Church. So I do not allege a Bishop to be a distinct office from a presbyter, but a different degree in the same office to whom, for order and unity's sake, the chief inspection and care of ecclesiastical matters ought to be referred.

1. Limborch, op. cit. IV. ii. 1.
The form of the English Ordinal reflects this reformed theological opinion of the ministry, Burnet says, in which the priest, in ordination, is contracted to God, and that it is Christ who ordains, not the church, nor the bishops. Ministerial order is a subordinate instrument by which the primary authority of the ministry from Christ is regulated.

Where nothing expressed is conferred, but only as declared, so our Church by making our Saviour's words, the form of Ordination, must be construed to intend, by that that it is Christ only that sends, and Bishops are only his Ministers to pronounce his Mission; otherwise it is not so easy to justify the use of this Form, 'Receive the Holy Ghost': which as it was not used in the Primitive Church nor by the Roman, till within these five Hundred Years, so in that Church, it is not the Form of Ordination but a Benediction given by the Bishop singly...But our using this as the form of Ordination shews, that we consider our selves only as the Instruments that speak in Christ's Name and Words: Insinuating thereby that he only Ordains. 1

The sponsions are to be taken at the altar, according to Burnet's interpretation, because the reformers were acutely concerned that the ordination would be in "the nature of a Stipulation or Covenant, the Church conferring Orders, or indeed rather, Christ by the Ministry of the Officers that he has constitute, conferring them upon those Promises that are first made." 2

In light of Burnet's doctrine of the church and its ministry, it is not surprising to discover that he interprets the "power of the keys" as the manifestation of Christ's authority through the preaching of the gospel. After warning that the "keys of the kingdom" is a figure of speech and that it is dangerous to construct

1. Burnet, Pastoral Care, pp. 109, 10.
an explicit doctrine on a figure of speech from Scripture, he adds: "According to the Scripture-phrase, by the Keys of the Kingdom of Heaven, is meant, that St. Peter was first to open the Dispensation of the Gospel; which he did in the first preaching of it to the Jews, after the wonderful Pentecost: and this was yet more eminently perform'd by him, when he first open'd the door to the Gentiles: to which the words of the Kingdom of Heaven seem to have a more particular respect." That preaching should open the door to the church of the "new dispensation", is consonant with his doctrine of the church and ministerial authority. The emphasis then, is on the doctrine preached, thereby constituting the essential ground of the ministry. There is no divine prerogative for a particular order of ministers who point the way of faith:

By binding and loosing, we find the Rabbins do commonly understand the affirming or denying the Obligation of any Precept that was in dispute. This then being a common form of speech among the Jews, a genuine Paraphrase of these words is, That Christ committed to the Apostles the dispensation of his Doctrine to the World; in which they should be authoris'd to dissolve the Obligation of the Mosaical Laws, and to confirm such parts of them as were Moral, and perpetually binding; which the Apostles should do, with such visible Characters of a Divine Authority, empowering and conducting them in it, that it should be very evident, that what they did on Earth, was ratified in Heaven. 2

The commission to preach and dispense the sacraments is a conditional power in the ministry of the church that has administrative as well as doctrinal aspects:

For the power of binding and loosing we do assert that as our Saviour vested his disciples with it, so it is still in the Church but if the vigor and exercise of it be much

2. Ibid. pp. 243, 44.
weakened, we have none to blame for it but the Church of Rome: who have in a course of many ages laid down all open and publick penances.

...But our church owns still the power of the keys, which is not only Doctrinal, when the mercies of God are declared, or his Judgments denounced; but is also authoritative and ministerial, by which all Christians are either admitted to or rejected from the Privileges of Church-communion, and their sins are bound or loosed. With this we assert the Pastors of the Church are vested. 1

Ministerial authority, based on the minister's relationship to the church under Christ, is conditional for the minister is to give nurture to members of the church "with sound doctrine, according to the word of God." For Burnet, this alone is the criterion of the validity of the "keys". By contrast, Cosin states that ministerial power is handed over, finally, from Christ to the Apostles: "We call it the Power of the Keys, and those keys, which over and besides them that are committed to the custody of a priest in his ordination, to bind a sinful and to loose a penitent soul, are here given over, once for all, into the hands of bishops." 3

Burnet's Latitudinarian thought regarding the nature and authority of episcopacy was not an expedient developed late in his career, but a continuing development from the nascent influences of the Forbesian tradition, Leighton, and contacts with Anglican thought, such as Hooker, Chillingworth, and Stillingfleet.


2. Burnet, A Relation of a Conference held about Religion...by E. Stillingfleet...and Gilbert Burnet with some Gentlemen of the Church of Rome, London, 1676, p. 13.

It was not unnatural for him to develop a moderate doctrine of the episcopal ministry in which he strongly asserted that episcopacy was the most perfect, but not exclusive, order of the church. Both in Scotland and in England, he encountered those who argued for a ministerial order that existed by divine right. The Scriptures are silent on the form that the ministry of the church should take, but, he thought that should not deter the church from seeking the best solution for its government, which in general terms, is commanded. To object to recognizing a specific order as the best condition for ministerial duties because it is not constituted in the Bible, is as groundless, according to Burnet, as objecting to changing the day for public worship from the Sabbath to the Lord's day, or objecting to the criteria for the New Testament canon, or the doctrine of baptism of infants. These forms of religious doctrine and practice are not specifically defined in Scripture. Only "supernatural truths" are commanded in Scripture. Church government and forms of worship are not a part of the content of revelation. Certain general guidelines emerge from the practice of the first church of the Apostles. For example, while it is clear that the Apostles ordained, there is no distinction made in their ordinations from which one can draw two offices with a qualitative differential, viz., presbyter and bishop. The Apostles themselves were called

2. Ibid, pp. 20, 21.
3. Ibid. p. 21.
presbyter, but never bishops, and in fact all terms for ministerial office were used promiscuously until the time of Irenaeus, Burnet concluded. This, however, does not imply that a parity of ministers existed, as many cases for imparity can be demonstrated from the Scripture and the early history of the church. 1

Burnet listed several reasons for the acceptance of episcopacy which is a form related to the Apostolic ministry. 2 One, the visible forms of the church effecting its life and worship must have had some kind of sanction from the Apostles to prevent hostile persons from circumventing their jurisdiction as pastors. Two, that clergy did submit to other pastors is evident. Although the proof of Apostolic authority is not always explicitly demonstrated, there must have been an implicit authority condoning an imparity of ministers. Three, the catholicity of the doctrine that grew up in many separated parts of the church in the first centuries suggests that a unified authority in doctrine and order was recognized. Four, while the evidence is lacking, it must be inferred that an imparity of ministers was widely accepted as the valid form of the ministry, else enemies of orthodoxy would have pointed this out as a deficiency of the true church. Because imparity of ministers can be argued by inference, and there is no absolute grounds for a parity of ministers, Burnet concludes: "So from all these things put together, I dare appeal to any man to say

1. Ibid. pp. 22, 23.
2. Ibid. pp. 18 ff.
upon his Conscience, if he is not persuaded the Episcopal Authority over the flock and the Clergy, is clearly derived from the Apostles. Arguing in favor of an imparity of ministers Burnet took a thesis from Lightfoot's study of the early church. According to Burnet's interpretation of the Jewish background and setting of the church, the Apostles probably complied with many of the forms of jurisdiction inherent in the synagogue of the diaspora. He attempted to deduce a reason for episcopal order from its Jewish parallel:

Now let me here send you the Masters of the Jewish learning, particularly to the eminently learned, and judicious Doctor Lightfoot, who will inform you, that in every Synagogue there was one peculiarly charged with Worship, called the 'Bishop of the Congregation, the Angel of the Church, or the Minister of the Synagogue': and besides him, there were three, who had the Civil Judicatory; who judged also about the receiving Proselytes, the imposition of hands &c. And there were other three, who gathered, and distributed the almes. Now the Christian Religion taking place, as the Gospel was planted in the Cities, where it was chiefly preached, these forms and orders were retained, both name and thing: for we cannot think that the Apostles, whose chief work was the gaining of Souls from Gentilism or Judaism, were very solicitous about modes of Government, but took things as they found them. Burnet asserts the "catholic" value of episcopacy, because a ministry by bishops was recognized by "all the corners of the Christian Church", and was that government "under which the World received the Christian Religion". While episcopacy was not commanded by God, and therefore not the esse of the true church, he

1. Ibid., p. 20.
3. Ibid., pp. 304, 305.
does conclude that a "form so soon introduced and so wonderfully blest, could not be contrary to the Rules of the Gospel; and cannot be ascribed to any other Original, but that the Apostles everywhere established it, as the Fence about the Gospel which they planted, so that our Religion and Government are to be reckoned Twins born at the same time, and both derived from the same

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Fathers."

Because Burnet did not insist on the absolute and exclusive right of episcopacy as mark of the church, some members of the High Church party were not reticent to attack him as an enemy to episcopacy. Hickes' interpretation of the "Low-Church Whig's" doctrine of episcopacy is therefore misleading. Speaking of the bishop "not admired" he writes to Charlett about alleged Latitudinarian opinions: "We own no divine right for Episcopacy, but Church Government is indifferent, where the State is Monarchical the Church is to be govern'd by Bishops, where there is a common-wealth the government of it ought to be presbyterian." 2 Burnet makes only one exception for dissenting from the episcopal order of the church, a condition similar to the "necessary exigency" allowed by Hooker: "Whensoever God by his Providence brings Christians under a visible necessity, of being either without all Order and Joint Worship, or of joining in an unlawful and defiled Worship, or finally, of breaking through Rules and Methods, in order to

1. Burnet, Life of Bedell, "Preface".

the being United in Worship and Government; that of these Three, of which one must be chosen, the last is the least Evil, and has the fewest Inconveniencies hanging upon it, and that therefore it may be chosen. ¹ He emphasized the gravity of such conscientious dissent, but it is commensurate with his doctrine of Christ and the church as the body of Christ. If obedience to God necessitates the precipitous action of breaking away from a branch of the church, it must be done "though we are very sure that this is quite out of all Rule, and could not be done without a very great Sin, unless the necessity were great and apparent." He certainly does not advocate church order by presbytery or any other non-episcopal polity, but he would not deny the validity of a church under non-episcopal order begun under the one exceptional condition named. ²

In the lineage moderate episcopacy associated with the Aberdeen Doctors, Burnet claimed that the ministry of preaching the gospel is a divine right, but that the order of that ministry is a "jurisdiction" of the church.

For I acknowledge Bishop and Presbyter, to be one and the same office; so I plead for no new Office-Bearers in the Church... The power given to Churchmen was proved to be double. The first branch of it, is their authority to publish the Gospel, to manage the Worship, and to dispense the Sacraments. And this is all that is of divine right in the Ministry, in which Bishops and Presbyters are equal sharers, both being vested with this power. But beside this, the Church claims a power

2. Ibid. p. 259.
3. Cf. Burnet's attitude to the presbyterian settlement in Scotland after the Revolution: He was not theologically in favor of this, even though he seemed to think Scotland would not be at peace under episcopacy.—Vide Brit. Mus. Add. MS. 34095, letter to his cousin, James Johnston, one of the Secretaries of State for Scotland, dated 14 October 1690.
of Jurisdiction, of making rules for discipline, and of applying and executing the same; all which is indeed suitable to the common Laws of Societies, and to the general rules of Scripture, but hath no positive warrant from any Scripture precept. 1

In this sense, the government of the Church is a "humane Constitution" but he believes, while admitting that an eviscerated prelacy may become a burden, that "the hazard of an ill Bishop is neither so fixed, nor so lasting, as that of a bad Synod". 2 Forbes argued that there was no distinction between the priesthood and the bishops, and that with regard to "aptitude" the priest had the power to transmit to another what he possessed himself through ordination, but that the priest lacked the power of "execution" or "jurisdiction" to do this. Only the bishop had the jurisdiction or executive right to ordain. This is a matter of order in the church. Under exceptional circumstances, when the episcopal office is lacking, ordination by priests, in collegium, is valid. 3 Selwyn summarized the argument for episcopacy that Forbes offered in the *Irenicum*, published in 1629, under four heads: "1. Disparity in the Ministry is consonant with the picture of the Church as given in the New Testament." "2. The unit of authority is the college of presbyters, which possesses territorial jurisdiction over the area served by their ministry." "3. Each such college should be presided over by a permanent moderator or bishop, whose rule must


2. Ibid.

be constitutional, i.e., exercised with the consent of his co-presbyters." "4. An orthodox Church without bishops labours under an 'economic' or administrative defect, but does not thereby cease to be a Church: though episcopacy is to be desired and striven for." Burnet commenting on Forbes' view, concluded that episcopacy was "lawful" but not absolutely necessary.

Burnet's placing church order, i.e., episcopacy, under a "human constitution" is precisely the position taken by Hooker, but was perhaps the primary theological issue between the moderate bishop's views and the High Church party. Leslie believed no ground less than jure divino was sufficient for maintaining an argument in favour of episcopacy: "If Episcopacy is not Necessary, if it is not of Divine and Apostolical Institution, if it may be

1. E.G. Selwyn, The First Book of the Irenicum, Cambridge, 1923, p.18. While Hooker does not build a case for the right of presbytery under a bishop, a Scottish circumstance that influenced Forbes' theoretical conclusions about episcopacy, Hooker does define the development of episcopacy on about the same grounds, i.e., it is not given by revelation, but the efficient force, a secondary cause, is reason. By reason, the validity of episcopacy is defined.—op.cit. VII. viii. 10. The development of the imparity of ministers was gradual.—VII. xi. 5. Hooker admits that the first phase of the church's history knew of bishops and presbyters of equal rank.—VII. v. 1. In some contexts, Hooker implies that the development of episcopacy was the will of Christ. VII. iv. 3; and VII. v. 8. He said, "Inequality of pastors is an ordinance both divine and profitable."—VII. xiii. 5. In the context of defining episcopacy, the distinction between reason and faith as the criteria of divine truth becomes less clear; he speaks of "revelation in His word" and "discourse of reason" with equal assurance of their authority.—VII. xi. 10.

2. Burnet, History Own Time, I, 189.

3. Hooker, op.cit. III. ix. 2. "...human law (of which nature all the Church's constitutions are)..."
Dispens'd with, then, Down with it. It is a Bone of Contention. 1
And an Infraction among the Reform'd." Leslie suggests that Christians who cannot worship without committing idolatry are not free to break away and form a new church, but must meet in "Lay-Communion" until such time they may have valid episcopal ministers in their midst. "God wo'd not Charge upon them the want of the Holy Sacraments, or other things which they cou'd not have without Priestly Administration." Contrary to Leslie's opinion, is that of Hooker, who states that the government of the church is not proved by divine law but is left to the "careful discretion of the Church", the same position Burnet advocated, viz., episcopacy by right of reason:

For although it were in vain to make laws which the Scripture hath already made, because what we are already there commanded to do, on our parts there resteth nothing but only that it be executed; yet because both in that which we are commanded, it concerneth the duty of the Church by law to provide, that the looseness and slackness of men may not cause the commandments of God to be unexecuted; and a number of things there are for which the Scripture hath not provided by any law, but left them unto the careful discretion of the Church; we are to search how the Church in these cases may be well directed to make that provision by laws which is most convenient and fit. And what is so in these cases, partly Scripture and partly reason must teach to discern. 3

2. Ibid, p. 50.
Stillingfleet, a close friend and colleague of Burnet, used similar terms to define the government of the church, which "does not depend upon any unalterable law, but is left to the prudence and discretion of every particular Church."  

According to Burnet's understanding of episcopacy, apostolic succession proves nothing concerning the infallible authority of a particular order. The Church of Rome, if she has such a succession, he argues, has no valid ministry without a profession of the apostolic faith, which on his terms is tested by the rule of Scripture. Succession could be used to prove any religion he says, such as the religion of Islam, unless there is another validating criterion. "In fine, must the vulgar go and examine the successions of the bishops, and judge about all the dubious elections, whether the conveyance have been interrupted or not? Certainly were this to be done, it were an impossible achievement, and harder than the study of the originals of both Testaments; therefore the vulgar must simply believe the authority of the church on her own testimony; which is the most absurd thing imaginable." The marks of a valid ministry in succession of the apostles are:

Firstly, We having true Priests and true Bishops, are a true Church, since we believe all that Christ and his Apostles delivered to the World.

Secondly, We being thus a part of the Catholick Church, every one that lives according to the Doctrine professed among us, may and shall be saved.

Thirdly, We do truly eat the Flesh of Christ, and drink his Blood, having the Blessed Sacrament administered among us according to our Saviour's Institution.

Fourthly, We have as much power to Consecrate the Holy Sacrament as any that were Ordained in the Church for near a thousand years together.

Fifthly, We have the Ministerial power of giving Absolution, and the Ministry of Reconciliation, and of forgiving Sins, given us by our Orders.

Sixthly, All men may (and ought to) joyn with us in the profession of the Faith we believe, and in the use of the Sacraments we administer, which are still preserved among us, according to Christ's Institution; and that whosoever repents and believes the Gospel, shall be saved. 1

Francis Mason, who earned the title of Vindex Ecclesiae Anglicanae for his defense of the reformed orders of the Church of England, held to a view of apostolic succession that corresponds to the opinion expounded by Burnet, namely, such a succession is not the principal criterion of a valid ministry.

"For that Faith and Religion which is agreeable to the Scripture is true, holy, ancient, Catholic and Apostolic; but the Faith and Religion publickly professed at this day in England is in every article and branch thereof agreeable to the Scripture; therefore it is in every article and branch thereof, true, holy, ancient, Catholic and Apostolic. Moreover where the Gospel is truly preached, and the Holy Sacraments rightly administered, there is a true Christian visible Church." Beveridge, a High Churchman, takes a different view of succession, and asserted that the want of apostolic succession in the ministry of a church may cut that church off from the true catholic church:


2. Francis Mason, A Vindication of the Church of England, London, 1728 ed., I. i. The fact that ministers via Cranmer's succession were not re-ordained in Queen Mary's time is a fact in favour of their validity.—Ibid. II. vi.
As for schism, they certainly hazard their salvation at a strange rate, who separate themselves from such a Church as ours is, wherein the Apostolical Succession, the root of all Christian Communion, hath been so entirely preserved, and the Word and Sacraments are so effectually administered; and all to go into such assemblies and meetings, as can have no pretence to the great promise in my text (Matt. 28:20). 

Joseph Hall on the other hand did not give much credence to a succession of pastors from the Apostles as a guarantee for true catholicity. Reformed doctrine, with its insistence on Scripture as the measure for true belief, was essential to the being of the true church. He said, "Blessed be God, there is no difference in any essential matter betwixt the Church of England and her sisters of the Reformation." From which it can be inferred that episcopal order is not of the esse of the church, in his view. Hall claimed that the only difference among reformed churches was in the "form of outward administration, wherein also we are so far agreed, as that we all profess this form not to be essential to the being of a church..." Burnet disputed the Roman Catholic assertion that apostolic succession is prerequisite to the true church. If this were true, the apostles would have left rules concerning what was essential to the church. Burnet's conception of succession in the church's ministry is not contradictory to that of Hammond, another

3. Ibid.
Anglican source used by Burnet, who said that there was a distinction between doctrinal and personal succession, but "unless the assertors of the necessity of succession, can prove that their Bishops succeed the Apostles in purity of doctrine they can do nothing." Similarly, Patrick Forbes asserted,

The succession of piety is properlie to be holden succession, for who professeth the same doctrine of faith he is partner of the same chaire, but who embraceth a contrarie faith he ought to bee accounted an adversaire albeit even sitting in the chaire, and this indeed hath the name but the other hath the substance and truth of succession.

The only advantage that Burnet demonstrated for the fact of a personal succession in the Church of England, apart from its excellence in doctrinal succession, is that there can be no ground on which the Church of Rome may rightfully dispute the validity of the English ministry. Even if it is argued that the Church of England is schismatic, Burnet quoted Morin to prove that Catholic theology will not allow the invalidation of a properly ordained ministry on the account of schism or heresey. He used the evidence of Morin to show that there can be no basis on which to call ordination a sacrament, according to the best and earliest traditions of the church, but that the English Ordinal's use of the words "Receive the Holy Ghost", as well as the tradition of the


2. Patrick Forbes, A Defence of the Lawful Calling of the Ministers of the Reformed Churches, p.8.; Burnet's divinity teacher at Marischal, John Menzies, explicated precisely the same view, in Roma Mendax, p.375. Hooker allows ordination outside of succession in exceptional cases, op.cit. VII. i. 4.


4. Ibid., p. 60.
the instruments, are later innovations. Because the ordination lacks "matter", "form", and "institution", there can be no sacrament in the ceremony. The imposition of the hands is purely a solemn ceremony that denotes a blessing, but is not the means of that blessing. "All the ancient Rituals," Burnet said, "and all those that treat of them for the first Seven Centuries, speak of nothing as Essential to Orders but Prayer and Imposition of Hands." Burnet delineated the fundamental aspects of the English Ordinal:

When we are ordained to be Priests, there is given us all that which our Church declares, inseparable to the Priesthood; and such is the Consecrating the Eucharist....all that belongs to that function is there in given to us.

The great end of all the Priestly Functions, being to make reconciliation between God and Man; for which cause Saint Paul calls it 'the Ministry of Reconciliation'; whatever gives the power for that, must needs give also the means necessary for it; therefore the Sacrament being a Mean instituted by our Saviour for the Remission of sins, which we intimated in these words, 'This Cup is the New Testament in my Blood for the Remission of Sins'; and the death of Christ being also the great Mean in order to that end the power of forgiving sins Ministerially, must carry with it the power of doing all that is instituted for attaining that end.

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1. Ibid.; ordination wanting the essential marks of a sacrament, vide, Burnet, Exposition Thirty-Nine Articles, p.284; for his discussion on the imposition of hands; vide Burnet, Observations on the Canons, pp. 23 ff.

2. Burnet, Thirty-Nine Articles, p. 284. The "matter" and "form" Roman Catholics argued for, were the delivery of the vessels, paten and chalice, and the words, "Receive the Holy Ghost". The use of the vessels in ordination dates only from the 10th or 11th centuries.—Ibid. p. 285; cf. the excellent discussion by Humphrey Prideaux, The Validity of the Orders of the Church of England, made out against the Objections of the Papists, in Several Letters to a Gentleman of Norwich that desire Satisfaction therein, London, 1688, p. 55: The Roman Catholic insistence on matter and form defeats their intention of defending the ceremony as a sacrament, inasmuch as neither matter nor form can be discovered in the early practice of the church.
...The power of consecrating the Sacraments, is very fully and formally given in our Ordination, in these words. Be thou a faithful dispenser of the Word of God, and of his Holy Sacraments; where they betray great inconsideration, that think Dispensing is barely the distributing the Sacrament, which a Deacon may do; ...Dispensing is more than Distributing and is such a power as a Steward hath, who knows and considers every ones condition, and prepares what is fit and proper for them; therefore the blessing of the Sacraments being a necessary part of the Dispensing of them,...these words do clearly give and manifestly import the power of consecrating the sacraments. 1

The office of the bishop was interpreted by Burnet on several occasions, first to Scottish covenanters, then to "several papists", and lastly to the High Church party among the clergy, with regard to convocation rights. In the midst of the latter issue, William Thornton, Principal of Hart Hall, Oxford, wrote a vindication of Article Twenty-three as a reply to Burnet's Exposition. His opening statement sounds the alarm: "Take care of Episcopacy, because several of the Bishops are against it." Burnet, who did not accept that the bishop could have a qualitatively and distinctly higher office than the presbyter, for there could be no higher order than that which preached the Word and dispensed the sacraments, nevertheless held that the office of the bishop was irreplaceable in the welfare of the church. In terms of "jurisdiction" the episcopate was set apart from any comparable ministerial function. "There is a different power," he said, "lodged with


the Bishops, another Commission ratified by an imposition of hands, which is to continue in a succession for ever." This imparity of jurisdiction was copied by the Apostles from the Jewish fore-runners of the Christian priesthood. Early in his career Burnet wrote that it is "a rational, just, and a most necessary thing, that the Senior, and most approve Church-men, be peculiarly incharged, as well with the trial of Intrants, as with the inspection of the Clergy: since no order of men needs so much to be regulated, as that of Church-men. And therefore unless they be all equal in gifts, and parts, they ought not to be equal in power and authority. If the power of Bishops be at any time abused, it is but that to which all human things are liable: nor can Presbytery be freed of that, but let the common maxime in such cases be applied to this, remove the abuse, but retain the use." White Kennett's view of the episcopal office was considerably higher than that opinion of him held by some high-flyers. G.V. Bennett writes that the Bishop of Peterborough thought the office of the episcopate was "instituted by Christ himself. His assertion was that the evidence of history 'does evidently imply, that our Saviour founded his Church in his own Supremacy; and being himself the eternal High-Priest, he could not devolve that supreme Office upon any single Person;

2. Ibid., pp. 13, 14.
but he committed his full Power on Earth jointly and severally to his Apostles and their Successors, as Delegates and Representatives of him the Head of the Body, which was the Church."

In his Pastoral Care, Burnet refrained from giving his opinion on the conception of the office of the bishop as the "sole Pastor of his whole Diocese." However, in maintaining the right of the episcopal office as the final authority of the jurisdiction of the church in his Reflections...on the Rights...of Convocation, published in 1700, Burnet asserts that "Presbyters were the Bishops Assistants and Counsel" in the early church. He thinks that joint rule has "some advantage" over the notion of Hammond that the bishop is the sole pastor of the diocese, but he is not pleading for any form of presbyterian rule, for a body of clergy separated from the bishop have no sanction in the ancient constitution of the church. Burnet lamented that the Roman Catholic Church had reduced the jurisdictional power and authority of the bishop's office, e.g., he noted in Venice, that the bishops had little autonomy apart from the synod of presbyters. The office of the pope, not only invaded the regal authority of Christ, but he "treads on his fellow-Bishops". When popes authorized Abbots to vote in

2. Burnet, Pastoral Care, p. 245.
the General Councils, it was successful effort to off-set the author-
ity of the collegium of bishops. Against those clergy asserting
the prerogative of the convocation, Burnet held the same criticism
he lodged against Rome. The office of the bishop, by their argu-
ment, was circumvented: "Here are Presbyters acting in most parts
of the Episcopal Functions, as Bishops, without any Subordination
to them: If all is founded on a Divine Right, then by the same
Authority that they do invade many Acts of Episcopal Jurisdiction,
they might as well have invaded all the rest." Burnet of course
did not believe that the office of the bishop was unequivocally
essential as a means of salvation, a sacerdotalism claimed by
some of the high-flyers. Thornton's essay against Burnet's
exposition of Article Twenty-three is an example of the method
used to discredit a moderate view of episcopacy. However, the
context of the article does not lend itself to a definitive state-
ment on episcopacy, and yet Thornton's essay reflects upon
Burnet's comments on this article and concludes that he is an enemy
of episcopacy: "If their Power be built on no better a Foundation,
it unavoidably follows, That it cannot be of Divine Institution;
and what is not of Divine Institution, may be chang'd and abolished:

1. Burnet, Discourse on the Opposition to Rome, p. 31; cf.
Vindication of the Ordinations of the Church of England, "Preface".
Hickes, in an earlier writing, agreed with this sentiment, that
popery is a limitation on the office of the bishop: vide, The
Spirit of Enthusiasm, London, 1680, p. 37; Isaac Barrow's excellent
treatment of this is important, as he was highly recommended by
Burnet for theological students, A Treatise of the Pope's Supremacy:
Works, Cambridge, 1859 ed., VIII, 269 ff. Tillotson was the first
to edit Barrow's works, in 1680.

2. Burnet, Reflections on ...the Rights...of Convocation, pp. 11, 12.
And so farewell Episcopacy; it lives upon the breath of a few Men, who may, when they please, send it packing, and by a Rule or two, which they have Power to make, banish it for ever out of the Church." Nevertheless, in the Convocation Controversy the low-church party came to the defense of the episcopate. In contradistinction to Hooker, Bramhall, Pearson, and Burnet, Thornton declared for episcopacy, jure divino: "The Divine Institution of Bishops has not only been constantly and uniformly maintain'd by our best Writers, and all the sober, orderly, and Orthodox Sons of our Church, but is also a part of her Establish'd Doctrine."


2. Ibid. p. 19.
Public Duties of a Priest

A priest's office includes the performance of three public functions that are primary duties of his vocation, according to Burnet. These are officiating at worship, instructing all parishioners in the catechism, and administering the sacraments. Another category relates to the sacraments, namely, admonition and discipline, but this is both a public and private duty. Bishop Bull, by comparison, lists the principal parts of the pastoral care as preaching, catechising, administering the holy sacraments, visiting the sick, and reading the divine services. Bishop Wilson's list of duties for the office of the priest is nearly the same, except that he does not single out the administration of sacraments as a particular emphasis of the pastoral care. The functions are: preaching, catechising, conversation, public and private monitions, Divine Offices.

The catechetical discourses of the priest, Burnet thought, were one of the most important aspects of the total pastoral care.

1. Burnet, Pastoral Care, pp. 185f.
2. Ibid. p. 190.
Following his own experience in Scotland, he advised the clergy of the diocese of Salisbury to teach the catechism, "word by word", to the whole parish once each year. This exposition of the catechism would soon develop catechical discourses for the priest which he could use throughout his life. He suggested that the evening sermon could be displaced, for a time, by these catechical discourses. That Burnet meant to emphasize this aspect of the pastoral care is evident by his thinking such a series of discourses should take about six months and be repeated each year. This exercise would "bring the most ignorant to a competent degree of knowledge; and it would make sermons, and all other good discourses, to be better heard, understood, and remembered. I do insist much of this, as the chief, and the most promising part of the whole pastoral care. The more simple and plain such explanatory discourses are, they will the more effectually answer the end designed by them."

An emphasis on the primary value of catechesis for the Christian priesthood's attaining its purpose is manifest in all the writers of the pastoral care who are given noteworthy mention by Burnet. Leighton and Tillotson both were self-critical of the fact that they failed to spend more of their pastoral labours on the instruction of the catechism, as they both thought that the

Catechical exercises accomplished results in Christian nurture that were missing in other pastoral duties. Bull warned that where "many of the clergy sadly neglected" this duty of the pastoral care, "I shall make it my business to see this fault amended." He considered that preaching was insufficient without being supplemented by catechising. In order to prepare youth to receive confirmation, Bishop Wilson instructed his clergy to catechize each day for a month. He outlined fundamentals of belief that he expected the candidates for confirmation to know: knowledge of God and His attributes, the fall of man, renouncing the Devil, faith in Christ, and obedience to God's commandments. Richard Baxter considered the pastoral duty of catechizing the best instrument of both converting and giving Christian nurture to parishioners: "O brethren, what a blow may we give the kingdom of darkness by the faithful and skilful managing of this work." Catechesis was one of the primary duties Taylor charged the clergy in his diocese to execute:

Let a bell be tolled when the catechizing is to begin, that all who desire it may be present; but let all the more ignorant and uninstructed part of the people, whether they be old or young, be required to be present: that no person in your parishes be ignorant in the foundations of religion; ever remembering that if in these things they be unskilful, whatever is taught besides, is like a house built upon the sand. 5

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George Herbert's sensitive analysis of the pastoral duties places catechizing in the first duties of the priest, without which he cannot accomplish the purposes of related functions. 1 In the Whole Duty of Man, a work Burnet recommended for theological students, catechesis is the rudimentary pastoral duty on which the total ministry rests:

As to that of Catechizing, it is the laying the foundation upon which all Christians practice must be built; for, that is the teaching us our duty, without which it is impossible for us to perform it. And though it is true, that the Scriptures are the Fountains, from whence this knowledge of duty must be fetch'd, yet there are many, who are not able to draw it from this Fountain themselves, and therefore it is absolutely necessary it should be thus brought to them by others. 2

Burnet's Exposition of the Church Catechism for the use of The Diocese of Sarum, was the result of having read many catechical books and often preaching on the catechism. Apart from the expository comments, the only unique feature of Burnet's work is in the verses of Scripture he added to the preceding works of


3. An autograph copy in Bodl. MS. Add. 24, ff. 1-88; this copy is not quite the same in arrangement as the 1710 published version of the exposition.

4. Burnet, op. cit. "Preface", and p. 1: "I have therefore thought it an important piece of my Cure, to preach copiously, and often, on this Catechism; and after many years practice this way, I have endeavoured in the following sheets, to bring the whole into as short a compass, as the matter could bear."
Worthington and Fowler, and the divisions of the exposition. \(^1\)

Confirmation is only one of the purposes for which catechizing is done, but it is important, Burnet says, as a ratification of the meaning of baptism, the entrance into the church. He rejected the position of the Church of Rome which makes confirmation a sacrament, but on the other hand, challenged the presbyterian non-conformists he encountered in Scotland with the rationality for the rite as "a solemn renovation of the Baptismal Vow. Now since Children are baptized, and so in Baptism do not engage for themselves; can any thing be more rational, than that when they come to the years of discretion, they do it themselves? And this Rite was very ancient in the Church, and with great show of reason." \(^2\)

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1. There is some significance to the divisions in that they reflect the emphasis or weight he gave to various subject heads of the catechism; for example, he places greater weight on the responsibility of the believer for his faithfulness to Christ than is given by the catechism itself, which may be a reflection of his own theological stance. His division of the Creed, follows in detail the outline of Pearson's work. Burnet divides his discussion on the Commandments into two kinds of law, positive, and moral. Positive law is revealed by the giver and followed for that reason only, and moral law is natural to the ordering of a society.


3. Ibid.

4. Burnet, A Modest and Free Conference betwixt a Conformist and Nonconformist, p. 78; cf. Pastoral Care, p. 188. Burnet was defending an episcopal rite that did not exist in Scotland. Bishop Wilson states that confirmation was "appointed by the Apostles, and practised even when baptism was administered to people of full age." His argument goes a long way toward making confirmation a sacramental rite. Wilson, Works, VII, 8, 9.
It has been pointed out that catechesis was considered a high priority of the pastoral care by churchmen of various theological traditions. For Burnet, who considered man had a freedom of will to exercise in his faith and morality, teaching and exhorting the nature and practice of the Christian religion would have been an invaluable aspect of the pastoral care. Teaching as a means of communicating true "ideas" would have been compatible with his understanding of Natural Religion, which is a theory of education explained by his definition free will:

All Virtue and Religion, all Discipline and Industry, must arise from this as their first Principle, That there is a Power in us to govern our own Thoughts and Actions, and to raise and improve our Faculties. If this is denied, all Endeavours, all Education, all pains either on our selves or others, are vain and fruitless things. Nor is it possible to make a man believe other than this; for he does so plainly perceive that he is a free Agent; he feels himself balance matters in his Thoughts, and deliberate about them so evidently, that he certainly knows he is a free Being.

...All Preaching and Instruction does also suppose this: For to what purpose are men called upon, taught, and endeavoured to be persuaded, if they are not free Agents, and have not a power over their own Thoughts, and if they are not to be convinced and turned by Reason?

1. Burnet, Exposition Thirty-Nine Articles, pp. 160, 161. Burnet's expository remarks on Article Seventeen reflect the ionic theology which the Exposition of the Thirty-Nine Articles attempted to realize. The High Church party was hypercritical of Burnet's comment that the Article favoured the Augustinian-Calvinistic tradition. "They did not like a latitude of sense in which I had expounded the Articles chiefly those that related to Predestination to shew that men of both sides might with a good conscience signe them. This had been more excusable (if) it had come from Calvinists, for the words of the Articles do plainly favour most of their tenets, but it was very strange when it came from Arminians and shewed they would even wound themselves to thrust at me."—Burnet, Supplement, p. 508. Binckes said that Burnet's "accusing" the articles of having a Calvinistic leaning is a "vulgar error" for they are in fact "downright English Divinity".—Binckes, op. cit. p. 88. He
admits that a few of the compilers had a "taint of the Principles of those Countries" where they resided during the Marian exile. Binckes asserted that Laud and other distinguished English divines subscribed the Articles in their literal intent, which had nothing to do with "the peculiar Doctrine of St. Austin upon this point of Predestination."--Ibid. p. 89. "And consequently it is to do our Divines a great deal of wrong to suggest the contrary, or to insinuate, that though they apprehend them to have been meant one way, yet they scruple not to subscribe them in another."--Ibid.

Binckes' optimism of the unilateral agreement of English divines could not have taken the various opinions of his own Anglican tradition seriously. Jewel said, "But as touching the freedom of the will and power of ourselves, we say with Augustine, 'Oh! evil is free will without God.'" Again, "Man, misusing his free will, lost both himself and his will."--John Jewel, Writings, p. 400.

Burnet gives an excellent history of the predestination controversies beginning with stoic philosophers and Tully through the contemporary English scene in his Exposition. For the historic circumstances around the framers of the article, vide, Burnet, Hist. Reformation, p. 373. Hooker called the doctrine of election a conceit.--op. cit. V.Ix. 3. Beveridge gives a better accounting of the High Churchmen in his comments on the article. It is significant, for he circumvents his own doctrinal method in order to avoid theological debate. He began his discourse on the Articles with a "troika like" doctrinal authority: Bible, Reason, Fathers. Here he paused, "Though in the other Articles we may make use of reason as well as scripture and Fathers, yet in this we must make use of scripture and Fathers only, and not of reason. For as the ordinary priests were not to enter into the holy of holies, so neither is carnal reason to venture upon this mystery of mysteries."--Beveridge, Ecclesia Anglican, pp. 78, 9. Beveridge certainly disproves Binckes' theory that Augustine's thought had nothing to do with the theology of the Article.--Ibid. pp. 80 ff. Bull points out the "middle, the royal way" of interpreting the article by quoting Augustine: "'If there be no grace of God, how can He save the world? And if there be no free will, how can He judge it?"--Bull, Works: Harmonia Apostolica, L.A.C.T., 1844, 217.
Preaching was another primary function of the public duties of the priest in Burnet's thought. As pointed out, preaching the Word was one of the criteria in Burnet's doctrinal schemata for true catholicity of the church. Burnet's fame as a preacher was widely recognized; for example, Speaker Onslow said that he had never heard an equal to Burnet, and that "in the pulpit the effect of his discourses, which were delivered without any note, was heightened by a noble figure and by pathetic action." Another opinion of Burnet was expressed by James Young: "At Salisbury happening to stop Easter Day, I heard Dr. Burnet, the famous bishop of that see, preach an admirable sermon on the Resurrection. He had much of the Jesuits' way in the pulpit, by spreading hands, and unbecoming gestures and cadances, & c." Extremes in estimating the importance of preaching are harmful, Burnet said.

If one Sect or Body of men magnify Preaching too much, another carries that to another Extream of decrying it as much. It is certainly a noble and profitable Exercise, if rightly gone about, of great use both to Priest and People; by obliging the one to much Study and Labour, and by setting before the other full and copious Discoveries of Divine Matters, opening them clearly, and pressing them weightily upon them. 3


3. Burnet, Pastoral Care, p. 214.
He added that the purpose of preaching was "to make some Portions of Scripture to be rightly understood; to make those Truths contain'd in them, to be more fully apprehended." Baxter said that preaching is the "most Excellent" part of the pastoral care, but "it is no small matter to stand up in the face of a congregation, and deliver a message of salvation or damnation, as from the living God, in the name of our Redeemer." But there is a note of caution among Anglicans who warn, as Burnet did, clergy against the dangers of extremism in which the sermon becomes identified with the Word of God. Laud maintained that as Christ's body deserved a greater reverence than this word, so then the sacrament is greater than the sermon. While Hooker called the sermon a figure of the "keys to the kingdom of heaven," his treatment of the theological meaning of the sermon was strongly critical of the tendency among some Puritans to call the sermon the Word of God: "For touching our sermons, that which giveth them their very being is the wit of man, and therefore they often times accordingly taste too much of that over corrupt fountain from which they come."

1. Ibid. p. 217.
5. Ibid. V. xxiii. 10.
Taylor, whose sermons were admired by Burnet, considered that preaching was one half of the pastoral care. Herbert said that the "Country Parson preacheth constantly, the Pulpit is his joy and his throne." The biographer of Bishop Nicolson defined the "North-Country Bishop's" Protestant views in terms of the importance he gave to preaching.

Burnet perhaps disproportionally exalted the credit of the Latitudinarian divines for the development of a "plain style" preaching. In fact Burnet himself points out in his Pastoral Care that nearly all eminent examples of "pastoral care" texts down through the history of the church extol the significance of simplicity in style and content for effective preaching. The low-church divines, Burnet described, contributed more than can be well imagined to reform the way of preaching; which among the divines of England before them was over-run with pedantry, a great mixture of quotations from fathers and ancient writers, a long opening of a text with the concordance of every word in it, and a giving all the different expositions with the grounds of them...

2. George Herbert, op. cit. p. 228.
4. Burnet, Pastoral Care, pp. 215 ff.
The royal assent given by Charles II to the practical and plain style of the moderate divines was one of the chief reasons for its popularity. But other divines, preceding to the popular acclaim won by the men to whom Burnet referred, advocated the necessity of "plainness" and "simplicity", such as Taylor, who thought that only one point should be opened in each sermon and that confirmed with "easy arguments" and "plain words of scripture".

In his travels on the continent Burnet found himself reacting negatively to the preaching he heard throughout Switzerland. Not only were the sermons too long, but he inferred that there were too many, in some places two or three sermons daily. He comments that these pastors would be more effective with less effort and suggests that a practical discourse on a single passage of Scripture, "in all not above a quarter of an hour long", would more likely accomplish the ends for which the sermon is given. Bishop Compton discovered from a conference with some of his clergy that the "plain and practical preaching" produced the best effects on the consciences of the common people. Tillotson's motives in developing a supplement to the standard Book of Homilies, may have had more subtle overtones than explained by his biographer, but

1. Ibid.
3. Burnet, Some Letters ... on Travels, p. 47: Calvin's tradition of replacing masses with sermons persisted.
4. Ibid. pp. 47, 8.
certainly the need of giving practical and clear topical sermons was one of the chief reasons behind that unsuccessful effort.

The sermons of Burnet reflect, more than any other of his writings, the strong influence of the Cambridge Platonists. An illustration is the definition he gave to religion, interpreting the response of Jesus to the question, "which is the greatest commandment". Burnet said,

Our Saviour in his Answer, goes to that which is the Root and Spring of every thing that a Man thinks or does, which is a strong and commanding Love, when it possesses all his Powers and Faculties. When that is directed to God, and fixes on him, then Religion has a true root in that Man, and out of so Noble a Principle, all the Acts of Religion and Vertue will naturally flow. 

The same mellow tone and non-dogmatic content occurs in some of the sermons of Leighton: "Love is all; it gives up to the heart, and, by that, all the rest to the person loved; it is no more its own. Oh! that we could love Him!" Both Leighton and Burnet were indebted to the Cambridge Platonists. Whichcote's definition of

1. Thomas Birch, The Life ... of Dr. J. Tillotson, London, 1752, p. 385; cf. Burnet's Preface, to his Essay towards a new book of Homilies, in seven sermons, prepared at the desire of Archbishop Tillotson, and some other Bishops, printed with his sermons preached on several occasions, London, 1713; Tillotson proposed that there should be sixty-two homilies, 52 for a year of Sundays, ten for holy days.


true religion, given in a sermon, is the epitome of the Latitudinarian ideal:

To live in regard of God; to deal fairly and equally and righteously with our neighbour; and soberly and temperately as to ourselves; and wheresoever a man fails, to return by repentance and go to God for pardon in the name of the Lord Jesus: I could wish that the world would but consent that these four might be the materials of religion. 1

It is difficult to assess the effects of preaching on the church, much less on a culture. Individuals responded in a variety of ways to Burnet’s sermons. Diarist John Evelyn was impressed with the style, content, and the appropriateness of Burnet’s funeral sermon for Robert Boyle. George Hickes, who had little sympathy for Burnet, deprecated his sermon at the funeral of Archbishop Tillotson, calling it a "boyish piece of rhetorick, more becoming a declamer than a preacher." 2 A fairly obscure account of Burnet’s preaching complained of his "thundering voice." 3 The late Professor Sykes made this comment on the results of the Latitudinarian preachers in general:

Correspondent with this clarity and simplicity of diction was the theology of the Latitudinarian movement which stamped its peculiar character upon the religious belief and practice of the Georgian Church. Its doctrines were marked by plainness and directness; and the essential content of the Christian evangel was epitomised in the proclamation of the Fatherhood of God and the duty of benevolence in Man.

...Thus conceived, religion was in no wise divorced from the affairs of this world. Its profession did not involve abstention from the innocent relationships of social life, but rather supplied the best motive for the

1. Whichcote, Sermons, III, 252.
3. George Hickes, Some Discourses upon Dr. Burnet and Dr. Tillotson: occasion'd by the Late Funeral Sermon of the former upon the latter. London, 1696, p. 95.
conduct of citizens whose membership of an earthly kingdom was the preparation for that of an heavenly city. Inevitably this conception tended to decline in popular estimate into the idea of religion as supplying an additional bonus to a course of moderation and virtue rather than as sounding a call to renunciation and asceticism. 1.

In his *Exposition of the Church Catechism*, Burnet defined the nature and function of the sacraments, one of the chief public duties of the priest, in simple terms that avoid any misunderstanding about emphasis he wished to place upon them:

The Christian religion is indeed a spiritual one, in which God ought to be worshipped in spirit and in truth; but since we dwell in bodies capable of sensible impressions, and since our Saviour has ordered that all Christians should be united together in one body, he thought fit to appoint a few rites, by which the publick profession of his religion should be visibly maintained. 2

The key to his argument concerning the nature of the sacraments, in *The Exposition of the Thirty-Nine Articles*, is the fact that statements about the sacraments are delineated in light of the doctrine of Christ and the doctrine of the church as the body of Christ. Apart from this core of the Christian religion, as Burnet interprets it, the rationality of the sacraments is obscure. He stated that a sacrament is

an Institution of Christ, in which some material thing is sanctified, by the use of some Form or Words, in and by which, federal Acts of this Religion do pass on both sides; on ours by Stipulations, Professions or Vows; and on God's by his secret Assistances: by these we are also united to the Body of Christ, which is the Church. It must be Instituted by Christ, for though Ritual Matters that are only the Expressions of our Duty, may be appointed by the Church; yet federal Acts, to which a conveyance of Divine

Grace is tied, can only be instituted by him who is the Author and Mediator of this New Covenant, and who lays down the Rules or Conditions of it, and derives the Blessing of it by what Methods and in what Channels he thinks fit. Whosoever his Apostles settled, was by Authority and Commission from him; therefore it is not to be denied, but that if they had appointed any Sacramental Action, that must be reckoned to be the same Authority, and is to be esteemed Christ's Institution, as much as if he himself, when on Earth had appointed it. 1

Limborch's theological method was in most aspects comparable to Burnet's. In this case he defined the sacraments as "ceremonies" which are commanded by Christ and "annexed to moral precepts". Sacraments are radically different from rites regulated by the church, for their form is revealed. "God on his part should, as it were under a seal, consigned over to them his grace and promises: and thus they are like signs of mutual contract between God and man." Again, "Sacraments are signs and seals of the covenant between God and man." 2 The intrinsic value of the sign or thing signified lies in the fact that God has commanded it. Limborch emphasized, as Hooker did, that grace is conferred by, not through, the Sacrament: "God exhibits his grace to us by the sacraments, not by actually conferring it upon us through them, but by representing and placing it, as it were, before our eyes, by those clear and manifest signs, not at a distance as a thing future, but as present. This efficacy is nothing less but objective, which requires the mind to be rightly disposed, that it may apprehend that which the sign offers." 3

2. Limborch, op. cit. V.xvii. "Introduction".
3. Ibid.
Burnet warned against a polarity of views concerning the sacraments: one, the view of the Roman Catholic Church that the very receiving of them (*opus operatum*) is the means by which a supernatural "character" is imprinted on the receiver, excepting the bar of unforgiven mortal sin. Burnet rejected this view on the doctrinal grounds of the New Covenant faith, for which the only imperative conditions are "Repentance, Faith, and Obedience; and we look on this as the corrupting the Vitals of this Religion, when any such means are proposed, by which the main Design of the Gospel is quite overthrown."  

Hooker's influence on Burnet's discussion of the sacraments is particularly evident. Hooker was emphatic that the sacraments had a validity only from "God Himself the Author of the sacraments" and that they were a "conditional means" by which God bestowed grace, the condition being faithful reception, but not as in the Catholic sense, i.e., the supernatural nature of the sacrament itself: "Not from them, but from Him, yet by them as by His appointed means." Two, Burnet criticized the extreme of "sinking the Sacraments so low as to be meer Rites and Ceremonies. St. Peter says, Baptism saves us. St. Paul calls it, the layer of Regeneration; to which he joyns the renewing of the Holy Ghost." He does not accept the Zwinglian conception of the

2. Ibid.
sacraments, on the contrary, "We do not doubt but that Christ, who instituted those Sacraments, does still accompany them with a particular Presence in them, and a Blessing upon them; so that we coming to them with Minds well prepared, with pure Affections and holy Resolutions, do certainly receive in and with them particular largesses of the Favour and Bounty of God. They are not bare and naked Remembrances and Tokens; but are actuated and animated by a Divine Blessing that attends upon them." The accent on the meaning of covenant faith in Christ, for a sign of which the sacraments are instituted by Christ, was a dominate thesis in Burnet's refutation of the Roman view of sacraments during a conference with several Roman Catholics. He concluded his argument on this basis: "Eternal life is given to every one that receives Christ in the Sacrament, but by faith only we get eternal life: therefore by faith only we receive Christ in the Sacrament." Not only did Roman theology conflict with his basic premise that the sacrament is visible sign reflecting the believer's union with Christ. But if Christ is corporeally presence in the sacrament, unworthy receivers have the "external manducation". He adds, "therefore that manducation that gives eternal life with it, must be internal and spiritual, and that is by faith."

Hooker explicated the manner of Christ's presence in the sacrament by the category of the "infinite and unlimited presence" of Christ resulting from the nature of His "true conjunction with

1. Ibid.
3. Ibid.
Deity." After applying this thesis to the union of God and his church through Christ, Hooker hastens to add, "As for any mixture of the substance of his flesh with ours, the participation which we have of Christ includeth no such kind of gross surmise." The purpose of the sacraments are to serve as a vehicle, much the same as preaching, of God's grace to faithful recipients:

This is therefore the necessity of sacraments. That saving grace which Christ originally is or hath for the general good of his whole Church, by sacraments he severally deriveth into every member thereof. Sacraments serve as the instruments of God to that end and purpose, moral instruments, the use whereof is in our hands, the effect in his.

The fulfilment of the sacraments, uniting the believer to Christ and to members of His body the church, is, in Burnet's discussion, the essential meaning of the sacraments as "revealed" institutions of God. This emphasis produces a very subtle but important differential when compared to a "corporal presence" theology.

The end of Sacraments is double; the one is by a Solemn Federal Action both to unite us to Christ, and also to derive a secret Blessing from him to us: And the other is to joyn and unite us by this publick Profession, and the joynt partaking of it, with his Body, which is the Church.

The Lord's Supper is "the conveyance of the Blessings of our Partnership in the effects of the Death of Christ. 'And we being many, are one bread and one Body, for we are all partakers of that one Bread'; this shews the Union of the Church in this Sacrament."

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1. Hooker, op. cit. V.lv. 9: It is difficult to see, in this context, how Hooker's thought is differentiated from that of the Lutheran sense of "ubiquity".
2. Ibid. V. lvi. 13.
3. Ibid. V. lvii. 5.
5. Ibid. p. 270.
Leighton's interpretation of the power of the sacrament to confer grace to the receivers embodies the characteristics of Burnet's theology; namely, the efficacy of the sacrament resides solely in God: "Signs they are, but more than signs merely representing; they are means exhibiting, and seals confirming grace to the faithful. But the working of faith and the conveying of Christ into the soul to be received by faith is not a thing put into them to do of themselves, but still is in the Supreme Hand that appointed them." Similarly, Hooker said that "Sacraments therefore consist altogether in relation to some such gift or grace supernatural as only God can bestow." Hooker and Leighton were two of the most influential sources in Burnet's life. The specific significance of which, in lieu of this study, is that Burnet's theological perspective was generally set against any kind of sacerdotal view of the ministry and sacraments on one hand, or a devaluation of the significance of the sacraments on the other.

The principles of Burnet's doctrine of the sacraments are applied in a number of his works not only to the use of the two sacraments, but to special practical issues encountered in the church. He counselled presbyters to accept a catholic view of the sacrament of baptism as a sign of membership in the body of Christ. "The design of baptism is a federal sponsion, upon which water is to be us'd, with a determined form of words; and when these are

2. Hooker, op. cit. V. 1. 2.
observed, all that is primarily intended in it, is observed.  

This "federal" view of baptism, that is, that the sacrament was instituted by God and used by Christ's Apostles as a sign of entering the Covenant faith, was a theological basis for concluding that the church ought to be willing to tolerate in one communion baptized Christians of various branches of the church. He opposed any mechanical view of the sacrament of baptism that emphasized the rite itself over against the "federal sponsorship", such as the Roman Catholic or the Anabaptist positions. Burnet discussed the extent to which baptism was an essential mark of belief, and therefore a sign of membership in the church:

Our Saviour has also made Baptism one of the Precepts, tho' not one of the Means, necessary to salvation. A Mean is that which does so certainly procure a thing, that it being had, the thing to which it is a certain and necessary Means is also had; and without it the thing cannot be had; there being a natural connexion between it and the End. Whereas a Precept is an Institution, in which there is no such natural efficiency; but it is positively commanded, so that the neglecting it is a contempt of the Authority that commanded it; and therefore in obeying the Precept, the value or vertue of the action lies only in obedience.

The end of baptism is admittance "to the Society of Christians, and to all the Rights and Privileges of that Body, which is the Church. And in order to this, the outward action of Baptism, when regularly gone about, is sufficient..." But a second purpose of baptism is

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2. Ibid.
4. Ibid. p. 302.
"Internal and Spiritual". "It were a strange perverting the design of these words (Titus 3:5) to say that somewhat Spiritual is to be understood by this 'washing of regeneration', and not Baptism; when as to the word save, that is here ascribed to it, St. Peter gives that undeniably to Baptism."

Baptism is an essential mark of the true Church. Baptism can be administered apart from a ministry standing in apostolic succession, as the efficacy of baptism exists solely upon the matter and form instituted by Christ. In this doctrine, Burnet's conception of the church and Christian faith takes focus. The qualitative distinction between the credenda and agenda of belief create a doctrinal basis for his conception of toleration, one of the major practical issues of doctrinal, as well as a political, topics in his day. In light of this analysis, the High Church party's objections to the Exposition are understood to be political as well as theological. Burnet asserted:

But after all, the Covenant of Grace, the Terms of Salvation, and the Grounds on which we expect it, seem to be things of another nature than all other truths, which though revealed, are not of themselves the Means or Conditions of Salvation. Wheresoever true Baptism is, there it seems the Essentials of this Covenant are preserved: for if we look on Baptism as a Federal admission into Christianity, there can be no Baptism where the Essence of Christianity is not preserved. As far then as we believe that any society has preserved that, so far we are bound to receive her Baptism, and no further....Baptism is a Federal thing, in which after that the Sponsors are made, the Seal of Regeneration is added.

1. Ibid.


The true church exists where the baptismal covenant is faithfully maintained. Baptism ties one to Christ and to the true church, the body of Christ; therefore, to leave a branch of that society, if one is "convinced of the Errors and Corruptions" is not to leave Christ or the true church. The dissenter "goes on in the Purity of the Christian Religion", and he pursues "the true effect both of his Baptism, and of his Ordination Vows. For these are to be considered as ties upon him only to God and Christ." Pearson, as a comparative example, claimed that it is legitimate to include those who are truly baptized in Christ in the membership of the church, but that does not mean the society of the church has a guarantee against hypocrites, or those who "fall short of the glory unto which they were called".

Leighton depicted the efficacious power of the sacrament of baptism, which is not by a natural force of the element; though adapted and sacramentally used, it only can wash away the filth of the body; its physical efficacy or power reaches no further; but it is in the hand of the Spirit of God, as other Sacraments are, and as the Word itself is, to purify the conscience, and convey grace and salvation to the soul, by the reference it hath to, and union with, that which it represents. It saves by the answer of a good conscience unto God, and it affords that, by the Resurrection of Jesus from the dead.

Hooker defined the essence of Baptism as a faithful receiving of the covenant which Christ has made with his church. Extraneous

1. Ibid. p. 181.
circumstances of baptism notwithstanding, when the conditions of the institution are met, the baptism is valid. "All that belongeth to the mystical perfection of Baptism outwardly," Hooker asserted, "is the element, the word, and the serious application of both unto him which receiveth both; whereunto if we add that secret reference which this action hath to life and remission of sins by virtue of Christ's own compact solemnly made with His Church, to accomplish fully the Sacrament of Baptism, there is not anything more required." Bishop Beveridge's expurgated study of the Thirty-Nine Articles, while written earlier, did not appear until after Burnet's death in 1715. It is possible that the controversy over Burnet's Exposition dissuaded Beveridge from publication. Although Beveridge was a moderate High Churchman, his doctrinal conclusions broadly concur with those of Burnet. It is particularly interesting that his views of baptism follow the catholic interpretation of the Fathers, which Hooker, and then Burnet, expounded. When some of the clergy of the High Church party were experimenting with Dodwell's unorthodox views, Beveridge placed his statement on the sacraments in the context of covenant theology: "Ever since it pleased God to enter into covenant with man, he hath been pleased also to seal that covenant to him by sacraments, outwardly representing what was spiritually promised." Baptism, he stated, is "not only a sign of our profession, but also of our regeneration, and therefore, is it called the washing of regeneration."

1. Hooker, op. cit. V. lxii. 15.
3. Ibid. pp. 227, 8.
Dodwell, a Non-juror supported by some of the High Church conformists, said that lay baptism was invalid even in the most exceptional cases, and that all dissenters were invalidly baptized because their ministers were not in the true apostolic succession, and were therefore, none other than laymen. Burnet described the influence of Dodwell: "And to speak plainly; Dodwell's extravagant Notions, which have been too much drunk in by the Clergy in my time, have weakened the Power of the Church, and soured Men's Minds more against it, than all the Books wrote, or Attempts made against it, could ever have done: And indeed, the secret Poison of those Principles has given too many of the Clergy a Bias towards Popery, with an Aversion to the Reformation, which has brought them under much Contempt." Juxtaposition to Dodwell's doctrine of baptism, the doctrine of episcopacy advocated by Hickes was supportive of an exclusivistic doctrine of the church and its episcopal ministry. The Upper House of Convocation drew up a declaration on baptism representing the traditional catholic doctrine, and while discouraging exceptional cases of baptism, the bishops did not condemn them. Dodwell's thesis included the supposition that the soul was not immortalized until baptism, and that could be consummated only by a valid priesthood. Therefore, not only were dissenters outside of the church, but also they had no hope of salvation. Dodwell's conception of this doctrine was developed

1. Burnet, History Own Time, II, 640; cf. II, 603, 4, the "conceit" of "Lay-Baptism".

2. Ibid. II, 605: Burnet's opinion of Archbishop Sharp intend to be more proportionately critical as Sharp moved toward a moderate High Church position, as he did in the case of the debate on this issue in the 1712 Convocation.
after his publication of *Two Letters of Advice*, in 1672, in which he says, "The soul may really be immortal, though its immortality could not be made out from any natural appearances falling under our cognizance..." However, his opinion on the mortality of the soul before baptism was confirmed in a doctrine that effected his conclusions on the nature of the church, its ministry, and Christian faith, in *An Epistolary Discourse*, published in 1706. Dodwell claimed that Tertullian and Irenaeus thought that the natural mortal soul was immortalized by the baptismal Spirit of God. Dodwell assumed that the naturally mortal soul desired immortality as a result of the indwelling "Divine Spirit". While Origen departed from this tradition, Dodwell believed that Cyprian gave it credence. Before the dispensation of the Old Covenant, i.e., before Moses, there was no conception of immortality, but the fact of immortality was revealed in the Gospel dispensation. Under the New Covenant of Christ, the power to dispense sacraments was confined to ministers ordained by bishops who stood in the personal succession of the Apostles. Dodwell applied his thesis in several

3. Ibid. par. xvi.
4. Ibid. par. xvii.
5. Ibid. pars. xxxii and xxvii.
6. Ibid. par. lvix.
directions, for example, he concluded that the conjunction of a natural soul to a natural body was logical, and that this makes sense of the catholic doctrine of original sin; furthermore, it removes the necessity of those questions about the death of unbaptized infants and the judgment of heathen. "Incorporation" into the body of Christ is only possible through reception of the sacraments and the remission of sins by "Sacerdotal Absolution." Dodwell said that he had shown "that God himself has continued the matter so, that none can have the Mystical Communion without the Spirit; nor the Spirit without a Visible Communion that is Episcopal."

George Hickes, according to Burnet, was the "Head of the Jacobite Party" and "promoted a Notion, that there was a proper Sacrifice made in the Eucharist." He had "on many occasions studied to lessen our Aversion to Popery: The Supremacy of the Crown in Ecclesiastical Matters, and the Method in which the Reformation was carried, was openly condemned." In his Two Treatises, Hickes promoted a view of episcopacy that supplemented Dodwell's conclusions. The episcopate, in effect, became in extension of the Incarnation of Christ in his doctrine that absolutized the office of the bishop. His culminating remark that follows a list of titles he

1. Ibid. par. lxii.
2. Ibid. par. lxiii.
3. Ibid. p. lv.
4. Ibid.
5. Burnet, History Own Time, II, 603.
attributed to the episcopal office illustrated an extra-ordinarily lofty view of the episcopate: "...let me, Sir, observe to you, that it is no wonder such Titles are given to Bishops, and their Office, because to them is committed the Government of the whole Church throughout the World, even the Kingdom of Jesus Christ, which as it is of greater extent, than any worldly Empire, was, or ever will be: So it is of greater Dignity than all the Kingdoms of the Earth. This vast spiritual Empire, which reaches from the rising to the setting Sun, is committed by God to the Bishops in general, as well, as particular, in whole, as well as in part, which is a Prerogative, that no temporal Prince can challenge, whose Authority is confined and limited to his Dominions." Christ's commissioning the Apostles transmitted an unconditional spiritual power, which Hickes believed, is to be understood as if he had said, with the same Power, and Authority, that my Father sent me into the World to constitute, and govern my Church, I send you, and your Successors, i.e. with all spiritual Power and Authority directive and coercive, which is necessary to your Office and Charge, in gathering, fixing, and governing Churches unto the end of the World. When Christ handed over his power to the Apostles and the bishops their successors, they became the Vicars of Christ who "stand in God's and Christ's stead over their Flocks, the Clergy as well as the people are to be subject to them, as to the Viceregents of our Lord." Hickes thought that "the Chair of every Bishop then is the

2. Ibid. p. 27.
Throne of Christ." Dodwell's conception of episcopacy was based on a similar unqualified extension of the Apostleship:

The ordinary way of receiving the Spirit was only from the Apostles, and not otherwise to be received from them than by Imposition of their Hands. Then whosoever had not so received the Spirit could not be presumed to have it at all. Thus the Unity of the Spirit united all that pretended to it to the College of the Apostles in general, and in them to Christ their Head, as being themselves the Twelve Foundations on Christ himself, as the chief corner stone. Near the end of his career, Burnet defined the Latitudinarians as divines who knew "of no Power in a Priest to pardon Sin, other than the Declaring the Gospel Pardon, upon the Conditions on which it is offered. They know of no Sacrifice in the Eucharist, other than the Commemorating that on the Cross, with the Oblation of the Prayers, Praises, and Almsgiving, prescribed in the Office." But a direct rebuttal of Dodwell, and indirectly of Hickes, came in 1710, when Burnet, occupying the cathedral pulpit at Salisbury, said:

We abhor all the Profanations of Casuists, who have found Ways to justify the worst Actions, and to dissolve the most sacred Obligations: We give our assent to divine Truths, because we are convinced that they came from God, without receiving anything implicitly because a Priest tells us of a Tradition for it: We obey the Orders of the Church in things lawful, but do not deliver up our Reasons to a blindfold Submission and Obedience: We repent of our Sins, by confessing them to God, by mourning for them, and forsaking them; But do not think that God has commanded us to tell them to a Priest, to submit to his arbitrary Pennance, and to rely on a hasty Absolution: We receive the Two


2. Dodwell, op. cit. par. lviii.

Sacraments that we plainly see Christ has appointed, but reject those for which we see no such Warrants: We believe the Representation that our Senses give us of their proper Objects, because we look on that as the Voice of God, and the only sure Mean judge of all visible Objects.

...There is a conceit lately got in among us, that denies all who are not baptized among us to be Christians, shuts them out of Christ's Covenant, and thinks them no better than Heathens. A Notion that tho' it once got into some Churches who thought that the Baptism of Hereticks was of no Value, and was to be repeated upon their coming into the Church, yet was solemnly condemned and rejected by all the Churches of God now for above Fourteen hundred Years. In Popery the Midwives generally baptize; yet though this is against an express Rule of the Apostles, that a Woman ought not to speak in the Church, none of the Reformed ever thought of rebaptizing the Persons so baptized: Nor did our Church at the Restoration ever entertain the least Motion of this Sort. 1

Burnet condemned Dodwell's doctrine of the Natural Mortality of the Soul as tending toward atheism, and rejected his doctrine of episcopacy as heretical, for it made the Spirit of God dependent upon an order of ministers. Burnet disputed the theological grounds of baptism in Dodwell's statement, making it a rite contingent upon the validity of an episcopal order, when, according to Burnet, baptism is "Christ's Baptism, be they who give it Hereticks or Orthodox, Clergy or Laiety." 2 He agreed, that for the "order" of the church, the sacrament ought to be confined to the persons initiated


2. Ibid. p. 24.
into holy functions.

The major issue involving the doctrine of the Lord's Supper was the manner of Christ's presence. Burnet wrote in an early period of his life that

nothing doth more inflame and keep alive the Spirit of true Devotion, than the frequent assemblies of the Saints for adoring and calling on God. Nor does any part of religious Worship enliven all the Graces of the Spirit of God so much as the receiving the Holy Sacrament, which is the Communion of the Body and Blood of the Lord; (in which his Death, being represented to us according to that plain Institution of his own, and the merits and effects of it offered to us that Communication of his Body and Blood, we solemnly declare our belief of these sacred truths, and our engagements to live according to his Blessed Doctrine and Example); in which devout Minds find great advantage, both in that deep serious recollection they carry along with them to that holy Action, and in the happy returns which flow in on them from that Spirit whom the Son sends from the Father. 2

1. Ibid. p. 23. Vide, Thomas Brett's Sermon of the Honour of the Christian Priesthood, London, 1712, is an example of the influence of Dodwell; cf. G.V. Bennett, op. cit. pp. 122 ff. Kennett tagged Brett a secret papist in A Letter About a Motion in Convocation, To the Revered Dr. Thomas Brett, London, 1712. Brett refused the oath to George I, and became a Non-juring bishop in 1716. Brett said that the "priest is appointed to declare and pronounce to his people, being penitent, the absolution and remission of their sins", which is part of the offices, but adds, "and we know that Christ was sent to save his people from their sins. And that he gave authority to his Apostles and their successors to forgive sins as he had done...". Like Dodwell and Hickes, he called priests "vicars of Christ."

One of Burnet's chief antagonists, Binckes, reflects the thinking of Dodwell's view of baptism, but it is significant that he published this in 1702, four years before Dodwell's Epistolary Discourse; vide, Binckes, op. cit. pp. 22, 23. The conclusion of the Burnet-Dodwell controversy, though never agreed in principle, was Dodwell's soliciting Burnet to confirm his children; vide, Clarke and Foxcroft, op. cit. p. 453. The Lower House complaint on the misuse of the sacrament of baptism was made in 1702; vide, E. Cardwell, Synodalia 2 vols., Oxford, 1842, II, 709, 10.

In rejecting the Roman doctrine of the Mass, Burnet said, "We believe Christ is spiritually and really present in the Lord's Supper." But later he stated that the term "Real Presence" was perhaps misleading without strictly speaking of the term "Figure". In the circumstances of arguing with Roman Catholics he singled out the terms used by the Fathers for the first six centuries, most of which can be interpreted as a real presence of Christ in the Sacrament without signifying a corporal presence.

Burnet's conception of the atonement of Christ, a unique and sufficient sacrifice for all men's sins, made it impossible for him to accept the position of Hickes that a real and proper sacrifice existed in and with the Eucharist. On the contrary, the Lord's Supper "commemorated" Christ's unique atonement as a "visible representation" which Christ "appointed should be done in Symbols, that should be both very plain and simple, and yet very expressive of that which he intended should be remembered by them." The precise meaning, then, of Christ's presence in the Lord's Supper, in Burnet's statement is clarified in the assertion of a real Presence of the Body and Blood of Christ; but not of his Body as it is now glorified in Heaven, but of his Body as it was broken on the Cross, when his blood was shed and separated from it. That is, his Death with the merit and effects of it, are in a visible and federal Act, offered in this Sacrament to all worthy believers. ...

By Real we understand True, in opposition both to Fiction and Imagination. 5

1. Burnet, Discourse on the Opposition to Rome, p. 44.
3. Burnet, Relation of a Conference, Pt.2, pp.1.f; the terms: "Types, Antitypes, Mysteries, Symbols, Sings, Figures, Commemorations."
5. Ibid. p. 317.
Hickes interpreted the sacrament as a "proper sacrifice" and he carefully implied that the elements "changed from the property it had before, and from common to sacred use". While he did not specifically explicate a doctrine of transubstantiation, it would have been difficult to deduce less than the Roman Catholic doctrine from his analogy that "a sacrifice is a gift solemnly brought or presented and offered up to any God, whereby it is changed from the property it had before"; and that the consecration of the "Oblations of Bread and Wine" are equivalent with the terms, "making them an holy and acceptable Sacrifice to God." He said that the term "Sacrificers" was fitting for the priest's function of "consecrating the Oblations of Bread and Wine, or making them an holy and acceptable Sacrifice to God, by solemn Prayer or Invocation of the Holy Ghost upon them: They make Intercession and Atonement for their own Sins, and Sins of the People, as by a most solemn Rite of Supplication according to the Nature and Use of Sacrifice, by which the Mercy and Favour of God is procured." Burnet rejected any attempt to read a literal meaning into the chief affirmation of the Lord's Supper, 'This is my body'. He accepted Augustine's dictum that anytime a literal interpretation of the Scripture would result in a monstrous act, that passage must be given a figurative exegesis, an axiom Augustine applied to the key words of Christ concerning the Sacrament... The authority of

1. Hickes apparently intended to make his argument slightly obscure, cf. Two Treatises...of the Christian Priesthood, pp.47, and 74.
2. Ibid. p. 47.
reason, the Platonist's "sense", in Burnet's doctrinal statements is illustrated in his treatment of this problem.

We can only receive a Revelation by hearing or reading, by our Ears or our Eyes. So if any part of this Revelation destroys the certainty of the Evidence, that our Senses, our Eyes, or our Ears, give us, it destroys it self; for we cannot be bound to believe it upon the Evidence of our Senses, if this is a part of it that our Senses are not to be trusted. Nor will this matter be healed, by saying, that certainly we must believe God more than our Senses: And therefore if he has revealed any thing to us, that is contrary to their Evidence, we must as to that particular believe God, before our Senses: But that as to all other things where we have not an express Revelation to the contrary, we must still believe our Senses. 1

In this context, Burnet defines "sense" as the "voice of God to us". Both Hooker and Forbes, of whom Burnet was a theological inheritor, similarly steered a middle course between the Roman and Zwinglian doctrines. Burnet used nearly the same words as Hooker who wrote: "'This is my body', and 'this is my blood', being words of promise, sith we all agree that by the sacrament Christ doth really and truly in us perform his promise, why do we vainly trouble ourselves with so fierce contentions whether by consubstantiation, or else by transubstantiation the sacrament itself be first possessed with Christ, or no?" 3 Again, "It is on all sides


plainly confessed, first that this sacrament is a true and real participation of Christ, who thereby imparteth himself even his whole Person as a mystical Head unto very soul that receiveth him, and that every receiver doth thereby incorporate or unite himself unto Christ as a mystical member of him..." Hooker is very clear that the real presence of Christ is in the receiver, not the elements of the sacrament.  Binckes said that Burnet reduced the notion of the Lord's Supper to "little more than a Commemoration or Representation of Christ's Suffering." Apart from his misleading conclusions, Binckes' criticism does not take into account the broad representation of Anglican thought reflected in Burnet's Exposition. Beveridge gave support to the doctrine exemplified by Burnet: "It being so clear a truth, that the bread and wine are not turned into the very body and blood of Christ in the holy sacrament, we need not heap up many arguments to prove, that it is only after a spiritual, and not after a corporal manner, that the body and blood of Christ are received and eaten in the sacrament." Thomas Ken, like Hooker, refers to the instrumental sense in which the sacramental elements communicate Christ to the receiver:

Glory be to Thee, O adorable Jesus, Who under the outward and visible part, the Bread and Wine, things obvious and easily prepared, both which Thou hast commanded to be

Ibid. V.lxvii.7: A corporal or literal presence is a "conceit" he says, V.lxvii. 8.; cf. Hammond, Works, L.A.C.T., p. 178.

2. Hooker, op. cit. V.lxvii. 8: "these holy mysteries received in due manner do instrumentally, impart unto us even in true and real though mystical manner the very Person of our Lord."


4. Beveridge, Ecclesia Anglicana, p.264; cf. his sermon on the presence, Works, L.A.C.T., III. 188, in which he insists on the spiritual presence; Burnet interchangeably used the words, "spiritual"; "real";
received, dost communicate to our souls the mystery of Divine Love, the inward and invisible grace, Thy Own most blessed Body and Blood, which are verily and indeed taken and received by the faithful in Thy supper, for which all Love, all Glory, be to Thee. 1

John Forbes, whom Burnet thought was potentially one of the greatest of all Christian theologians, underlined the spiritual presence of Christ in the Lord's Supper by following the words of Ambrose: "For not by corporal touch, but by faith, do we touch Christ." 2 It is Christ who makes his presence real through the institution, for although the "proper body of Christ" is in the sacrament, it is so, "typically, figuratively, representatively, and these indeed not vainly; but efficaciously, by divine institution." 3

The High Church view represented by Dodwell and Hickes, and indirectly by Binckes who thought Burnet's conception of the sacrament too low, were distinctly less representative of reformed Anglican theology than was Burnet the "Whig" bishop, if Hooker could be a standard of comparison. Jewel, another source in Burnet's thought, defined the problem of Christ's presence in the sacrament in terms similar to those that High Churchman Binckes asserted were inadequate: "We say that the eucharist is the sacrament or visible symbol of the body and blood of Christ, in which the death and resurrection of Christ, and what he did in his human body, is in a manner represented to our eyes, that we may give

1. Thomas Ken, An Exposition on the Church Catechism; or, the Practice of Divine Love, London, 1685, p. 75.
3. Ibid. XI. ix. 1.

Footnote continued from preceding page.
and "true" presence.
him thanks for his death, and our deliverance by it."

The remaining aspect of the public duties of the priest, according to Burnet's outline, is "officiating at Worship". Apart from his exhortations in the Pastoral Care to read the offices with "an inward sense of those things prayed for", Burnet did not discuss in any detail his attitude towards the Book of Common Prayer. It would be wrong to assume from his willingness to amend the offices of the Book of Common Prayer, by his participation on the Commission in 1689, or from his moderate views, that he had a low estimation of the Anglican liturgy. It has been pointed out above that Burnet had the exceptional reputation of using the Book of Common Prayer in Scotland. In 1669 he defended the use of the common prayers as a great improvement over the Scottish reformed order of worship: "It is, that you consider better how you ought to worship God. As for the English Liturgy, I do not say any thing is absolutely perfect, but God; yet till I see a better Liturgy compiled, which I never hitherto did, pardon me to think it an excellent rule for worship, although your deep, but groundless prejudices against it have rendered you...uncapable of receiving good by it." Burnet's view of the Anglican common prayers did not change. Articles investigating the use of the Book of Common Prayer, the wearing of

2. Burnet, Pastoral Care, pp. 184.
the surplice, and the frequency of the Sacrament of the Lord's Supper, existed in all his diocesan Visitation Articles. During the conferences he held with the clergy in several parts of the diocese in the early period of his office as a bishop, he appealed to the great value of the English Liturgy: "It may be safely affirmed, That our Forms have as few defects, are as little liable to Objections, and are indeed as perfect, not only as the Forms or Liturgies of any Church that we know of, Ancient or Modern, but are as perfect as we can in reason expect in any thing that came from men not immediately inspir'd." In Scotland, a defence of the English liturgy was a bold claim, particularly since the second episcopate did not have a liturgy, but Burnet asserted the intrinsic worth of the Prayerbook as a via media between the fanaticism of formless public worship, and the superstition of popery. Lightfoot's Horae Hebraicae et Talmudicae, published in 1658, was a standard work to which Burnet referred. His understanding of the English liturgy reflected the doctrinal method he employed:

Now since the Law of God was no less perfect in the Old Dispensation, than the Gospel is now, it will follow that Additions in things purely external and ritual, do no way detract from the Word of God: For nothing can be brought to prove the New Testament a complete Rule of Christians, which will not plead the same full authority to the Old Testament during that Dispensation; since through the Dispensation was imperfect yet the Revelation of God to them was 'able to make them perfect and thoroughly furnished for every good work': ...If then they trespass upon the authority of the New Testament, and its blessed Author, who assert a Power to determine about Rituals in Worship, or

1. Burnet, Four Discourses, p. 313.
other matters of Religion; they committed the same Crime who pretended to add to what Moses prescribed, since he was also faithful in all his house. Or if any plead a Divine Warrant for these Institutions which were traditionally conveyed, this will open a door for all the pretences of the Roman Church, since the Expressions that cancel Traditions, are as full in the Old Testament, as in the New. 1

Burnet accepted Lightfoot's thesis and maintained the right of the Church to order its own liturgy, according to the Jewish precedent. Though it was "not of divine institution" neither was it "unlawful". The example of Jesus in his use of the synagogue, its liturgy and its discipline, "doth abundantly evince, that this constitution was not unlawful." Liturgical order is a responsibility of the church and therefore "no divine right can be formed on which to argue this order and polity." However, the danger of arguing from the Jewish precedent to contemporary church practice was apprehended by Burnet in one of his works aimed at the "idolatry" of Rome. In this circumstance he concluded that "Christ came to set us at liberty from that pedagogy, which was made up of ordinances and lifeless precepts that could not make the doer thereof perfect." This situation did not concern the validity of the liturgy, but it did point out the weakness of his prior defence of the liturgy on the grounds of its Jewish precedence alone.

3. Ibid. p. 82.
4. Ibid.
Burnet's dispute with the covenanters about the liturgy was their refusal to consider any "set prayers". He said the fact that Jesus recommended a form of prayer taken from a Jewish liturgy was sufficient evidence of the benefit of form prayers; furthermore, "praying by the spirit" centered on the "fancies" or emotions of man, while the form prayers appealed to his will, "the supremum power of the soul." He argued that the English liturgy had a wider appeal than the extemporaneous prayers of a pastor and that in either case, the people were under a "form", that of the pastor's prayer, or the Prayerbook. Burnet did not agree that polity or liturgy had a divine right, but like Hooker, thought it was a juridical responsibility of the church. The priest can not afford to have a casual attitude towards the Prayerbook, he says, for, "the truest indication of the Sense of a Church is to be taken from her Language, in her Publick Offices: This is that which she speaks the most frequently, and the most publickly: even the


3. Hooker, op. cit. III. x. 4; distinctions are made between moral, ceremonial and judicial laws. Only the first category is immutable. The church's responsibility for its polity, which is not immutable, vide, Ibid. III. xi. 14; Burnet's assertion on similar grounds, vide, Four Discourses, pp. 295 ff, 312; Modest and Free Conference, pp. 65 - 71.
Articles of Doctrine are not so much read and so often heard, as her Liturgies are." Also, Burnet considered that liturgy was not static from one generation of pastors to the next, because "no age of the church since the apostles days, can make laws for succeeding ages; since the pastors of every age have the same authority that the pastors of any precedent age had after the times of inspiration."

1. Burnet, Pastoral Care, pp. 104, 5.

2. Burnet, Four Discourses, p. 302; Baxter called the public prayers and praises the "sacerdotal part of the work" of a pastor and advocated that more attention be given to it.—Reformed Pastor, pp. 130, 1; cf. Taylor's comments on the liturgy, Works, I, 113; and Bull, Works II, 18.

Burnet's willingness, in fact eagerness, to alter the Prayerbook in 1689, should not be interpreted as an inconsiderate view of its worthiness. In the History Own Time, II, 636, he suggests that the surplice, kneeling, and the sign of the cross were less important than Christian unity, however, he was happy for the fact that a change in the Rubrick was not made in the 1689 Convocation ("there was wise Providence that watches human affairs"), for it would have been used as a weapon of the High Church party against the whig bishops.—Ibid. II, p. 34. Burnet's stock with the clergy was high after his argument on the Oath in 1689, (vide, Ballard Ms, 21. f. 21, T. Sykes to Charlett, singing Burnet's praise); but after the Toleration Bill arguments, the tory clergy rallied against the whig leadership in the church. Every, op. cit. chp. II, passim, abundantly illustrates that comprehension was originally a High Church party policy. Williams III's Scottish policy, among other things, turned the tide against comprehension, and the hard core of High-flyers developed. The liberal recommendations for revision, vide, Parliamentary Paper, by William Blacke, 1854, and John Taylor, ed., The Revised Liturgy of 1689, Dublin, 1855. Burnet was present for 16 of the 18 plenary sessions held from 3 October to 18 November. Turner's dissent from the Royal Commission is recorded in E. Cardwell's Conferences on the Book of Common Prayer, 1849 ed., pp. 404f. The two-thirds majority vote for Jane over Tillotson for the Prolocutor's chair of the Convocation, on 20 November, indicates the strength of the High Church resistance to the suggested revisions. William Nicholls, Apparatio ad Defensionem Ecclesiae Anglicanae, is another picture of the alterations; cf. a discussion of Burnet's specific contributions, Clarke and Foxcroft, op. cit., pp. 279 ff. Sykes appraised the results of the attempt, From Sheldon to Secker, pp. 45 ff.
It is not clear, taking a comprehensive view of Burnet's works, what his sentiment was regarding particular points at issue in the liturgy. In the commission conferences on the alteration of the Prayerbook and in the conclusion to the *History of His Own Time*, he suggests that the surplice, kneeling at the sacrament, and the sign of the cross in baptism may be extracted from the liturgical practice of the church without effecting the worship adversely, but possibly opening the communion of the church to a large number of dissenters. In other circumstances, Burnet defended the use of all three points in contention. Using the argument of Forbes, in the case of kneeling at the sacrament, he demonstrated that not kneeling is breaking a catholic practice of the church and therefore its unity; additionally, he pointed out that the worshipper could not be mistaken in the purpose for kneeling unless he had the wrong interpretation of the elements. Burnet strongly advocated the use of the surplice in his diocesan conferences, and could not see why "black gowns" could be less an imposition on the purity of the reformed church than white. He stated that the reformers did not reject all that was delivered to the church in times of "popery", but retained things which complied with ancient practices, such as the clerical habits. On the same grounds that the early church used the sign of the cross, it is valid for the Anglican liturgy.

3. Burnet, *Four Discourses*, pp. 332, 3: cf. Hooker, *op.cit.* V, xxviii. 1: "we had rather follow the perfections of whom we like not; than in defects resemble them whom we love."
Private Duties of a Priest

Bishop Burnet exhorted the clergy of his diocese in a triennial visitation address concerning the private duties entrusted to the priest: "We must carry our selves towards our People like those who love them, and have a tender Care and Concern for them." He referred to the challenge of Paul to the Ephesian elders, a text that appeared somewhere in every one of the published visitation charges of the bishop during his twenty-six years at Salisbury:

"We must labour to them in private, from house to house, in season, and out, 'to feed the Church of God, which he has purchased with his own blood.' The private duties of the "Priestly Office" are little understood if the priest "thinks he has discharged it, by performing the Publick Appointments." Discipline is one of the chief pastoral cares, according to Burnet, and it is executed by the constant visitation of the parish. A compelling reason for visitation was admonition. This was particularly true, ironically, in the visitation of the sick. Reading the Office is hardly sufficient, but the priest must make the sick "sensible of their Sins". While Burnet mentioned a wide range of reasons for the private visitation, admonition stood out as the chief obligation. The fear of the tyranny of Rome, he mentioned, had caused a popular reaction against the church's authority in the private lives of its members, but all

2. Burnet, Pastoral Care, p. 193.
3. Ibid. p. 195.
church authority is backed up by the law of the land, and must be applied. "We see just grounds to assert such a Power in the Pastors of the Church, as it is for Edification, but not for Destruction..." Intrinsic to the motive of the private visitation was the separation of offenders from communion. Burnet confessed that the degree to which the church failed to execute this separation of sinners from the acts of publick worship, was a serious blemish on the Body of Christ. Burnet's emphasis on this aspect of the ministry is not untypical of other writers of the pastoral care in the seventeenth century. Taylor, for example, stressed the importance of visiting all parishioners, particularly the afflicted, not only to "minister a word of comfort in the time of need" but to reconcile them to their neighbours, "to make restitution and amends," and "to confess their sins". Bishop Bull in the same manner as Burnet, expounded the idea of excommunication as an essential pastoral authority for the peace and order of the church. He denied those insinuations that exclusion from communion in the church was "a device and usurpation of the presbyterians and other sectaries" but instead, it was a mark of the "primitive and apostolical churches." Of the first order of priorities for the pastoral care, Baxter said, is the "brining unsound professors of the faith to sincerity". This duty lies with the private ministry. Visitation, 

2. Ibid. 143 f.
he concludes, is essential as a means of knowing who should be excluded from the worship. If private conferences do not dislodge the impenitent attitude of a parishioner, he should then be brought before the congregation. Temporary exclusion from communion of the church was advocated as the next step; similarly, Bull recommended the use of "excommunicatio minor". If the scandal persists in the excommunicant, he should be "rejected."

The Anglican discipline recommended by Bishop Wilson was no less rigorous than that advised by Baxter. Wilson suggested sixty questions that could be put to the sick person whom the pastor visited. The utmost seriousness of the interrogation was injected with the opening comment he advised for the visiting pastor: "Dearly beloved, you are, it may be, in a very short time to appear before God." Another High Churchman, Bishop Beveridge, termed the private ministry and its purpose of discipline the "nerves and sinews" of the Body of Christ. "The principal exercise of this church discipline consisteth in excommunication, that is in the casting out from the public prayers, sacraments, and the communion of the faithful members of the church, all such as "cause divisions and offences"…" Burnet does not define excommunication

5. Ibid. p. 65.
in the sense of Beveridge who said that it was a "revealed" doctrine but in application his definition was comparable:

It is a natural consequence of the authority given to the pastors of the church, that they having declared and fixed their doctrine, and having settled rules for their rituals, may excommunicate such as either do not live according to the rules of their religion, which are a main part of their doctrine, or do not obey the constitutions of their society. Excommunication, in the strictness of things, is only the churches refusing to receive a person into her communion; churches ought to make the terms of communion with them as large and extensive as may consist with the rules of religion, and of order. 1

Discipline, and its correlative, excommunication, was a significant point illustrating Burnet's conception of the Christian ministry. The context of understanding the ministerial authority in this situation was based on his doctrine of Christ and His atonement. The church is a spiritual body in which members are bound to each other as they exist in union with Christ. Faith is "the great and only Condition of the Covenant on our part". On God's part a condition of the covenant is the justification of man, which Burnet calls, "a state of acceptation". 2 This basic

1. Burnet, Four Discourses, pp.257, 8; Burnet's report of the death bed repentance of the Earl of Rochester is a subjective account of the situation, but it is significant, as an example, that Burnet emphasized in this "private ministry", which he made public, the need for repentance above all aspects of the Christian faith. C.H. Firth said that Some Passages of the Life and Death of the right honourable John Earl of Rochester, "judged simply as literature" was "the finest thing Burnet ever wrote".—Clarke, and Foxcroft, op.cit. p.xxiii. Cf. The Last Confession of Lt.John Stern, Br.Mus. MS.Add.38,855 ff. 115-128, is another example of a private visit of Burnet with one from whom Burnet solicited repentance. Burnet's report is more intrigued with the details of the execution of Stern, by Hanging, than the nature of the pastoral conference.

doctrine of Christ's work in the justification of man has a direct bearing on his conception of ministerial functions, which he explains:

If any man fancy that the Remission of Sins is to be considered as a thing previous to Justification, and distinct from it, and acknowledge that to be freely given in Christ Jesus; and that in consequence of this there is such a Grace infused, that thereupon the person becomes truly just, and is considered such by God: This, which must be confessed to be the Doctrine of a great many in the Church of Rome, and which seem to be that established at Trent, is indeed very visibly different from the Stile and Design of those Places of the New Testament, in which this matter is most fully opened. 1

Burnet is building an argument to undercut the sacerdotalism that can be deduced from the "doctrine of Sacramental Justification", which is among "the most mischievous of all those practical Errors that are in the Church of Rome." The Anglican standard of faith does not allow such an interpretation of the work of Christ, nor its consequence for the ministry:

That God pardons Sin, and receives us into favour only through the Death of Christ, is so fully expressed in the Gospel, as was already made out upon the second Article, that it is not possible to doubt of it, if one does firmly believe, and attentively read the New Testament. Nor is it less evident, that it is not offered to us absolutely, and without Conditions and Limitations. 3

Faith and Repentance, conditions of the covenant, show themselves "to be alive by Good Works" but the justification of man is not "the Work or meritorious Action, that of its own nature puts us in the favour of God, and makes us truly just." Furthermore, the

1. Ibid. p. 124.
2. Ibid. p. 125.
3. Ibid. p. 126.
4. Ibid.
justifying act of Christ is for all men, not merely an elect, nor those receiving priestly pardon through the true church. Burnet did not believe that the grace of God in this act is "so efficacious of itself, as to determine belief. Man still has a will to approve or disapprove of God's gift.

By contrast, Rogers explicated the meaning of the Article in a Calvinistic frame of reference and concluded that the Anglican standard supports a limited atonement and eternal decrees: "Erre therefore doe they, which stand in opinion, that Some are appointed to be saved, but none to be damned." Burnet maintained that the Anglican conception of Christ's universal atonement was supported by the Prayer of Consecration in the Office of the Lord's Supper, and even more important by the Summary of the Apostles' Creed, in the Church Catechism, which affirmed: "God the Son, who hath redeemed me and all mankind."

While Burnet's doctrine of the atonement was calculated to refute the sacerdotal view of the ministry, among other purposes, which some High Church proponents advertized, one member of that party said that Burnet's exposition of the article on Christ's death was Socinian, on the basis that some, unnamed, Remonstrants styled the death of Christ as poena vicaria. It was Edward's contention that this meant Christ's sufferings were no more than

1. Ibid. p. 163, 4.

2. Rogers, op. cit. p. 72: "We affirme that a certaine chosen and company of men be predestinate, and so doth God's Word."--p. 74. "In like sort wee condemne such as either curiously enquire who, and how many shall be saved, or damned."--p. 75.

"afflictions or calamities which he endur'd indeed for our sakes and in our room." Edwards was seeking a view of Christ's death, that supported the theory of sacramental justification, on the ground that all sin must be punished. However, Burnet's doctrine of the atonement was clearly asserted:

Thus it is plain, That Christ's death was our Sacrifice: The meaning of which is this, That God intending to reconcile the World to himself, and to encourage Sinners to repent and turn to him, thought fit to offer the pardon of Sin, together with the other Blessings of his Gospel, in such a way as should demonstrate both the Guilt of Sin, and his hatred of it; and yet with that, his love of Sinners, and his compassions towards them.

...This Reconciliation which is made by the Death of Christ, between God and Man, is not absolute and without conditions. He has Established the Covenant, and has performed all that was Incumbent on him, as both the Priest and the Sacrifice, to do and to suffer; and he offers this to the World, that it may be closed with by them, on the terms on which it is proposed; and if they do not accept of it upon these conditions, and perform what is enjoined them, they can have no share in it.

None of the conditions affixed to the covenant include an intercessory priesthood. Burnet's doctrine of Christ and his atonement preclude his accepting any form of exclusive order in the church and its ministry that establishes itself as an absolute instrument of the means of salvation. An earlier writing of Burnet's, aimed specifically at the Socinian view of the atonement, is the antithesis of the charge Edwards levelled at the Exposition.


2. Edward's own position is diffuse, but he said Burnet failed to make clear that the death of Christ was "strictly and 'Properly a punishment.'" Ibid.

"If his Death was only a pattern, or any thing else than a true propitiatory Sacrifice, then we who look on it as our Propitiation and Redemption, who claim and trust to it, as our Ransom and Atonement, do very impiously raise its value beyond the Truth, and fix our Confidence, with relation to our Peace with God, upon a false foundation."

It was a basic doctrinal error on the part of the Church of Rome which led to the innovation of the Sacrament of Penance, and the ministerial tyranny that resulted. Burnet's discussion of the problem is an illustration of his conception of the authority of the church and the limits of that authority:

It may be in the Power of the Church to propose Confession, as a mean to direct Men in their Repentance, to humble them deeper for their Sins, and to oblige them to a greater strictness. But to enjoyn it as necessary to obtain the Pardon of Sin, and to make it an indispensable Condition, and indeed the most indispensable of all the parts of Repentance, is beyond the Power of the Church; for since Christ is the Mediator of this New Covenant, he alone must fix the necessary Conditions to it. 2

Burnet does not disallow confession to a priest, in fact he encouraged its practice as an instrument of peace and order in the church, or as a way to direct members "to complete their Repentance". Beveridge approached the problem of the Roman Catholic practice from another angle, making the same conclusion, that confession is proper, but not as a sacrament and a condition of the Covenant of Grace. Burnet said that it cannot be found in the use of the

primitive church, as a sacrament, but consistent with Anglican church tradition, he was "recommending it only as an excellent mean, towards the quieting the Conscience and the avoiding of all Scruple and Doubtfulness".

Evolving from his doctrine of Christ's atoning work, was Burnet's most decisive theological difference with the High Churchmen. Binckes, writing a criticism of Burnet's doctrine, asserted that

the Form of Absolution daily pronounced by the Priest, as well as that which we find us'd upon several particular occasions, plainly supposes a Power lodg'd in the Church, for remitting and retaining sins upon certain Conditions; as in Christ's Name, by his Authority, and in his stead. Binckes flatly rejected the reformed theological view that the "keys" are represented in the preaching of the Word, a position accepted by Burnet. He claimed that the whig bishop's exposition was "by no means suited to the Doctrine or Discipline of the Church of England, or the Notions which our Divines have been bred up in."

Burnet had condemned as "blasphemy" the High Church view of sacerdotalism. In his Exposition he favoured the opinion that absolution was "declaratory". "We except to the Form of Absolution in these Words, I Absolve thee: We of this Church who use it only to such as are thought to be near Death, cannot be meant to understand any

3. Ibid. p. 55.
4. Burnet, Discourse on the Opposition to Rome, p. 27.
thing by it, but the full Peace and Pardon of the Church." Again, "The Pardon that we give in the Name of God, is only declaratory of his Pardon, or supplicatory in a Prayer to him for Pardon. In this we have the whole Practice of the Church till the Twelfth Century universally of our side." Thomas Wilson's conception of the "keys" could be interpreted either to mean that the priesthood was empowered to declare Christ's forgiveness, which is Burnet's opinion, or that the priesthood is given the authority of Christ to forgive, in short the High Church position advocated by Binckes. "No kind of confession, either public or private, is disallowed by our Church, that is in any way requisite for the due execution of the ancient power of the keys, which Christ bestowed on the Church." In this Wilson cited from Ussher. But he said in another place, "Absolution benefiteth, by virtue of the power which Jesus Christ has given His ministers." By comparison, Hooker said that absolution was a ministerial act and not unconditional. This act "ascertains" for the penitent, God's pardon. In conclusion, Burnet's conception of the priestly office is that function in which the Word of God is dispensed. It is a dispensing and ministerial stewardship, vis-à-vis a sacerdotal priesthood acting in Christ's

2. Wilson, Works, VII, 34, cf. p. 68: "And this will be the true way to magnify the power of the keys, which is so little understood or so much despised; namely, to bring as many as possibly we can to repentance, that we may have more frequent occasions of sealing penitents' pardon by our ministry."—Ibid. p. 69.
3. Hooker, op. cit. VI. iv. 14; and vi. 5; Jewel emphasized that the authority and efficacy of the priestly office remains solely in Christ.—Works, II, 1130 ff.
stead. The alteration of the phrase, "I absolve thee", to, "I pronounce thee absolved...upon they true faith and repentance", suggested by the 1689 Royal Commission on the revision of the Prayerbook, aptly illustrates Burnet's conception of the Christian priest who "declares" the meaning of the covenant of Christ and God's pardon, but is not himself, as a priest, a condition of that covenant.

Chapter V
THE MINISTRY OF A BISHOP

James II departed from Salisbury 22 November 1688, for Windsor. Within two weeks the Prince of Orange was in Salisbury where he occupied the bishop's palace for one night. Gilbert Burnet, in the entourage of William, as one of his chaplains, was to be the first ecclesiastical preferment disposed of by William III and Mary II, as Seth Ward, the Bishop of Salisbury, died on 6 January 1689. Dr. George Oxenden wrote Archbishop Sancroft 25 March, "This morning the Royal Assent for ye Confirmation of ye Esteem'd Bp of Sarun came into my hands." The reaction of Sancroft was in a way a symbol of the momentous events surrounding the Revolution and its effects on the established church. He refused to consecrate Burnet to the episcopate, but empowered a commission to act in his stead. Burnet was one of many Latitudinarians to be elevated to the episcopate, and it would be difficult to assess the meaning of his nomination apart from the political motives of the Crown. Burnet recorded his meditations in preparation of the Easter, 31 March, consecration. "I am now coming to thee again 0 my God, to be once more dedicated to thee, and to rise up to the highest station in thy house." He devoutly

1. Tanner MS. 27. f. 3.

2. Cf. Sykes, Church and State in the XVIIIth Century, pp. 147-188, "The Ladder of Preferment" in the post-Revolutionary church; Bennett, op. cit. p. 204, states that the appointment of Kennett to Peterborough was "political". Sykes gives an excellent interpretation of such presentiments in light of alternative methods of appointment.
pledged to "do the work of a bishop" in his diocese, and to "withdraw as much as maybe, from all courts and secular affairs" in order to consecrate himself "to the work of the gospell, to the healing of our breaches." He outlined the several duties in the ministry of a bishop:

As for this holy function into which I enter as Thou hast given me high and sublime notions concerning it, so I will, by Thy grace, put all these in practice. I will preach in season, both in public and from house to house; I will not spare myself, much less will I lose that time which now in a more particular manner (is) thine, as following a court or any other impertinent cares, for I will give my(self) wholly to this great work; I will go round and be frequent in inspecting my clergy and will apply reproofs and censures as well as encouragements without passion or partiality. I will be careful not to lay hands suddenly on any, nor become partaker of other men's sins, for Thou knowest that I have but too many of my own to answer for. I will harden myself to all entreaties and recommendations in the conferring either of orders or benefices, and I will study to form as many as I can to a high sense of the care of souls, and employ such in Thy vineyard. I will lay aside the prejudices of party; and as I will not rule over any by force or cruelty, so I will shew all kindness not only to such as may differ from me, but even to gainsayers; for I will love all men; I will live with my brethren of the clergy in all brotherly love and humility. I will not act by my own single advice, but by the concurrence of the best of my clergy, and will do what in me lies to carry on the reformation of this church to a full perfection, by cutting off the corruptions that do still remain among us, and by adding such things as are wanting. 1

Following his enthronement, Burnet stepped into a succession of distinguished bishops at Sarum including St. Osmund, a nephew of William the Conqueror, Richard le Poor, who obtained a papal bull sanctioning the transfer of the cathedral from Old to New Sarum,

2. Sawlinson MS. B. 167. ff. 110--, "Order for receiving and enthroning a Bishop of Salisbury."
Cardinal Lorenzo Campeggio, discussed at length by Burnet, and John Jewel, who, according to Burnet, was the "best writer" of the English reformers. From the mid-thirteenth century until 1542, the diocese of Salisbury included four archdeaconries: Salisbury, Wilts, Dorset, and Berks. When Dorset was transferred to the newly created diocese of Bristol, the diocese of Salisbury included the Archdeaconries of Salisbury, Wiltshire, and Berkshire. The sub-dean of the Cathedral had archidiaconal powers over the Cathedral Close. The three major archdeaconries, Wilts, Berks, and Salisbury, were comprised of thirteen deanries, which were the usual divisions of Burnet's diocesan tours. The diocese embraced all parishes. In just less than 26 years of diocesan ministry,


3. The 1836 Act, 6 and 7 William IV, cap. lxxvii, removed the Archdeaconry of Berks to the diocese of Oxford. Samuel Wilberforce was consecrated to that see in 1845; Oxford gained the archdeaconry of Buckinghamshire from Lincoln: vide. J.C. Cox, "Ecclesiastical History", History of Berkshire, Victoria History of the Counties of England, 1907, II, 35, ff.


5. This figure is based on the count of the Clergy Book, Liber Visitationalum, 1698-1714, Wren Hall Archives, which gives the number of parishes per deanery. The Valor Ecclesiasticus of Henry VIII, in 1535, set the number of parishes in Berks at 150, and in Wilts at 290. Jewel, in securing signatures for the Acts of Supremacy and Uniformity in 1559, listed 130 parishes in Berks.—vide, Cox, op. cit. II, 35. The Clergy Book, listed 254 parishes for Wilts. The confusion arises over the way in which pluralities were reported. Ward's Notitia, for example, lists the 128 parishes in Berks.—cf. William H. Jones, Diocesan Histories, Salisbury, London, 1880, p. 240.
Burnet held nine triennial visitations, only two of which were several months over the three-yearly requirement of the 1604 Canons.

Difficulties in visitation of the diocese, the basis of all episcopal oversight, ranged from time consuming attendance at parliament to impediments involving transportation. Burnet followed a bishop, Seth Ward, who was somewhat incapacitated due to reasons of health for the last eight or ten years of his office. Potentially this could have made the initial duties of Burnet more burdensome; however, the churchwardens' presentments for his first visitation do not reveal many cases that could be related in any way to the neglect of the previous diocesan administrator.

Burnet's Visitation Articles, as well as the returning presentments, indicate a particular concern for the physical properties of the various parishes. His first tour of the diocese was a comparatively short time after the interregnum, twenty-nine years, during which interval his predecessor had the gigantic task of up-dating the repairs on many parishes that had not been attended to during the

Cromwellian ecclesiastical administration. Church properties

1. Canon no. 60; Visitation Books, Wren Hall Archives, 1689-1715, hereafter referred to as Ep.Lib.Vis. Triennial Visitations were held in 1689, 1692, 1695, 1698, 1701, 1704, 1708, 1711, and 1714. Sykes said that the diocesan visitation was "the keystone of the arch of ecclesiastical administration" in this period—Sykes, From Sheldon to Secker, p. 15.

2. Whiteman, op.cit,II,45ff, discusses Ward's administration. Bishop Kennett followed an "infirm" prelate whose neglect of duties increased the pressing needs of the Peterborough diocese.—Vide, Bennett, op.cit. p. 209.

3. Bishop Nicolson placed "special emphasis on the case of church property" as well.—James, op.cit. p.141. Sykes has pointed out the compliment of Archbishop Wake in his correspondence to Charlett that the generation of bishops immediately preceding him had on the whole rendered commendable oversight to their diocesan tasks.—Ballard MS. III.f.74. George Herbert's A Priest to the Temple offers an unusual insight into a specific situation in the Salisbury diocese. He was the Rector at Fuggleston and Bemerton in Wilts archdeaconry. The Rogationtide, practised by Herbert, and revived in the Restoration,
remained throughout Burnet's administration one of the chief concerns of the Visitation Articles and the most prevalent item of presentment.

Burnet announced each of the Triennial Visitations with a "Mandate for Visitation" that was sent to each of the deanries and parishes. The first such mandate stated two major purposes in the bishop's intention to visit the diocese: "The time of my primary Visitation being now fixed, I have thought it Incumbent on me to signifie to you in some (part)iculars my mind with relation to itt, that fore the Churches w(ithin) my Diocese may receive the fruit and advantage...." The first object of the mandate for visitation was an order to the clergy to prepare catechumens properly so that "confirmation may be managed with ye exactness, ye order, and the solemnity that becomes so sacred an office". He said that the rubric of the Book of Common Prayer relating to the preparation of candidates for confirmation was not only a law of the church but his own express demand. Confirmation, he reminded the pastors, was a confirmation of the promises of the God-parents, a renewal of the Baptismal Covenant, and a promise to lead a godly life. The bishop warned that he would "confirm none but what the Incumbents of their

Footnote 3 continued from preceding page.

was in a sense a miniature "visitation" at the parish level. E. Gibson, Codex Juris Ecclesiastici Anglicani, 1761, I, 212,13, relates that the incumbent of Fonthill Bishop was presented, for not keeping "an Ancient Custome", i.e., Rogation week, the three days before Ascension Day.

1. MS. damaged, Ballard MS. 9. f. 34.
2. Ballard MS. 9. f. 34.
3. Ibid.
respective parishes send", which indicates that perhaps persons were confirmed in some instances without the consent or knowledge of their priest. The confirmation was preceded by an examination administered by one of Burnet's chaplains. He said that he was aware of the "serious and scandalous" reputation of carelessness in confirmation. Secondly, the bishop desired each of the clergy to carefully urge the churchwardens to make complete responses to the Visitation Articles, taking care "that the presentments may not be made with that carelessness that is but too ordinarie, but that you will consider that obligation that lies upon you by your function, and that you put your Churchwarden in mind of the Oath which they are to take, that so I may discover what gross or crying Scandal is in my Diocese, to which at present I being so great a Stranger." If there is no disclosure of problems, he adds, in the eventuality that faults arise, the mismanagement will be credited to the clergy.

1. Ibid.
2. Ibid.
3. "There would seem to have been two oaths administered to the new churchwardens; the one pledging them to a general care of the church and the other to a true and faithful reply to the 'articles of enquiry' submitted to them."—Jones, Fasti Ecclesiae Sarisburiensis, Salisbury and London, 1879, p.135. Burnet wrote another letter to his clergy at this time giving them texts and reasons, for preaching thanksgiving sermons. Burnet's pastoral concerns in the diocese were met with a certain amount of political resistance on the part of the clergy. The above letter, and his mandate, were sent just after the Pastoral Letter of 1689 had been burned by the Hangman. Cf. The Just Condemnation of ye Pastorall Letter to be Burn'd: For Advancing a Title to ye Crown from Conquest, Rawlinson MS. D. 373 f. 38; id., 836, f. 148. Burnet's recommendation of thanksgiving texts, Ballard MS. 9f. 36: "The Declaration of Almighty God, in some few Texts of Scripture, recommended to the Reverend Conforming Divines: By G.B.B.of S--b--y. To be Preach'd upon every third Wednesday in the Month; being the Publick Fast appointed to implore God's assistance for the reduction of Ireland, and the overthrow of the late King James, and his rebellious Forces."
In his Articles of Visitation and Enquiry in the Primary Visitation, Burnet asked questions appertaining to ten aspects of church properties. The primary significance is given to questions about the physical properties requisite to worship, such as the "font of stone" for baptism, "a decent communion table", a "Chalice", "flagons of Silver or Pewter", and a proper place for reading the Divine Service and preaching, and the possession of a decent surplice. It is important to point out that Burnet, whose Latitudinarian views lead him to conclude that the surplice was not essential if it constituted a hazard to the conformity of dissenters, included questions about the surplice in both the articles on "Properties" and "Concerning Ministers". Further, he inquired about the church's owning "a Bible of the last Translation, A Book of Common Prayer (established by the late Act of Parliament), a Book of Homilies, and a Book of Canons." Other questions relating to church properties included the "Register-book of Parchment", a "Book of Church-Wardens Accounts" and "a long Chest with locks and keys to keep furniture and books". The second division of the Articles of Visitation dealt with the church yard, houses, glebes and tithes.

Burnet's inquiries about the ministers of the diocese emphasize the reading of the Divine Services, instruction in the catechism, and visitation. Burnet was particularly interested to know what pluralities and cases of non-residence existed.

2. Ibid., nos. 5-6.
3. See following page.
Footnote 3 from preceding page.

The other areas of the Articles of Visitation concern the discipline of church members, church officers, and the hospitals, schools, school masters and other professional vocations that may exist in the parish.

Burnet's Primary Visitation was conducted at seven points in the diocese during a period of fourteen days. There were 292 returns. In general, the presentments show "omne bene" throughout the diocese. There were several references to the Act of Toleration "quieting" dissenters. Less than ten per cent of the returns listed any kind of grievance. Nearly one half of the parishes in the deanry of Potterne did not present returns to the bishop's visitation at Devizes.

The specific cases of the presentments, if an accurate measure of the true condition of the spiritualities and temporalities of the respective parishes, would indicate that the diocese was in good order. A few of the presentments included more than

1. Ibid. Tit. IV.-VII.
3. This represents about seventy-five per cent of the total number of parishes, vide footnote, supra, on parishes in dioceses.
5. The precise form of the returns varies slightly, but are usually quite uniform within each archdeaconry. In Wilts, e.g., the form most often used: "The Presentment of the Churchwardens of the said Parish there made, and before the Right Rev'd father in God Gilbert Lord Bishop of Sarum at his Primaris Visitationis at Chippenham on ye 19 day of September 1689. We have duly considered of our Oath and the Articles given in his Charge, doe not know or find any person or thing in our Church or Parish presentable. Witness our hand."--Chw. Pres. Wilts, Westport parish, Malmesbury deanry.
the usual "Omne bene" response. Some gave a positive affirmation of particular subjects inquired after in the Articles, for example, the churchwardens of one parish wrote, "Wee present our minister is pious and orthodox, of very good fame, and is conformable to the doctrine and discipline of the Church of England." Of the 292 returns, only one return gave specific replies to all of the inquiries. The detail provides an appreciation of the conditions of that parish:

We know no Atheist or papist in our parish; and tho' we have dissenters of several sorts yet we know nothing to ye contrary but they have made themselves capable of ye benefit of ye Late Act of parliament.

We know none in ye parish yt now lyeth under a common fame of adultery, fornication, or incest. And tho' there may be some who are often times intemperate in drinking & too frequently use God's name in vain, yet we think yt we cannot present any for common drunkard, or Common swearer.

Tho' we have no great disorders upon Sundays presentable; yet for Holy days ye generality of ye people follow their bodily labour, their ordinary Callings, and imployments: some Come to Church but ye most do not upon those days.

We cannot certifie upon our Oaths yt every person yt comes to Church doth reverently kneel at ye prayers & stand up when ye Creed and Gospell is read.

The greatest part of our Children are publickly baptized at Church; but those who are privately baptized in case of necessity are not, sometimes, after brought into ye public congregation as we remember.

We believe yt every householder do not cause their children & servants to come to Church to learn & to say their Catechism.

We suppose yt there may be many in ye parish above ye Age of 16 years yt do not receive ye sacrament of ye Lords supper 3 times in ye year.

1. Ibid. Chw. Pres., Binfield, Deanry of Reading, Berks.
We have no considerable person in ye parish yt practises physick or chirurgery without a License: we have a poor woman called a midwife yt is helpfull to her Neighbours in Childbirth, we think yt she have no licence.

A few of the returns presented specific individuals who needed correction, most of which cases involving sexual offences such as the "irregular circumstances of a widow in the parish" and a parishioner "who keeps company " with her were presented by the parish of Longbourgh in the deanry of Malmesbury.

Presentments of clergy for non-residence were few. In one instance the churchwardens presented their vicar for not "building up the Vicaridge house itt being fallen down to the ground" and added, "We p---ent of Sayd Vicar for not Residing on the Vicaridge nor providing a Lycensed Minister to Serve the Cure." The non-resident clergy were often presented for that offence as well as an offence relating to the physical properties, which gave a stronger case for the bishop should he decide to prosecute the defendant. For example, the vicar of St. Mary's parish in the deanry of Wilton was presented for "nonresidence on the Vicaridge" and for "cutting down timber on the Vicaridge". Several items relating to physical properties that were neglected as a result of the vicar's non-resident were noted, but no mention was made of the neglect of the pastoral care with respect of the offence. The value of the

diocesan visitation was evident in several instances in which a vacancy or non-residence on a cure of souls was disclosed to the bishop. One return noted, "We further present that our Curate Mr. John Pilgrame dyed abt Whitsuntide last past, that since we are in want of a Lycensed Curate to Serve our Cure."  

St. Martin's parish of Salisbury, the Sub-deanry of Sarum, presented that "wee have noe Minister to serve ye Cure of Soules" along with the complaint that "wee present Martha Bathwidd for keeping her servants to worke on Sundays."

According to common law the repair of the nave of the church was the responsibility of the parishioners, and the choir or chancel was to be kept in repair by the recipient of the "great tithes of the parish", i.e., by the rector, in case of a rectory, or by the "appropriator" if the recipient was an ecclesiastical corporation. Burnet's Articles of Visitation gave no indication of the division of responsibilities regarding the nave and chancel. Of the forty-three presentments in the deanry of Malmesbury, three presented neglect of repairs on the fabric of the church, one presented a case of discipline (sex offence), and one presented a complaint against an incumbent. Of the thirty-eight returns in the deanries of Wilton and Wyly, twelve presented

needs of repairs to the fabric of various churches or the want of equipment such as "a hearsh clothe". Very few returns revealed the degree of physical dilapidation noted by the churchwardens at Wishford Magna, where the church needed new timbers, and a new wall, in addition to not having a Bible or a Book of Common Prayer. In one case the want of particular physical properties was listed with several other presentments, such as "presbyterians nil", "no printed table" (of the excommunicated), "widow Hart" had not given the money to the poor provided in the will of her husband, "no Bier or Black Hearse cloth", no "chest in the church for ye keeping of the Surplice, Bible, & etc.", and there was no "Homily Booke nor Book of Canons". In another return a person was presented for "encroachments made upon ye church land by erecting a Wall made of stone and brick" and in another the church was in a "ruinous condition" because three persons had withheld paying church rates. In all respects of the visitation, to the degree that the presentments are indicative, Burnet's diocesan administration was begun with no unusual problems. Only fifteen of the 292 returns mentioned dissenters, and in those cases it was stated that "under the new act" the churchwardens were unaware what the dissenters were doing, or, in all cases, where they met, but that they were peaceable. St. Thomas parish churchwardens, in the Sub-deanry of

Sarum, were of the few who presented papists, but with the remark, "yet we doe not find but that they live very peaceable & quiet under the present government."

The succeeding Triennial Visitations of Burnet followed much the same pattern with a few notable distinguishing features. In 1695 Burnet's Articles of Visitation contained more questions probing the nature of the clergy's residence and application to the pastoral care. The attendance at the Bishop's visitation

1. Chw. Pres. St. Thomas, Sub-deanry of Sarum. It is not possible to draw many conclusions from what is said in the presentments; what is omitted is indicative of trends. The omission, for example, of reports of the activities of non-conformists is significant. Nothing was said in any of the presentments concerning abuses involving worship, such as neglecting the administration of the sacraments. Cf. Whiteman's discussion of Ward's episcopate, op. cit. II, 45. John Evelyn pointed out an uncommon practice of communion at the parish of Wotton in 1694. vide, Diary of John Evelyn, 6 May 1694, (E.S. de Beer ed), Oxford, 1955, V, 180.

2. Wren Hall Archives, "Articles of Visitation and Inquiry Concerning Matters Ecclesiastical...Diocese of Sarum, at the Triennial Visitations of...Gilbert Ld Ep of Sarum, 1695", cf. Tit. III, nos. ii, iii: Is your Minister constantly resident among you, and doth he preach every Lord's day, unless hindered by Sickness or reasonable absence? How long in any one Year hath he been absent from his Cure? Who supplies it during his absence? Doth he serve any other Cure besides, or hath he any other Ecclesiastical Benefice? Doth he read Prayers on Sundays in the Afternoons in your Church? Doth your Parson, Vicar or Curate, in reading the daily Morning and Evening Service, Administration of the Holy Sacraments, Celebration of Marriage, Churcning of Women after Child-Birth, Visitation of the Sick, Burial of the Dead, use the Form and Words prescribed in the Book of Common-Prayer?...Doth he observe all such Rites and Ceremonies, as are appointed in that Book, so far as you have taken notice of? Doth your Minister at the Reading and Celebrating Divine Offices in our Church or Chapel wear the Surplice; together with such other Habit as is suitable to his Degree?
courts was usually very good, for example, in the 1698 Triennial Visitation, in the deanry of Newbury, only one clergyman had an unexcused absence. Six rectories were held in plurality in that deanry of thirty-five parishes, and there were fourteen rectors, eleven vicars, and two curates among the clergy present at Burnet's visitation court. Burnet did not respond favourably to clergy who absented themselves from the visitation proceedings. L.W. Finch, the Warden at All Souls, who had a curate at Brightwell parish, said, "I was not a little surprised to finde by Mr. Howell, my Curate for Brightwell, that your Lordship would take my Absence from Abbingdon ill, since I never had any sort of legal summons to write upon you there." Finch embellished his excuse with the fact of "a very bad cold" and adds, "I hope in this Case your Lordship will sufficiently perceive my Willingness to pay my Duty to you in appearing at your Visitation even when my not being very well, my being a Dr of Divinity resident in this University, & a Head of a College, are as I humbly conceive warranted Excuses from such attendance." Finch said that his curate had not warned him of the visitation, and that if the bishop thinks the curate irresponsible, that he was "ready to give yr Lordship the satisfaction of discharging Him." The Abingdon visitation was held on 11 October 1698, and Burnet's immediate response to Finch was written from

1. Ep. Lib. Vis. 15 October 1698: one of the clergy did not present his ordination papers in that visitation, but did in the following, 1704; one curate had no license and had not been ordained.


the next location of the diocesan tour, which was Newbury, 15 October. Burnet's pithy reply was seasoned appropriately for the occasion of correspondents who probably had unresolved differences of opinion, informed by the contentions between the "high-flyers" and "whig" churchmen:

I had hopes from what past between you and me when I had your Institution to the Rectory of Brightwell that you would have come over thither yourself and that you would have sent me a Curate in some competent time to be licens'd, you promised to do both...I give no other Notice of a Visitation but by a Summons posted at the Church where the law supposes you are or have one to advertise you on such occasions; and it seemed strange to see so many from Oxford at Abbington and not a few from your own College and yet that you neither thought fit to come nor so much as to send an accuse. ...Neither your high birth, your degree, nor your Headship can excuse you. 

... Since you take so little care of your living as to make it a sine-cure, I must tell you even those who hold sine-cures are bound to appear at Visitations.

The bishop warned the non-resident rector that he may judicate the fact of his absence from the visitation court as a "contempt".

The firmness of the "moderate" bishop is revealed:

I do it to all others and since there is not any one thing that S. Paul charges Timothy more solemnly in, than that he should do nothing by partiality preferring one before another, I had no other method to take to make you remember that I am your Bishop, since you seem resolved to forget it.

Finch said that he had been misrepresented to the bishop, to which Burnet replied,

Nobody suggested this to me for it went in course in open court it being the common method of the law. I spoke to nobody about it nor did any person suggest any thing to me. Now unfit soever you may think me to hold the post I am in, I should be yet more unworthy of it if I should let my authority be disposed.

He concludes with a challenge, "I will not dispute what I can do in a case of sequestration." In the same visitation court held at

1. Burnet to Finch, Bodl. MS. Add. D.23. f. 64.
Newbury, the only unexcused minister of that deanry was also found in default of payments.

Comparing the 1698 visitation court to the one held at Newbury ten years later, there was a marked decline in its activity. Only seventeen clergy were present, while twenty-seven were present at the 1698 session, and yet no unexcused absences were recorded, nor were the ordination papers required. While Burnet appeared at the 28 April visitation at Newbury, in 1708, he was not present at the visitation court held on 1 May at Abingdon, where Robert Loggan, Burnet's appointment to the Vicar General and Principal Officer, officiated. Burnet's absence from a visitation court was very uncommon, but an aspect of the visitations in general, that is of some significance, is that the later visitations, 1704, 1708, 1711, and 1714, were held in as few as six or seven days, reducing the number of points visited to five or six centers. While the various diocesan courts at these centers would have comprised a larger number of parishes, there were actually fewer cases presented that demanded episcopal action. This could be

2. Ep. Lib. Vis., 1 May 1708, Abingdon; and Ep. Vis. Chw. Pres. 1708, Deary of Abingdon, the returns are addressed thus: "The presentments of ye church wardens of theforesaid made att ye Visitation held att Abingdon the first day of May Anno-domi 1708 before the worshipfull Robt Loggan Master of Arts and Chancellor to the Bishop of Sarum," or, "Presentment... at the Visitation Court of the Robt Loggan for ye father in God Gilbert Lord Bishop of Sarum..."
interpreted as a decline of responsiveness of the parish officials, or a decline of the problems themselves.

In 1696, Burnet conducted a visitation of the cathedral at Salisbury which was the last visitation of that cathedral church until 1888. The bishop's visitation of the cathedral had a long history of contested jurisdictional rights, going back to Bishop Giles de Bridport, in 1262. In 1675 Burnet's predecessor had a protracted encounter with Dean Thomas Pierce over the independency of the dean's office at Salisbury. Ward's visitation of the cathedral became a test of the dean's authority. In 1691, Robert Woodward succeeded as dean. Burnet was more fortunate than Ward in this particular diocesan responsibility. Burnet's "Cathedral Visitation Articles" range over forty-six headings. The Articles comprise an outline of the duties commensurate with the cathedral offices. Burnet's concern was for the secure keeping of legal documents, the qualification of the prebendaries and the performance of their duties, and particularly the residence of the "Canons Residentiariie" according to the "Canons of the

Church of England. He made inquiries concerning the attendance of Divine Service by the resident canons, and the performance of their preaching and other duties requisite to the constitutions of the various prebendaries. He asked why the "synod" of the cathedral clergy was not held yearly. More than twenty articles related to the properties and the finances of the cathedral church and grounds. Curates and vicars in the disposal of the dean and chapter were to have had their livings augmented and he asked if this had been done. The diligence and performance of the vicars-choral and the lay-singers was inquired into. The bishop inquired about the spiritual life of those living inside the Close, including an article asking, "Do any keep Ale houses, Victualling or Drinking houses in the Close?"

The Cathedral Visitation Presentments were returned from the prebendaries individually, and a single presentment from the four dignitaries, corresponding to the "four-square constitution" of the cathedral written by St. Osmund, viz., the dean, precentor, chancellor, and treasurer. Several items were discovered remiss by the visitation. Certain muniments had been removed from the "Muniment House", concerning which the presentment promised an immediate return. Two prebendaries were presented for not pursuing

1. Burnet, Cath. Vis. Articles, nos. 30-35: Burnet had received notice prior to the visitation that a certain amount of irresponsible behaviour was blamed on the vicars-choral.
2. Ibid. no. 44.
3. At the time of the 1696 visitation these "dignitaries" included Robert Woodward, Daniel Whitby, Michael Geddes and Peter Allix.
4. Wren Hall, Cath. Vis. Pres.: "The Answer of the Deane, Dignitaries, and Canons Resident--rie: of the Cathedrall Church of Sarum to the Articles of Enquiry by the Right Reverend father in God Gilbert Lord Bishop of Sarum in his primary Visitation of the sayd Church held on the 18th day of August Anno Dm. 1696."; no. 1.
"their courses", i.e., preaching and lecturing, and one of the vicars-choral was presented for not reading the Divine Service due to his age and infirmity, and three other vicars-choral were presented as absent, without excuse. The chancellor of the cathedral, Michael Geddes was presented for being non-resident for the past year, which was contrary to the established statutes. Preaching assignments of the canons residentiary were not always honoured. Answering Burnet's question about the neglect of synods of the cathedral clergy, the presentment explains, "No Synod hath for many years past been held yearly nor hath there of late been any Summons for such a Synod, the Queens injunctions requiring their continuance then for eight days being found impracticable. Presented was the fact that no comprehensive account book of all revenues and expenses existed in the Muniment House. Negligence was charged to the Master of the Works, and the Clerk of the Works. The cases in which livings annexed to the cathedral Chapter had been augmented, according to the injunction of Charles II, were listed. Presented were the condition of the cathedral library and the fact that manuscripts loaned to the late Bishop Ussher were still in the "Oxford Library". The presentment shows that the Close did have one "ale house" operating.

1. Ibid, no. 2.
2. Ibid, no. 8.
3. Ibid, nos. 20, 21.
4. Ibid, no. 35.
5. Ibid, no. 44.
The presentments of the individual prebendaries disclosed further needs relative to the welfare of the cathedral. One of the canons presented "several vicars-chorall" who came late or were absent entirely from the Divine Services, a presentment that differed radically from the "Vicars-Chorall Presentment″. The presentment of the "Patent Officers of the Cathedral" affirmed that there was a "constant distribution of alms to the poor." Daniel Whitby presented a vicar-choral who was non-resident and held a plurality as chanter at Westminster Abbey. Additionally, Whitby pointed out the unconstitutional procedure of appointing choristers by the dean and chapter, inasmuch as the Statutas of the cathedral explicitly state that choristers were to be admitted "per dictum precentorum", and only in the absence of the precentor, "in capitulo coram Decano". The Archdeacons of Berks and Wilts along with twenty-three prebendaries signed a joint-presentment in which they named a number of faults in constitutional and jurisdictional responsibilities. They said that the fabric money of the cathedral was mishandled, that the prebend terriers were, in several cases named, defectively drawn, that the Vicars' Common Hall had been

2. A summary of chapter expenditures among the Tanner MSS, is entitled: "An account of ye Deane and chapter of the Cathedral Church of Sarum of moneys expended by them upon ye Particular Heads following Since his most Gratious maties glorious and happy Restauration," Tanner MS. 143, f. 259. It reveals that £4200 went to the fabric repair; £1000 as a gift to the king; £2500 for the augmentation of vicarages; £145 for "yearly charity" and "pious uses", which meant that the chapter gave less than fifteen pounds a year to charity, as the report covered the years 1660-70.
converted into a private residence, and that they "conceive yt it may lend to the Reformation of this church yt the Prebendaries should have admission to see the Body of statutes... & muniments." The lay-vicars presentment confirmed that one of the vicars-choral was living in part of the Vicars' Common Hall, and that the choristers' manners during Divine Service were reprehensible.

Sub-dean Thomas Naish, presented a number of personal grievances that reflect the internal rivalry among several members of the cathedral clergy. His presentment concludes, "I think my self wronged in being oblig'd to continuall Residence." The canons who presented the vicars-choral for being irresponsible, were in turn among those presented by the vicars-choral. Such items as the selling of wood from a prebend, without a license, were reported. Their probable grievance with the canons is reflected in their answer concerning their quarterly pay, in which some prebendaries were hesitant or remiss to expend. The majority of the non-resident canons were not present at the 18 August visitation of the bishop. The excuses, some arriving as much as a month after the

3. His relationship to Burnet will be discussed infra.
4. Cath. Vis. Pres. Thomas Naish, 1696. Naish was desirous of a prebend's stall himself, and archidiaconal privileges to accompany the quasi-archidiaconal duties of the sub-deanry. He was a product of Burnet's "Theological School", and a Burnet appointee. As he and his family became active in the interests of tory politics, Burnet's patronage was withdrawn and he never obtained the coveted prebendary longed for. His Diary is punctuated with personal ambitions.
visitation, indicate that attendance was not considered important; for example, Prebendary John Nicholas wrote, "I never meant at any time more really to discharge my duty then now to obey ye summons to this Visitation. But I am surprised by much company from Oxon, who came to pay the promise they have long made."

Confirmation, a second aspect of diocesan administration, was integrated with the triennial visitation tour. Burnet, a friend of Richard Baxter, was no doubt aware of the non-conformist's attitude toward the practice of confirmation from his own experience: "The Bishop examined us not at all in one article of Faith; but in a churchyard in haste we were set in a rank, and he passed hastily over us, laying his hands on our head, and saying as few words, which neither I nor any that I spoke with, understood; so hastily were they uttered, and a very short prayer recited, and there was an end." In a study written for the clergy of the diocese of Salisbury, regarding their preparations of catechumens, who would be confirmed, Burnet asserted:

This ought to be performed with great seriousness and decency. Not in a crowd, or in a hurry. And therefore none ought to be admitted to it, but such as are fit to be upon

1. Wren Hall, Misc. MSS., Prebendaries Proxies, John Nicholas to Burnet, 17 August 1696. Some of the excuses were less explicit about the "urgent occasions" that prevented attendance; Thomas Hawes announced four months in advance to the visitation date that he would be detained "by very urgent occasions". Burnet's mandate of intention to visit the Cathedral was dated 12 January 1696: "Visitaconi Primara Gilberti Sarum Epi una cum Certificatorio Decani & Capti." Cf. Bishop Caldwell's "Articles of Visitation for Salisbury in 1593" are published in Kennedy's Elizabethan Episcopal Administration, Alcuin Club Collections, 1924, II, 276 f.

the next occasion admitted to the Holy Sacrament. While they answer, 'I do', they ought to make inwardly the baptismal vow to God, and to join their own earnest prayers with the bishop's, for that Holy Spirit, which Christ has assured us his Heavenly Father will give to those who ask him. 1

Burnet was aware too, of St. Bernard's aphoristic description that "not a sceptre, but a hoe" was needed for the responsible offices of the church. 2 The sixtieth Canon (1604) states that "the holy action" of confirmation "hath been accustomed in the church in former ages to be performed in the bishop's visitation every third year." Burnet considered this minimal standard insufficient, and complained of the distractions of attendance at parliament that competed with diocesan duties, such as a yearly confirmation tour. Burnet forwarded instructions to all the clergy relative to the areas in which he would make yearly confirmation tours, asking them to be careful about the candidates they recommended for "bishopping". In twenty-six years of his ministry as a bishop, Burnet confirmed in 275 Churches of the diocese, and more than ten times each in several of the market centers. His method followed a simple


3. Burnet, *Supplement*, 505, 6; Cf. Sykes, *Church and State*, pp. 115ff, a discussion on 18th century practices and the need of suffragans for confirmation. Some of Burnet's best statements defending confirmation practices were made when he was in Scotland, where episcopal rule was truncated in that confirmation was not used. Burnet adroitly used Calvin's positive thoughts on the subject, in *Observations on the Canons*, pp. 73 ff.

4. Rawlinson *MS.* 28.f.105b, Geo. Hearne to Thos. Hearne, 3 August 1712, refers to the preliminary suggestions Burnet sent to incumbents.

procedure of establishing a headquarters in a major town. Each morning for six days he would preach and confirm in a parish within travelling distance and in the afternoon return to the central town and teach a catechism class, going through the entire Church Catechism in five or six sessions. That class would be confirmed on the following Sunday, thus concluding his confirmation routine at that location. Tillotson remarked about Burnet's success in this method and wished that it "could not but be universally acceptable." Preaching was an important aspect of the visitation and confirmation tour which Burnet pointed out in his Pastoral Care: "It appears that the constant sense of all Churches, in all ages, has been that Preaching was the Bishops' great Duty, and that he ought to lay himself out in it most particularly." Burnet was not the only bishop who preached and confirmed on a yearly schedule. Nathaniel Crewe of Durham and Thomas Cartwright of Chester were other exceptions to the general rule of triennial confirmations.

Burnet did not always keep the word of his high hopes. In his meditation on the eve of his Consecration to the episcopate, and in several of his "charges" to the clergy of the diocese, he promised "not to lay hands suddenly on anyone." The father of Thomas Tanner, the famous antiquarian, was the incumbent at Lavington. He held Burnet in respectful esteem, but related in a

2. Burnet, Pastoral Care, pp. 128, 9.
3. Sykes, From Sheldon to Secker, p. 15.
letter to his son, a university student, how Burnet extemporaneously announced that he would confirm after a preaching service and did so in spite of the fact that none had been prepared for the occasion. Tanner's letter explains the lack of organization in which some confirmation tours took place:

Yesterday morning...a Gentleman knocks at the door: in great hast to acquaint me yt my Ld Bp.was come to town and would speak with me presently. I made myself ready & went to wait on him at ye Kings Arms. He told me yt he was glad to see me & was sorry yt I knew nothing of his coming for he said yt he had given notice 3 weeks before: to somebody to Aquaint me yt he would come to Lavington to preach & confirm. I told his Lordship yt our young people was not so well prepared for confirmation at present as y should have been if we had had a timely notice of his coming: then he seemed to desire both till some fitter opportunity seeing he had so suddenly surprised us, but I further told him yt if his L--sp pleased to preach we should have a pretty considerable congregation (as we had) then he was willing yt Bell should be rung. After this discourse between him & me his Lsp asked very kindly for you with great commendations of you for your industry. We went to the church about 12 a clock, so after prayers, sermon & confirmation for at my Lords invitation some came into ye chancell to be confirmed, about 20 I think boys & girls.

1. Tanner's regard for the "kind and civil" treatment that Burnet gave the clergy,—Bodl. Tanner MS 25. 170.

2. Tanner MS. 24. f. 59. Thos. Tanner to Thos. Tanner, 17 September 1695: Burnet's interest in the young Tanner is significant, for unlike the allusion of his biographer, Miss Foxcroft, Burnet did not deprecate the work of "antiquarianism". The senior Tanner tells his son of the compliments of the bishop for the young student's interests. He added that he had a "Scotch visitor" who knew of the Bishop's coming but did not tell him. Burnet's entourage included a Frenchman, acting as chaplain to the bishop. The clergyman's letters to his son include interesting glimpses of parish life in seventeenth century England. Tanner MS. 24. f. 96.
Burnet thought that the regularity of confirmation during the post-Revolutionary period, dominated by the Latitudinarian bishops, was the highest standard that ever occurred in the recent history of the church. Wake said that he "believed the confirmations had never been so regular throughout the kingdom as within the last thirty years," writing to Charlett in 1718. Bishop Nicolson had the awesome task of confirming in a diocese in which the predecessor had neglected that duty for the eighteen years previous to his elevation to the see. However, the low churchmen had no priority on careful diocesan administration with regard to confirmation. Exemplary diocesan administration had no respect for political affiliations as illustrated by Sharp, Lloyd, Kidder, Compton and Gibson.

Satirically, Bishop Trelawny wrote to Charlett that the Bishop of Salisbury had a zeal to reform all aspects of the diocesan ministry except its "jurisdiction & revenue". The allusion to

1. Burnet, History Own Time, II, 126.
2. Sykes, Church and State, p. 120, from Ballard MS. 3. f. 74.
4. T. Sharp, Life of J. Sharp, 2 vols. London, 1825, II, 82. A.T. Hart, William Lloyd, 1627-1717, Bishop, Politician, Author and Prophet, London, 1952, p. 190; A.E. Robinson, ed., Life of Kidder, Somerset Record Society, 1924, pp. 81, 2; Burnet, op. cit. I, 392, said of Compton: "He applied himself more to his function, than Bishops had commonly done. He went much about his diocese; and preached, and confirmed in many places"; and Sykes, Edmund Gibson, p. 75. Sykes points out the neglect of confirmation among Latitudinarians, such as Willis, the successor of Burnet, and Hoadly, vide, his Church and State, pp. 129, 130, 136.
5. Ballard MS 9. f. 73.
Burnet's "zeal", was not misappropriated. Burnet had the reputation of a reforming bishop, and the consistory courts were the object of the most severe criticisms he levelled at the apparatus of Church of England. At Salisbury he confessed that he tried, but gave up, the ideal of reforming the court system: "I tried next to regulate my Consistoriall Court and for some years I went constantly to it but I found that which is crooked cannot be made straight, all our proceedings are so dilatory and engage men into such an expense that I did not wonder to hear them so much cried out on as they were, they are a great Grievance both to the Clergy and Laity so I gave over all hope of doing any good in them and gave over going more to them." Perhaps along with the changing philosophical and scientific revolutions that the church had to face, the need of reforming its liturgy and discipline were the next greatest, but related problems. At Salisbury, Burnet's office accrued several important powers. Officers by patent under the Bishop of Sarum were: the "bailiff" of the city of New Sarum, the steward of New Sarum, the chancellor of the diocese, two livings to the principal Registrar of the diocese, an apparitor general, a collector of the quit-rents of Sarum, two livings to the bishop's "clerk of the Markets", a receiver of the yearly rents of the bishopric, and the Keeper of the Seal.

The consistory court was managed by the bishop who gave full judicial powers to a chancellor, referred to as the "vicar general" and "principal officer" in the patents. The term "chancellor" was used promiscuously along with "vicar general" in the recording of the "instances". The chancellor's patent, issued by the bishop, gave unrestricted court powers to the officer, with one exception: 
"...reserving always to us and our Successors Bishops of Sarum full Power and Authority to exercise the said offices...singly or together with the said vicar general in Spirituals and Principal Official."


2. A deputy registrar, in the side-heading of cases in 1689, called Robert Woodward, the chancellor, "Vicaris genii".

"The Bishop of Sarum aforesaid for divers good just and reasonable causes us thereunto moving for ourselves and Successors, Bishops of Sarum given granted and confirmed to our well beloved in Christ [titles] the offices of Vicar General and principal official of the Consistory Court of us and our Successors in and through our whole city Diocese and jurisdiction of Sarum as all and regular fees Profits commodities and emoluments which to the said offices or either of them are due and shall belong or of right ought to belong subject to the reservation and exceptions herein after mentioned. TO HAVE HOLD enjoy and possess the said offices together with all Fees profits Commodities and Emoluments aforesaid to the said [titles] to be exercised by himself or his sufficient Deputy or Deputies to be approved by us and our Successors Bishops of Sarum for the time being and not by any other or others for the term of the natural life of the said [titles] RESERVING always to us and our Successors Bishops of Sarum full Power and authority to exercise the said offices...singly or together with the said vicar general in Spirituals and Principal Officials when and so often as we the present Bishop or our Successors shall think proper."
At Salisbury the chancellor occasionally had two surrogate officers. Daniel Whitby and Thomas Lambert were both surrogates to Robert Woodward. The court officials, in addition to the bishop and chancellor, included the Registrar, or deputy registrar, a clerk, and the "apparitoris generalis" whose patent was given by the bishop. The proctors were given court office under the bishop's patent as well. The Consistory Court Act Books for the "office" cases ("ex officio mere") are not extant for the years 1682 through 1694 at Salisbury, and therefore the most important corroborating evidence about Burnet's acknowledged participation in the affairs of the consistory court at the outset of his episcopate is lacking. In the case of the "instances" ("ad instantiam partium"), Burnet's presence in the court would not usually be expected. However, the bishop was consistently active in the visitation courts, pointed out above, during the whole of his administration, with a few exceptions after the year 1707. The Deposition Books give ample attestation to the numerous cases in Burnet's courts which met fortnightly, and at times weekly, and handled, on an average, twelve cases on each agenda.

3. Ibid. vide, "officium procuratoris in curia consistoriali Sarum".
5. See following page.
Footnote 5 from preceding page.

5. A transcript of the form of recording the court sessions is given as a sample. The surrogate of the chancellor is the magistrate in this case:

Dec. 7 1697 "Curia Consistorialis Episcopalis Sarum tenta in Ecclesia Cathedrali Sarum loco consistoriali Episcopali ibiden die Martis septimo scilicet die Decembris Anno Domini 1697 inter horas 9 & 12 ante meridiem eiusdem diei coram Magistro Samuele Jecocke A.M. Surrogato Domini Cancellarii Loggan etc. presente me.

Officium Domini contra Johannem Fatey & Sarum Ivie respective de Cheilvely in Com.Berks & dioecese Sarum in negotio correccionis morum praeceptor & prae crimine Adulterii Fornicacionis sive Incontinentiae inter eos perpetratos & commissos etc. Quibus die horis & loco introduxit Citacionem personaliter contra Dicum Fatey personaliter executum per Steward de quo fidem facit coram Magistro Johanne Cock Surrogato & diligenter quaesita dicta Sara Ivie, dicto Fatey 3na vice preconizato, etc., eoque non comparente, Dominus pronun:ciavit eum contumacem, sed ex eo quod dictus Fatey comparuit coram Domino Surrogato

in aedibus Geo. Jackson 30 Novembris ultimo praeterito inter horas 9 & 12 antemeridiem eiusdem diei, and humblie prayed that the Surrog:ate would then accept of his appearance (then consenting to the day, hours & place & Actuarie, and renouncing all power and title of Appeale) and then acknowledge and confessed that there was a fame of Adultery in the fact and submitted himself to the Judge, whereupon the Surrogare respited him till he had consulted Mr. Chancellor thereupon. For the reasons above expressed, Dominus ex gracia reservavit dictum Fatey in prox' post Festum Nativitatis Christi.

The punishment, if involving excommunication, in nearly all of the cases brought before the Salisbury consistory courts was semi-public, i.e., before the ministers and churchwardens the penitent made apology or confession. The penance included the repeating of the crime or sin, and an appeal for God's mercy and pardon. No cases of excommunication major were found. Commutation of the offender's punishment was used at times, i.e., the commuting of the penance to a fine levied by the judge. The surrogate seldom did this, leaving such a judgment to the vicar general. In the case just cited, supra, the defendant admitted the "fame" but of course did not own to the "fact" of adultery. This form of defence occurred frequently. In only two cases could it be found that the judge declared a contumacious defendant, one called three times who did not appear in person or by proxy, excommunicate.
The majority of the cases dealing with the laity included offenses of adultery, common swearing, and clandestine marriages. In the latter case, the judge of the bishop's court, usually the chancellor, pronounced the couple excommunicate. The Act Books are not comprehensive enough in most cases to yield information of the extent of the terms of the schedule of excommunication which would have been sent to the minister of the offenders.

Burnet had the reputation of a well regulated house that even some of the High Churchmen were ready to acknowledge as exemplary diocesan administration. Non-residence and pluralities were the abuses of the pastoral care that Burnet desired most to eradicate. It is not surprising to discover a number of cases dealing with non-residence in the Bishop's Act Books. An illustration is the rather moderate problem of the case of non-resident on the part of Thomas Lamplugh, the rector of Avinton. His case was introduced to the consistory court on 22 March 1697. The citation, or "monition" went out against Lamplugh on 1 February. The court discovered that

1. Ep.Lib.Act., 27 July 1697, The case of a clandestine marriage. The side heading: "Officium Domini contra Thomas Bailey de Ovitate No' Sar' et Oliv' Shaw eius pretensam uxorem, pro clandestini matrimonio." The proceedings were, in substance, "Intro' Cit', com-paruerunt ambo et" confessed that they were married at Ansty at the time and place mentioned in the certificate by them exhibited with licence or banns etc. And Tho. Shaw was there ready to prove the said certificate and affirms that the clerk of Ansty was there assisting at the said Marriage. "Unde Dominus decrevit dictos Tho. Bailey, Oliv' Shaw and Thos. Shaw incurrisse in penam (canonils?) etc, decreed, (or decrevit or decrevendum?) excom'."

2. Cf. Thoresby, Diary and Correspondence of Ralph Thoresby, 1677-1724, Ed.J. Hunter. 4 vols. London, 1832, II, 67: Burnet had "excellent converse; for notwithstanding the censures of a malignant world, he is doubtless an admirable, holy, and good man, and has one of the best regulated houses in the world." Prideaux discusses the fact that the House of Lords would not accept a bill against non-residence sponsored by Burnet.—Life, pp. 80, 2.

the rector only wished to retire, or at least his proxy in the 22 March court hearing stated that that was the situation. The judge received the rector's written resignation and deferred judication until the next session. It is significant that the clerk of the consistory court introduced the first session on Lamplugh as a case "pro non residentia", and the second session as "Officium domini contra Thom. Lamplugh, clerk, rector of Avington." In spite of the offence, the case was concluded simply by accepting the resignation and declaring the rectory to be vacant, with a decree that the patron should be written to that effect and ordered to present "a suitable parson to the rectory". This case, judicated by Burnet, is an example of moderate judgment of an offence that he considered the most serious pastoral neglect. Burnet, in his Pastoral Care, outlined the history of ecclesiastical law dealing with non-residence. He admitted that a Henrican act legalized certain types of non-residence, but that the Act of Uniformity making the Book of Common Prayer, and therefore the Ordinal law, was later and therefore superceded all other acts.

Burnet's relationship with Thomas Naish, Sub-dean of Sarum, has been variously dealt with above, but it was in the case of Burnet's judgment upon Naish's offence "pro non residentia" that the firm rule of Burnet's "regulated house" became a personal threat to Naish. Naish recorded that beginning 1 May 1705, the bishop took

3. 21 Hen. VIII, c.6(1529): cf.Burnet, Pastoral Care, p. 124.
4. Ibid. 14 Car. II, c. 4 (1662).
measures against him. In brief, the bishop deprived Naish of the rectory of St. Edmunds on the charge of non-residence. The sentence was a three year suspension, which Burnet relaxed when court action caused Naish to submit. Burnet then obliged Younger, the Dean of Salisbury, to withdraw the seal from Naish as a surrogate. Burnet's official record essentially confirms Naish's own report.

The consistory court met on 14 Jun 1705 in the presence of Burnet, Robert Loggan, chancellor, and Edward Thistlethwayte, registrar. The side-heading of the court registrar's record stated: 'Business of Dismissing and of declaring the rectory or parish church of St. Edmunds in the city of Sarum, to be void of its parson, Thomas Naish, clerk, the late rector there'. At this same period, Naish and Peter Terry, a prebendary of the cathedral, were deadlocked in litigation concerning a clandestine marriage. In that trial, Naish presented a proxy, but in the situation judicated by Burnet, Naish appeared personally. Burnet "objected" that Naish had been

1. Thomas Naish, op. cit. 8 August 1705.
3. In a case as important as the trial of a member of the cathedral clergy it would be uncommon not to find the primary court officials present. In nearly all other court cases, in this later phase of Burnet's administration, one if not all the officials were represented by surrogates. The registrar, for example, had two deputies.
instituted and admitted to the rectory and parish church of Nether Compton in Dorset, having a cure of souls annexed. He had previously been instituted, by Burnet himself, to the St. Edmund's parish church, New Sarum, also having a cure of souls annexed. Evidence was submitted to the court by the Notary Public and the deputy registrar of Dean Young.

Naish was asked if he had any reply for his defence. His answer appears to be a protestation. In his diary, Naish makes no excuse for the negligence relating to the pastoral care, but blames the whole action on Burnet's vindictiveness. The court record states that the judge, Burnet, proceeded to declare St. Edmunds to be void, warned Naish to keep away from the said church, and deprived him of the cure under the pain of law. According to Naish's interpretation, political animus intervened in the due process of justice. He attempted to justify his pastoral relationship to the St. Edmund's, as a faithful implementation of duties, by the fact that eighteen people of the parish continued to pay him quarterly donations amounting to sixty-two schillings, and that Lord Weymouth paid him ten guineas per annum, and another paid him the same amount, plus "many good gifts". On 10 July, Burnet laid sequestration on the rectory of St. Edmund's during the enforced vacancy.

Another example of non-residence prosecuted by Burnet through

1. The manuscript is illegible at this point: Ep. Lib. Act. 14 June 1705.
2. Naish, op. cit. 8 Aug. 1705; on 25 April 1708, Naish records that these "three years past...the Bishop of Sarum hath strove to crush me."
the consistory court is the case of David Jones, vicar of Marcham parish in the deanry of Abingdon. At the 1704 Triennial Visitation, Burnet received in his consistory court the presentments of the churchwardens of Marcham, who stated: "We present David Jones for saying when four children came to be catechized on the fifth day of December in ye afternoon ... 'would God grant there be no more saved att the day of Judgement.'" They accused Jones of speaking irreverently at a burial service and of misusing church property. An extraordinary aspect of this case, is the fact that Jones presented "troublesome laity", one of the rare presentments of a minister to the bishop during a diocesan visitation tour: "The Presentment of David Jones Vicar of Marcham in Berks made and exhibited at ye Visitation of ye right reverend Father in God Gilbert Lord Bp of Salisbury ..." He presented various parishioners for not attending Divine Service, for not sending their children to be baptized, for laughing and talking during the Divine Service and preaching, and one parishioner was presented for causing a "riot and disturbance" on Easter. Further, he presented the churchwardens as usurpers of the offices, for misuse of the funds, and for not providing the elements for communion. In the next Triennial

3. Jones' presentment is the longest account that Burnet received from any source during the entire visitation. In all he presented eighteen parishioners, some for four or five accounts. Apart from any culpability on the part of either defendant in the litigation, the vicar had a formidable opposition.
Visitation, 1708, the case appears again. This time the churchwardens present Jones "for not officiating at our said Chappell for the Space of one whole yeare last past." The consistory court Deposition Books at this point contain a copious account of the testimony against Jones. The testimony sworn under oath is repetitious in style and reveals a professional editorial composition of the depositions. A bill of detection was delivered to Burnet imploring that,"We therefore the churchwardens of Marsham...in the name of the whole parish most humbly beseech yor Lordship to interpose yor Authority in this Case and supply such remedy as yor Lordship in yor Wisdom shall think fit." One month after receiv-ing this letter the action depriving Vicar David Jones was taken by the Curia Cons', judged by Chancellor Loggan. The court acted by "mandate of the bishop" who had issued a citation against Jones for non-residence. The citation was issued, "v. et m." (i.e. "by ways and means"—"viis et modis") stating that Jones had thirty days to answer the summons and comply with the terms of residence in his vicarage which included the ministry of the word of God and the sacraments. The citation concluded that he may show cause for non-residence at the consistory court of 29 November. At the said consistory court session the endorsed certificate of the apparitor was presented as evidence that the citation had been duly served by

affixing it to the door of the vicarage house. Not appearing, after being summoned three times, Jones was pronounced contumacious by the judge. The bishop had ordered that the bill of detection and petition of the churchwardens of Marcham be read in court. After the summoning of Jones once again, the judicature was pronounced that the cure of souls had devolved on the judge who reserved the right to elect and nominate a curate. This was done and the curate’s annual salary was guaranteed from the sequestration of all profits. Judge Loggan appointed the two churchwardens as sequestrators and the letters of sequestration were so ordered. At the next session of the consistory court, "Samuel Lisle, A.M.," was appointed curate to Marcham, and the contention between pastor and people at Marcham was resolved. The Marcham parish churchwardens’ presentments, at the 1711 Triennial Visitation, represented no problems to the bishop.

Burnet’s censure of the constitutional structure of the diocesan courts was theological as well as practical. "The worst of all is the horrid abuse of ye Bishops Courts wch ought to be ye means of reclaiming (sinners?), at least of making them ashamed of their sins: but they are the most corrupt courts of ye Nation, in which they think nothing but of squeezing and oppressing people by all ye dilatory and fraudulent ways that are possible, and I do not

see how it is possible to reform ym, for they seem to subsist upon nothing but disorder. And whether in this age we shall be able to find out an effectuall remedy to those errors, is that which I do much doubt." In the preface to the second part of his History of the Reformation, Burnet makes a similar accusation. He wished to see something closer to the example of the Scottish Kirk where excommunication and discipline were directly linked to the pastoral care of the local parishes. In his Exposition of the Thirty-Nine Articles he traced briefly the history of the spiritual court system from the ancient penitentiary canons. The evolution of the sacrament of penance and the private confession were the first causes of the deterioration of the spiritual courts;

So that instead of the first Simplicity which was evident in the Constitution of the Church, not only for the first Three Centuries, but for a great many more that came afterwards, there grew to be so much Practice, and so may Subterfuges in the Rules and manner of proceeding of those Courts, that the Church has long groaned under it, and has wished to see that effectuall, which was designed in the beginnings of the Reformation. The Draught of a Reformation of those Courts is still extant; that so instead of the Intricacies, Delays, and other Disorders that have arisen from the Canon Law, we might have another short and plain Body of Rules; which might be managed, as anciently, by Bishops, with the Assistance of their Clergy. 3

3. Burnet, Exposition Thirty-Nine Articles, pp. 366, 9. Burnet's doubts about reform in his generation were correct; the Church Discipline Act, in 1640, 3, 4, Vic. c. 86, was the first such to incorporate some of the needed reforms. Cf. Burnet, Pastoral Care, pp. 136, 191, 92; and History Own Time, II. 642, 643. Burnet was equally discontented with the archidiaconal administration that had developed during the middle ages and he wanted to see the re-establishment of rural deans. He detested the courts of the archdeacons as both a usurpation of episcopal rights and as an ineffectual spiritual discipline.—Ibid. II, 635. Edmund Gibson agreed, cf. his Visitations Parochial and General, 1717, Preface, p. xii.
Ordination, along with confirmation and visitation, constituted a third indispensible duty of the diocesan ministry. In the penultimate visitation charge to the clergy Burnet affirmed the traditional importance of the episcopal oversight of ordination:

I must insist yet a little more largely on one Particular, which is of great Importance: there is no Part of the Episcopal Function that is more appropriate to it, and which the Church is more concerned, than the ordaining of Priests and Deacons; and for this we have the more to answer, since it opens the Door to let Men into the Church, out of which it is not so easy to cast unworthy Persons. 1

In a pre-Revolution royalist tract, Burnet had written,

So a bishop that shall have the chief inspection, both in the forming of those whom he is to ordain, and over the labours of those already placed, whom he shall direct and assist in everything, and who governs himself by the rules of the primitive church, and the advice of his brethren, is the likeliest instrument both for propagating and preserving the Christian religion. 2

In 1694, Burnet refused to ordain a candidate to holy orders who obtained the presentation to the livings at Boyton and Sheringhton. George Hickes criticized Burnet for employing his episcopal power to close the "door" for Lambert's reception of orders. Lambert, who was from a noble family had been an Army officer, fought in the Battle of Boyne, and received a bachelor of laws degree from Merton College. Burnet refused to ordain him on the basis of his failure of the examination trial. During the summer of 1694, when Burnet was in residence at the bishop's palace, Lambert was directed in

1. Burnet, A Letter from the Bishop of Sarum to the Clergy of his Diocese to be read at the Triennial Visitation in May, 1711, (No title page), London, 1711, p. 4.

2. Burnet, The History of the Rights of Princes in the disposing of Ecclesiastical Benefices and Church-lands relating chiefly to the ...Regale..., London, 1682, "Preface".
preparatory studies suggested by the bishop himself. Burnet had considered the possibility of ordaining Lambert at the Michaelmas embertide, provided that sufficient maturation took place during the preceding months thereby warranting the ordination. Again he was refused. Burnet said that Whitby confirmed his own account of Lambert's inability. Lambert, according to Non-juror Hickes, who received his account from "a man of unblemish'd reputation for his integrity so he is an Authentical Witness for Mr. Lambert", had been assured of receiving orders at the Michaelmas season. Lord Lovelace, Lambert's patron, secured an examination and subsequent testimonials of his presentee, from "Dr. Beveridge, Dr. Aliston, Dr. Isham". Hickes used this to blame the bishop for an instance of duplicity, from which he concluded that the bishop "is never to believed" and applied the criticism to his Memoirs of the Hamiltons. Burnet accepted the testimonials, including his letters from the college, but the right of institution was given to Chancellor Geddes by the bishop's fiat.

1. Hickes' account: Rawlinson MS D. 841 ff. 7-10; Burnet's defence: Reflections upon a Pamphlet, pp. 16 ff; Salisbury Diocesan Registry, Ep. Reg. (Bishop's Register) 1694, ordinations listed at the end of the register in a back to front order. The September 26 ordination was one of a few occasions that Burnet ordained only one candidate. It was held at the bishop's residence. Burnet refused a candidate referred to him by Archbishop Tillotson in 1700.—Vide Burnet to Tenison Letter, 29 July 1700, Lambeth MSS. 952 ff. 73. Thomas Burnet records his father's refusal of a son of a noble family of Oxfordshire who was presented by one of Queen Anne's ministers, the Lord Chancellor. After a threatened lawsuit, Burnet personally trained the candidate and "some Months" later passed him through the qualification examinations.—History Own Time, II, 708.
Burnet had said, "I find the strictness of my examination frightens the clergy." Burnet's account that he never gave over the examination of his candidates to a chaplain is verified by the ordination papers. At the age of seventy he wrote that ember weeks were the "Burden and Grief" of his life because of the qualifications of those he examined disheartened him. This exaggeration conflicts with his own record that "those who came to me were generally well prepared as to their Studies, and they brought Testimonials and Titles, which is all that in our present Constitution can be demanded." Burnet's method of examining candidates included exhortations about the "Motion of the Holy Ghost" in their calling and awakening "their consciences" to the pastoral care. At times the examinations were held before the resident canons of the cathedral. On the whole, Burnet lamented the system of ordination trials and desired drastic reforms. Particularly he suggested that candidates ought to be under the oversight of a bishop for at least a year during which time they could meet the principal clergy of the diocese and learn the duties of the pastoral care.

1. Burnet, Harleian MS 6584. f. 296b
2. Wren Hall, Subscription Books, 1689 ff.
5. Ibid.
The devotional emphasis of the ember week preparation for ordination is evident in Thomas Naish's diary: (21 September 1690) "I was admitted deacon in the cathedral Church of Sarum by Gilbert Lord Bishop of Sarum. 0 Lord who hast called me to this holy office in thy Church, enable me faithfully to discharge the same, let my life and conversation be such as becomes thy gospell, that I may be an honour to Thy Religion." Naish was under the legal age for ordination to the diaconate, but obtained a faculty dispensing the canon law. The following year, Naish wrote: (20 September 1691) "I was ordained priest by Gilbert Lord Bishop of Sarum; Dr. Woodward, Dean, Dr. Whitby, Chanter, Dr. Alix, Treasurer of the Church of Sarum, laid their hands upon my head at my ordination. Give me wisdom, 0 Lord, and enlighten mine eyes that I may see the wonderfull things out of Thy law, and enable me to declare the same to that people committed to my care, and whilst I preach to others, grant that I may not become a cast away for Jesus Christ's sake."

Ordinations held extra quatuor tempora were disallowed by Canon law. Due to parliamentary duties and travel conditions it

1. Naish, op. cit. 21 Sept. 1690.
3. Naish, op. cit. 20 Sept 1691; cf. Ep. Reg. confirms the ordination; cf. Burnet's statement that he never used a substitute for examinations—Supplement, p. 502; further more, he wanted the Scottish pattern of "Expectant preacher" trials to be emulated in the Church of England.—Ibid. 456 f. In a sense, he did this by the public trial of the candidate before the chapter, however they had no vote on the acceptance of the candidate as did the presbyters in the second episcopate in Scotland.
4. Canon\(^{xxi}(1604)\).
was not always convenient or possible for bishops to ordain in the diocese during embertides. Burnet's record shows a remarkable consistency which varies seldom from the canonical regulations. Only three ordinations were held outside of the diocese, in addition to three ordinations at the bishop's London residence, held during parliamentary sessions.

The bishop ordained in the cathedral, at embertide ordinations. None of the ordinations held outside of embertides was held in the cathedral, but the bishop's residence in Sarum or Windsor was then used. Only three ordinations did not meet the canonical requirement that a candidate for deacon's orders shall be twenty-three, and for the priesthood twenty-four. Thomas Hooper, John Guineet, and Robert Loggan, who became chancellor to the bishop, were ordained to the priesthood, one to four days after their ordination to the diaconate. However, in no instance, did Burnet ordain a candidate to both orders in a single day. Of the one hundred sixty candidates Burnet ordained to the priesthood, just less than seventy-five percent had university degrees.


4. Canons xxxi--xxxv (1604) governing ordinations; no. xxxii: "... no bishop shall make any person, of whatever qualities or gifts soever, a deacon and minister both together upon one day."

5. Ep. Reg. 1689 ff; cf. 212 of 373 clergy under Bishop Crewe of Durham had university degrees—Sykes, From Sheldon to Secker, p.12; cf. Ibid. p. 11, re 31 of 37 ordinands of Bishop Skinner who were graduates.
Burnet ordained on seventy-eight occasions and only six times outside his own diocese. In his twenty-six years as bishop, Burnet ordained three hundred three candidates to the ministeries of deacons and priests.

Not all of Burnet’s relationships with the clergy were as straight forward or fruitful as his diocesan oversight of visitation, confirmation and ordination. Originally, the Bishop of Salisbury was the titular head of the cathedral body of clergy,

1. Sykes stated that Wake and Gibson preferred to ordain in London, as rule, even during sessions of parliament. Gibson held fifty of a total of sixty ordinations in London. Sharp ordained to both orders in a single day.—Sykes, op. cit. pp. 200,1. Bishop Nicolson opposed private ordinations in London, and made only one exception. However, he had far fewer occasions for ordination than many other bishops, thirty-seven times in sixteen years.—James, op. cit. p. 139, 40.

2. Cf. Cardwell, Documentary Annals, (1844 ed) II, 322 (no. 152), 342, 3, 4 (no. 157), and pp. 354-8 (no. 161), for the articles agreed to, by ten bishops in 1685 under Sancroft’s leadership, regarding the regulation of ordination practices: possession of a degree, a bona fide title, testimonials, full examination, et al. —vide, G. D'Oyly, Life of William Sancroft, London, 1821, I, 213. Also, cf. the 15 Feb. 1695 "Injunctions given by the King's Majesty to the Archbishops of the Realm to be Communicated ... to the Bishops and the rest of the Clergy." The Injunctions of William demand the strict enforcement of the Canons 34 and 35. A list of all ordinands was to be submitted to the primates. The first six of the eighteen Injunctions governed ordination.—id. pp. 5, 6. Another high standard of ordination practices from this period was the letter of Wake in 1716,—vide Sykes, Church and State, pp. 111 f.

but even in the time of Osmund, it was a position of honour that was not commensurate with jurisdictional power. The bishop, himself one of the "viri canonici prebendati", had the right to attend chapter meetings, in fact the bishop held the prebend of Pottern. Sancroft and Ward made clear this episcopal right in the controversy in which Burnet's predecessor was entangled with Dean Pierce. The bishop had constitutional rights in the Divine Services held in the cathedral, which Burnet exercised. All prebendaries were collated by the bishop, with the exception of the dean, an exception that led to more than one difficulty. Prebendaries were installed by the dean according to letters mandatory sent by the bishop after the collation. The bishop, at Sarum, had no authority to draw from the "communa" fund of the cathedral, a right held by other prebendaries according to certain stipulations. Originally the dean was appointed by the canons, from among their own number. Charles II began a precedent that the crown appointee was made dean. Robert Woodward, 1691-1702, Edward Young, 1702-1705, and John Younger, from 1705, were the successive deans appointed during Burnet's tenor as bishop.

1. Dean of Salisbury from 1675-1691.—Jones, Fasti, p. 323; Sancroft and Ward's case,—Tanner MS. 143. f. 207.


Four months after Woodward's election as dean, he became involved with Burnet over a disputed jurisdiction regarding the collation of a curate. One of Burnet's questions at issue with successive deans concerned residence. The office was treated by most deans as a sine cura animarum. When a new Convocation met 30 December 1701, and Dean Woodward was elected Prolocutor, another fact that emerged in the contentious relationship between bishop and dean. The Lower House of the Convocation continued to sit after Archbishop Tenison's prorogation, and it assumed a juridical role in an examination of Toland's Christianity Not Mysterious. Later, the same body of clergy gave their "Representations of their Sense upon the Bishop of Sarum's 'Exposition of the Articles of the Church of England'" which they said was against the received doctrine of the Church. On 1 June 1700 Pocock wrote to Charlett that "the breach between the Bishop & Deane growes every day wider." Woodward died the following February and was succeeded by Young. On the occasion of Young's death three years later, the bishop preached a sermon in his honour in the cathedral. The memorial evinced genuine sympathy for the deceased: "Death has been of late walking around us, and making breach upon breach upon us; and has now carried away the Head of this Body with a Stroke; so that he whom you saw a Week ago distributing the Holy Mysteries, is now laid in


2. At this point of the Convocation Controversy, Burnet, in a naive diplomatic move, demanded that the Lower House provide specific references: considered in Chp. IV. supra.

the Dust; but he still lives; in the many Excellent Directions he hath left us, both how to live, and how to die." Burnet's relationships with the respective deans of Sarum were appeared to be symptomatic of political, rather than personal antagonisms.

The appointment of John Younger 18 September 1705 to succeed in the office of the Dean of Salisbury was a sign of the times in which the crown appointments were falling away from the overwhelming whig influence of the previous decade. Burnet held out for another appointee as late as 9 August when he wrote to Sidney Godolphin to use his influence to block the presentment of Younger: "Dr Younger says he has both the Queen's promise and your Lps for the first Deanry, if it is so I can only be sensible of my misfortune but will not offer a word against that which must be ever served." Burnet assured Godolphin that Younger was unfit on the grounds that he was "Mr Foxe's Tutor", the tory member of parliament from Salisbury. Daniel Whitby and Richard Bentley were alternates suggested by Burnet, an indication of his own political bias.

In less than a year Burnet was involved in controversy with Younger. A vacant prebend stall at Salisbury, one of the few that required residency, was the point at stake. The bishop desired Kennett for the post, and claimed in his correspondence with Younger, *ex post facto*, that he had Younger's promise to that effect. Burnet

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3. Ibid.
accused Younger, in an unjustified pique, that the dean was not
upholding the interests of the Queen, actually the interests of the
bishop. Younger replied: "But my greatest trouble is yt yr ldp
shd impute our proceedings to want of due regard to her Matie; for
whom that I ever had the most profound veneration." Younger
assured the bishop that his faithfulness to his diocesan is
beyond reproach and proved by the fact of "putting the SubDean out
of his office of Surrogate (of wch I found him in possession)
merely because he was under yr Ldps displeasure." Naish was the
subdean referred to. The example illustrates the inter-personal
relationships of a bishop and clergy. Both the clergy and bishop
used sources at hand to implement their own policies. In this
case the bishop and dean had separate interests to serve. Younger
alluded to the place of Whitby in his dispute with the bishop, inferring that Whitby misinformed Burnet about his intentions.
It is not insignificant that Whitby had been Burnet's choice for
Younger's position. Younger resolved his case on the grounds that
Kennett could not have been resident, and that the candidate
finally elected could be. At the time, the cathedral clergy were
depleted of residentiary canons with the exception of Whitby, and
he was not continuously present. Burnet's case in the debate was

3. Ibid. 22 August 1706.
5. Bodl. MS. Add. D. 23 f. 30, 22 Aug 1706; Burnet, who wrote much
about non-residence, obtained a dispensation for his own appointee,
Peter Alix, to be absent.—Ibid.
written from his residence in Salisbury, to Younger, residing in London, a fact Burnet subtilely illuminates. The bishop objected that Kennett was not made aware of the statutory clause demanding residence for the prebendary that was vacant, nor asked if he could have complied. According to the record of the chapter, the statute by which Younger claimed that Kennett was rejected, was never discussed. Furthermore, the bishop objected that the Statute Book governing the prebendaries was never brought to the chapter house during the meeting. Burnet concluded the case over which he lost influence: "I confess your party here give it a properer (sic) name than you do, when they say you outwitted me tho in such practices; I do not envie you ye preference, I could more easily bear it if you owned you brok your word because you resolved you would have the chapter in your power."

Thomas Naish, Subdean of Sarum, was another example of the disorder in the bishop's house as a result of incompatible bishop-clergy relationships. Naish became subdean and rector of St. Edmund's church in 1694. His father was Clerk of the Fabric of the cathedral and was a high tory political sympathizer if not outspoken advocate. The parish of St. Edmund's was itself a symbol of conflict between diocesan and local control. When Burnet appointed Naish to that rectory, he exerted a disputed episcopal right and

1. Ibid. f. 33, 12 August and 24 Aug.
2. Ibid. 24 August 1706, f. 31.
succeeded. The history of St. Edmund's enunciates the vicissitudes of jurisdiction in the Anglican church. Originally the right of presentation was held by the bishops of Sarum. In 1547 the advowsons were granted, in fee, to a laymen, who in turn sold his rights. Bishop Jewel instituted an incumbent there, but Bishop Davenport presented to the living in 1622, an incumbent who died in 1640. During the civil strife the vestry took control, and in 1668 both the vestry and Bishop Ward presented Whitby to the living, thereby leaving the question of jurisdiction unresolved. In 1694, the vestry lost control to Burnet, when their nominee, faced with the bishop's opposition, withdrew. As subdean, Naish had archidiaconal responsibilities over the Cathedral Close. He was also in charge of the city grammar school, but an over-lapping of duties with the chancellor of the cathedral in this function created another source of conflict. Naish did not have a seat in the cathedral chapter. His diary offers illuminating insights into the ambitions of a clergyman and his image of the bishop. The political overtones of the day colored every aspect of Naish's rise and fall in regards to the patronage of Burnet. When Naish sought the favour of Woodward, in order to gain the office of surrogate in Woodward's

2. Ibid.
5. Burnet did not like office seekers: Supplement, p. 503; cf. Sykes, Church and State, p. 205, the confession of one presbyter, "you must bristle and try to peep after it, as most of the profession do these days."
court, a lucrative position, his loyalty to superiors was divided. The break with Burnet came in 1701, at which time Wiltshire had been represented in the House of Commons by two whigs. Naish, seeking the patronage of both the whig bishop and the tory dean was forced by the political circumstances of elections to make a decision. He chose to support the tories, and his relationship with Burnet rapidly deteriorated. His prosecution in the consistory court for non-residence has been considered. After that Naish received the support of first Viscount Weymouth, a patron of Non-jurors, but who himself took the oath. Naish, a proctor of the clergy for Bath and Wells several times, was outspoken in favour of the independency of Convocation. The termination of his calculated friendship with Burnet was inevitable.

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1. D.N.E. cf. Slatter, pp. 13 ff;

2. Naish's Diary illustrates the progression of his encounters with Burnet. 28 June 1694: "I was instituted and installed in the Sub-deanery of the Church of Sarum ... by the Right Reverend Father in God Gilbert Lord Bishopp of Sarum; my noble patron." 16 June 1695: "Being under some apprehensions of the Bishopp of Sarum's displeasure, about marrying without license..." 20 Mar 1695: "Dr Thomas Ward, Archdeacon of Wilts and Curate of St. Thomas dyed this morning. I hope to succeed him..." (He did not). 25 April 1695: "I preached at the cathedrall, ...My Lord Bishopp was pleased very much to commend my sermon." 13 Sept. 1696: "My Lord Bishop of Sarum my noble friend and patron preached for me and shewed me great civility." 6 Oct. 1696: Burnet told Naish's father that "he doubted not but that I would be a considerable man in the church." 9 Feb. 1697: "I went over to Pevsy to Dr. Woodward, Dean of Sarum, to beg him to accept me as his surrogate ..." (Noted in Ep. Lib. Act. 13 Apr. 1697) 27 Feb. 1697: "The dean signed my commission to be his surrogate this day; he is to have half fees with me. 28 Feb 1697: Naish asked Burnet for another office, and the bishop responded: "I shall endeavour to give you all possible encouragement...but..." 1 November 1697: "I went to London with my Lord Bishopp and his Lady; (Mary Scott, second wife, vide, D.N.E.)...the Mayor of Salisbury and the alderman went to give my Lord a visit and spoke to him in my behalf that he would be pleased to give me a prebend; they had
Footnote 2 continued from preceding page.

his promise..." (?) Jan. 1698: "I gave my Lady Burnet 4 or 5 sermons...she professed a great kindness and respect to me, and next to my good Lord Bishop the best friend I have had."

13 June 1700: (Burnet's promise of a prebendary is still good, but not yet realized). 7 May 1701: "I wayted on the Bishop of Sarum in London. The prebend of Husborn and Burbage was then void, but my Lord made me no offer of it wherein I think he hath not dealt fairly with me after so many fair promises." (cf. Jones, Fasti, p. 375; Charles Mutel received the prebendary in question). 17 May 1701: "I wayted on my Lord Altham, Dean of Exon, at Eggom near Stanes. He told me of 3 articles which were drawn up against the Bishop of Sarum, (viz.) for heresy, (vide Clarke and Foxcroft, op. cit. p. 388) and protecting servants that were guilty of notorious extortion, and promoting symony, of which last particular he asked me whether it would be any disadvantage to me if he used my name as an instance....I consented...because I think the Bishopp of Sarum has wronged me in keeping a prebend from me so long." 13 Feb. 1702: All he says of Woodward's death, "...by his death I lost the office I enjoyed under him as his surrogate. Hearing that Mr. Young, Fellow of Winchester, was likely to succeed him, I made a journey to London Feb 23." 8 Aug. 1705: "...I much want at this time (due to Young's death), to reconcile matters between me and the Bishop of Sarum." (On the same day Naish went to Younger with the news of Young's death.) "he hath dispatched letters to the Queen, and doubts not but that he shall succeed, which will be a great happiness to me."

Burnet's prosecution of Naish followed in the next three years.
Collations to the forty-five prebendaries at Salisbury were in the office of the bishop. Burnet was accused by George Hickes of appointing only Latitudinarians. Daniel Whitby, collated by Bishop Ward in 1672 to the office of the Precentor of Sarum, became closely aligned with the Latitudinarians as a result of his Protestant Reconciler which advocated toleration. Chief Justice Jeffreys had attempted to obtain Whitby's indictment. Whitby was a canon residentiary. As precentor, he supervised the worship of the cathedral, and, in lieu of his office, held the rectory of Westbury. The precentor ranked second to the dean among cathedral dignitaries. Michael Geddes was Burnet's first appointment to the chancellorship of the cathedral, in 1691. Third in rank of the "Quatuor Personae" of the cathedral, he was the "theology professor" of the chapter of canons, thereby being required to lecture, or appoint a lectureship to the cathedral each year. John Boadly was appointed by Burnet as the successor of Geddes in 1713. Peter Allix was another Burnet appointee, to the office of treasurer for the cathedral. Both Geddes and Allix represent the

1. George Hickes, Some Discourses upon Dr. Burnet..., p. 22.
2. Tanner MSS. 34 and 143 passim.
3. He died in 1726.
7. 15 January 1690.
kind of men that Hickes criticized Burnet for appointing. Geddes, in the bishop's estimation, was "a learned and wise man, he had a true notion of popery, as a political combination, managed by a falsehood and cruelty, to establish a temporal empire in the person of the popes. All his thoughts and studies were chiefly employed in detecting this; of which he has given many useful and curious essays...." Geddes was a Scotsman, and wrote a number of books including *The Church History of Ethiopia*. Allix was a Frenchman of the Reformed Church who was not re-ordained by Burnet upon his collation to the cathedral office and institution in the episcopal ministry.

Archdeacons of the diocese appointed by Burnet included Jonas Proast, of Berks, who was of one mind with Burnet's opinion of the Revolution. Thomas Lambert, Joseph Kelsey, and John Hoadly, a brother of Bishop Hoadly, were successive appointees of Burnet to the archidiaconal office of Sarum which included five deanries. Burnet inherited the appointment of Bishop Ward to the archdeanry of Wilts. Ward had presented his nephew to the office. Burnet

collated Cornelius Yeates to that archdeaconry in 1696. Yeates had been a staunch opponent of Seth Ward.

Of the large body of cathedral clergy, variously termed "canonici simplices" and "viri canonici et praebendati", several appointees of Bishop Burnet are noteworthy. "Dr. Kennet goes for Sarum tomorrow," Gibson wrote to Charlett, "to take possession of ye Prebend become void by Mr. Young's promotion; and I hope, upon a vacancy, he may stand fair for a Canonry of ye church." Burnet collated to fifty-three vacancies in prebendaries between 1689 and 1715. John Craig was an example of the liberal minded divine who was prominent in theology and the sciences for his Theologiae Christianae Principia Mathematica. He attempted to apply rules of science to theology. Craig was another Scotsborn Anglican divine. He was a close friend of Newton. John Colbatch is yet another example of a Burnet appointee. He was a professor of "casuistical divinity" at Cambridge, and had an eminent reputation in the field of moral philosophy. Colbatch was contracted by Burnet to tutor the bishop's eldest son. Among these several appointments of

1. Famous Salisbury prebendaries include: Hooker, Pearson, Butler, John Bampton, and Edward Chandler.
Burnet, the truth of Hickes' complaint is obvious. Burnet preferred men of toleration and liberal mentality. Burnet did collate to prebendaries, ministers of principal market towns, whose livings were insufficient and whose ministry was the most taxing of the various parishes in the diocese. His placing a bond on prebendaries to guarantee residence was used by the high-flyers in an accusation of simony. Burnet had no choice but to drop a plan that may have had a major effect on the most serious pastoral abuse.

Juxtaposition to the acrimonious criticisms of Burnet's political opponents, such as Swift, Hickes, Elliot, Leslie, and Hill, all given ample notation in Clarke and Foxcroft's biography, there are the scattered comments of a few presbyters like Thomas Tanner of Lavington, who acknowledged the work of his diocesan in a kindly way, and the anonymous Wiltshire presbyter who defended his bishop against those who impugned his character for political

1. Vide Clarke and Foxcroft, op. cit. 294, 344-5, 393, 407-8, 414, and 464 for Burnet's part in Queen Anne's Bounty and the effect it had on the clergy. This effort of Burnet was little appreciated by the clergy, and was probably not too significant in the total view of the economic depression of many livings. cf. Burnet's memorandum to William, 1697, Bodl. MS. Add. D. 23 f. 112.

purposes.

Burnet's relationships with dissenters and Non-jurors in his diocese reflect the historic problems of the post-Revolutionary ministry. One opinion about Burnet's activities regarding dissenters was clearly stated by a High Churchman:

There hapned lately a quarrell among the disscenters at Salisbury, wch Calamy went to Reconcile. The Bp, hearing of his being there, Invited him to the palace, and was privat with him an houre and halfe. In wch time he told him wt a friend he was and would ever be to the party, that the difference between the Church and the Conventicles was triplyng, and things of no moment, advized them to stand their ground, especial to prevent the Conformity bill: there was much more which I have forgot. Calamy sends an account of this Matter to a friend in ye Isle of Wright. It happened an honest man of ye same name lived neare or at the place, and by that meanes ye letter fell into his hands, and is divulged.

1. Cf. Tanner to Tanner, Tanner MSS. 25, f. 170, Ballard MS 13. f. 68, and Ballard MS. 30. f. 42; and n.a., A Letter to Mr. E---a North-Wiltshire Clergyman...wherein a Character is given of the Bp of Sarum, and an Account of the Clergy's Behaviour towards him, London, 1710. Most evidence relating to character references, however, either negative or positive towards their subject, are difficult to judge on the basis of fact removed from political bias. Naish's diary is an example. The bishop's stock went up and down according to Naish's anticipation of advancement. Apart from the subjective aspects regarding personal relations with the clergy, there is no doubt that Burnet preferred men who were of similar political and religious persuasion. The moderation inculcated in Burnet from the earliest years later became a political and religious tenet, as well as a vested interest.

2. Clarke and Foxcroft provide a full discussion of this aspect of Burnet's ministry. Material discussed here supplements Miss Foxcroft's research: vide, Life of Burnet, pp. 105, 6, 8, 299, 323-5, and 397-402, 406-8.

Fear and prejudice towards those, like Burnet, who advocated toleration was, in some cases, unbounded. "I have now undertaken to shew the mischief that the Bishop of Sarum has done to the Christian world & will doe, if he be not stopt in his career," was the feeling expressed by Edmund Elys in a letter to Walker. The actual situation of the dissenters in the Salisbury diocese was marked by a gradual decline of non-conformity. In the archdeaconry of Berks, which included the most active locations of non-conformity in the diocese, there were twenty-seven ministers ejected in 1662. Non-conformist ministers licensed under Charles II's royal indulgence included twenty presbyterians, nine Baptists, and two congregationalists. In 1715 there were only twenty-seven dissenter congregations in Berks which were reduced to nine by 1772. Charles Leslie referred to the dissenters in Salisbury as "those without number", but Burnet said that he had heard of only four families of dissenters in Salisbury and they were living peaceably. That the more than three hundred churchwarden present-
party discovered, that Burnet entertained Calamy at the bishop's palace, but the account is given a much different interpretation by Calamy, and the dissenting minister who accompanied him. Calamy stated that most of the time was spent in a deadlocked argument regarding predestination.

Burnet's attitude toward Roman Catholics, in some instances, was imbued with irrationality. In an account of the papists in the diocese, he warned the clergy of the "boldness and Presumptions of the Romish Priests and Papists in this Kingdom". The 1704 returns revealed that fewer than 200 Roman Catholics lived in the entire diocese, and that they were dispersed in families of four or five throughout the three major archdeaconries.

In the cases of Non-jurors living in the diocese, Burnet demonstrated a good deal of respect and patience by not pressing the letter of the law, or forcing a reaction by an attempt to suppress the Non-jurors. The one exception of virulent Jacobitism in Burnet's clergy was William Beach of Orcheston, St. George's parish, who refused to give up his living; however, with Burnet's assistance he was settled in Salisbury where the bishop allowed him to hold services in his house.

Interpretations of the bishop's


life and work generally divided along the political lines regarding
tolerance and the Protestant Succession. The division tended to
create extremism in opinion.

In political affairs, H.C. Foxcroft has dealt in length with
Burnet's activities. But there are a number of facets of Burnet's
public service, that are related to his ministry as a bishop, which
have received little attention. In Sarum politics, predominately
a tory center, the whig bishop was several times embroiled in
local disputes. When Sir Thomas Monpesson, a whig member of the
House of Commons, died in 1701, the vacancy created a moderate
political controversy in Sarum. Fox, a tory, regained his office
in a disputed election, and held the seat until his death in 1713.
Burnet encountered the Sarum tories again in 1710. Thomas Naish,
by then a staunch opponent of Burnet, reported the reaction to
the bishop's sermon defending the decision taken against Sacheverall:
"The mayor and several of the corporation went out of the church.
The bishop greatly resents this affront." In the next year, one

Footnote 3 continued from preceding page.

Nathaniel Spinckes, the incumbent of St. Martin's, Salisbury, who
later became a Non-juroring bishop. --J.H. Overtan, The Non-Jurors,
129-33. There were seven Non-jurors among the clergy of Salisbury in
1690. Hickes' view of Burnet's dealings with Beach, cf., Some Discourses
on Burnet, pp. 15 ff; and Burnet's reply to Hickes, Reflections on a
Pamphlet, 62-66, and History Own Time, II, 710.

1. Cf. The compliment of Burnet's views and ministry by William Ayrost
of Berlin, a friend of Daniel Jablonski, who had read with favour Bur-
net's conception of comprehension. --Ballard MS. 27. f. 22, to Charlett,
7 Mar. 1708; and the remark of Hickes that Burnet was a traitor to his
order, and that it would be "happy for ye Church of England, if he, &
some few such as he ye are traitors to their own order would renounce
it..." Rawl. MS. D. 841. f. 28. Burnet's last written word concerns a
promise to help a Non-juror, a friend of Hickes. --Bodl. MS. Add. Eng.

2. Naish, op. cit. 15 May 1710: Sarum had been a center of conflict over
the Revolutionary Convention Parliament of 1689. In virtue of letters
issued by the Prince of Orange, two members to the convention were
of the city's aldermen was convicted, in a litigation initiated by the bishop, for an action of *scandalum magnatum*. He had said that the bishop "preached lies". A significant aspect of this trial is that the defendant was the brother of Thomas Naish. Burnet's reputation was not enhanced by the fact that an "Anabaptist preacher" was the principal witness for the plaintiff, nor by the circumstances that the judication took place in London, and was prosecuted by a "partial" judge. Burnet's participation in political action was consistently a supportive rôle for Whig policy. In the action of the Fenwick Attainder, his political partisanship conflicted with, and superseded his previous conviction concerning ministers' involvement in *de causis Sanguinis*.

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Footnote 2 continued from preceding page.

chosen "by number", that is, by the "mayor and commonalty" and not by the franchised citizens, the electorate. The citizens had chosen two opposition members who of course were not seated, but in the years to come, these persons won seats in the House of Commons. The appointment of a Whig bishop to Salisbury, at that time, was a further symbol of William's intentions and increased the resentment against Burnet.—Cf. Benson and Hatcher, op. cit. VI, 493.


3. Cf. Burnet, History Own Time, II, 185-189; his own rationalization of the circumstances; cf. his Memorial of Diverse Grievances, Mis. Scot. His. Soc. II, 304 ff., IX, A. 1.: Burnet condemned the Scottish episcopate for similar action. In the election of Fox, the Salisbury M.P., Burnet's active participation in the proceedings led to severe criticism from members of the clergy.—vide, Ballard MS. 21 f. 222 John Baron to Charlett: "...Mr. Fox's success very much ruffed Mr. good Lord of Sarum's Lawn sleeves." Cf. Foxcroft's excellent discussion of Burnet's work on the Ecclesiastical Commission, op. cit. pp. 332n, 332-3, 374-5, 388, 393.
Preaching on public occasions celebrating national events, was a significant aspect of the bishop's ministry. Burnet made ample use of such circumstances appertaining to "thanksgiving" and "fast" sermons for promoting the cause of William III and Mary II's government, and a whig policy during the reign of Queen Anne. Preaching a Fast-Sermon, "Imploring a Blessing on the War" begun with France, Burnet gave an historical picture of the suffering of protestant churches which "have drunk deep of the Cup of God's Wrath." He concluded that England must intercede, "that either we must be the Instruments of destroying that Scourage of God's Wrath, or must be destroyed by it." The crisis of war called forth exhortations to repentance, in order that God's favour may "give Peace in our Land...that we shall chase our Enemies, and that they shall fall before us by the Sword. Then we may expect that God will not only go forth with our Armies, and fight our Battels for us, but that he will whet his Sword, and that his hand will take hold on judgment." The sermon used the occasion for imbellishing the tenets of toleration and comprehension on the national front. These were not only principles inherent in Burnet's philosophical attitudes, but controversial political sentiments.

Public service in the ministry of the bishop of course extended beyond political issues. For example, Burnet used the fifteen

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2. Ibid. p. 43.
hundred pounds per annum received for the preceptorship of the Duke of Gloucester to set up a trust fund for grants to students in both the universities and the trades. Another feature of the fund was to support the children of indigent clergy in his diocese who were deserving of university training. The archdeacons were to administer the subsidies. In the diocese there were forty-six almshouses, free schools, and hospitals, in the care of the diocesan office and administrated through the respective archdeacons.

Within The Close, there were four hospitals, a College of Matrons for widows of the clergy, and a house for the poor. The Archdeaconry of Sarum had seven hospitals; Wilts had eleven almshouses and eight free schools; and Berks, twelve almshouses and hospitals, and ten schools. Burnet called the free schools, or "charity schools", the "Glory of the present age" and visited several schools and almshouses near Salisbury on a regular basis. The officer of one almshouse described the bishop's "heart way" of instructing the catechism at the school and "recommending charity in a general way". He said that such a method as Burnet used would reap a hundred fold in the "knowledge and faith" of the scholars. Burnet maintained at his own expense, fifty impoverished children at Salisbury, and

1. Rawlinson MS. D. 1172 f. 2, Burnet to Proast (Archdeacon of Berks), 18 Oct. 1698; cf. ibid. f. 3, Proast to the clergy of his archdeaconry. Trade students were subsidized with five pounds per annum; the payment was made semi-annually.—Rawl. D. 1172. f. 2.

2. Tanner MS. 143. f. 273: listing institutions operating in 1687.

3. Burnet, Exposition Church Catechism, "Preface".

paid a school master to instruct them. He often visited the school to hear them recite passages of Scripture for which he gave a reward of "18 pence a piece". The school was designed to teach the children a trade as well as reading and writing.

Several public societies received Burnet's attention. In 1700, he preached before the Societies for the Reformation of Manners. His Scottish experience at Salton would have been conducive to his acceptance of the methods used by the society to expose and punish immorality. He believed that the need for such societies was partly based on the regenerate lives of some of the clergy, and that a society, not dependent upon the clergy for discipline of moral offenses, would be an asset to the nation. Before the Societies for the Reformation of Manners had been organized, he had stated that one of the "prejudices" against the Reformation in England was the clergy who "have now no interest in the consciences of the people, nor any inspection into their manners, but they are without yoke or restraint." Burnet noted that the purposes of the society were partially unfulfilled because the magistrates themselves were remiss. In his sermon to the

2. Vide S.P.C.K. Archives: Society Reports, 1704-14, pp. 50, 51, sec. entitled, "An account of Charity Schools". Cf. The biographer of Bishop Nicolson mentions that "local education" was "one of Nicolson's chief concerns".—James, op. cit. p. 143.
vigilance groups he asserted, "We owe it to the Society we live in, and to the next Generation that is growing up before us, to take care that Sins, especially open ones, and such as are apt to spread and infect others, should be either represented by secret Reproofs, or the Sinners be brought to open Shame and Punishment, that such as see the one, may likewise see or hear of the other." The societies were not universally accepted as a positive element in the correction of manners. Archbishop Sharp thought that the societies ought to reform their own manners, and Bishop Nicolson resented the fact that they were used as a tool of the dissenters.

Burnet was the third member of the episcopate admitted to membership in the Society for Propagating Christian Knowledge. The purpose of the organization was to provide education for the poor, to care for nationals on plantations, and to circulate books on Christian doctrine to parish libraries throughout England. Burnet's History of the Reformation, Discourse of the Pastoral Care, and Exposition of the Thirty-Nine Articles, were regular texts used in the distribution to the libraries. Burnet's subsidy of the


3. Rawlinson MS. D. 834. f. 4, 5; also included, works of Tillotson, Whitby, Kettlewell, Wilkins, Wake, Beveridge. Bishops Fowler and Williams preceded Burnet's admission to the organization founded by Thomas Bray.—vide, Allen and McClure, op. cit. p. 21.
society's program included a fifty pound gift for a school, a ten pound per annum subscription, and various smaller donations. In several instances, the minutes record Burnet's efforts to encourage participation in the society within his own diocese. The variety of personalities working in the society -- Tenison, Kennett, Burnet, Wilson, Patrick, Nelson, Wesley -- was one of its best achievements.

The first meeting of another charity and mission organization, The Society for the Propagation of the Gospel, was held at Lambeth 27 June 1701. Burnet became a member in the following November. On 2 February 1702 Burnet was elected a vice-president of the S.P.G. Tenison was president. Two services that Burnet rendered to the society, were the collection of valuable donations from various contacts he had, in addition to his own contributions, and the presenting of individuals to serve under the care of the S.P.G. One of the stipulations of the charter was "to provide learned and


2. S.P.C.K., Minutes and Correspondence, ff. 119-20.


4. S.P.G. Archives, Westminster, Journal, I. A. 24; 21 November 1701; also present at that meeting were 20 divines, a number of laymen, and the Bishops of Ely, Canterbury, Chichester, and Gloucester.

5. Ibid. I.A. 27; 20 Feb. 1702: Burnet was re-elected yearly through 1706, cf. Ibid. I. A. 264.
orthodox ministers for our loving subjects." Burnet's per annum contribution to the society was the most liberal of all regular subscriptions.  

1 In the ten year period that Burnet was most active in the society, his contributions and presentments were recorded in twenty-two meetings. For example, on 19 November 1703, Burnet encouraged the society to solicit support and funds from the various city corporations. He named specifically, London, Bristol, and Exeter. On a number of occasions the clerk noted his introduction of new members to the society.  

2 A missionary recommended by Burnet, "Mr. Beys", was sent to Harlem, New York. Burnet was dispatched by the society to seek a resolution of a litigation concerning a thousand pound benefaction to the society. Burnet presented five other candidates who wished to become S.P.G. "Commissaries".

1. Cf. Journal, I. A. 24.; 16 Jan. 1702; on 1 May 1702 Burnet acquired a large donation from a "Lady who desires to be unknown".  


3. E.g., 21 April 1710 "Isaac Beragel" a "Merchant of Frankfort" was accepted.  

4. Ibid. 30 December 1709.  

5. Ibid. 2 Dec. 1709.  

The minutes record: "Agreed that the thanks of the Society be given to the Lord Bp of Salisbury for his Sermon preached this Day in the Church of St. Mary le Bow...Agreed that his Ldp be desired to print the same." Bishop Burnet had appealed to promises of the Old and New Testament in the sermon preached for the society.

His text was taken from Malachi: "For from the rising of the Sun unto the going down of the same, My Name shall be great among the Gentiles: and in every place, Incense shall be offered unto my Name, and a pure Offering: for my Name shall be Great among the Heathen, saith the Lord of Hosts." Burnet spoke of the problem of the foreign missionary who was confronted with people who could not read, who had no conception of history, and for whom the Bible could not be a primary religious authority. His suggestion as to what would be an acceptable approach to the heathen reveals his own theological tradition, Cambridge Platonism:

We can shew them what our Hopes and Fears are with relation to another State: and how much more suitable these are to the Attributes of God and to the Nature of Man, than their apprehensions are. We can shew them what the Purity of our Religion is, in that inward Holiness that is formed in our Minds, and that spreads it self thro' all our Thoughts and Designs, as well as thro' all our Words and Actions: we can shew them how perfect and amiable a thing this inward and uniform Virtue is, and what wonderful Effects it must have on Mankind where it is received, mutual Confidence and universal Love rendering all Men not only safe, but happy in one another.

1. S.P.G. Journal, I.A.140; 18 Feb.1704. The next meeting the society agreed to publish the sermon for Burnet and send it to all heads of colleges, all London clergy, aldermen, and the mayor.


3. Ibid. p. 17.
CONCLUSION

A critical account of Bishop Burnet's conception of the ministry is a specific illustration that makes untenable the too facile hypothesis that the Latitudinarians and "whig" bishops were the main factors, if not the cause, of the incipient decline of religious life and practice in the latter half of the seventeenth century and the eighteenth century. The pioneering work of Sykes re-evaluating this period has not evidently reached to all commentators in the field. George Every has stated that the "decline in religious observance", temporarily arrested by the religious societies of Anne's reign, "under the Whig supremacy" proceeded again "with a fresh momentum." This kind of post hoc argument could not have taken seriously the assiduous application to the church's ministry that is evident in Burnet, among others, nor could it have measured the accomplishments of many churchmen against the climactic changes in scientific and philosophical trends. Whether or not the Latitudinarians and the whigs were the cause, or simply incapable of meeting the demands, of an incipient decline in religious life, there is ample attestation that Burnet's conception of the ministry, as a Latitudinarian and an advocate of whig policy, was a concerted effort to apply the techniques learned and the doctrine developed from a reputable moderate episcopal tradition. Forbes in Scotland and Hooker in England were primary factors in the environment of his theological education. The

1. Every, op. cit. p. 169.
biography on Burnet by Clarke and Foxcroft, while offering many excellent insights into his life, makes an artificial bifurcation of his life by separating the Scottish from the English experiences. It is Burnet's moderate training in episcopacy, the influence of the Aberdeen tradition, the latitude of his father, and the ministry of the second episcopate of Scotland, that provide a basis for understanding Burnet's English experiences. The continuity of Burnet's Scottish and English periods is illustrated in a number of ways, not least of importance is the fact that Burnet was not, as Clarke and Foxcroft variously suggested, one who moved from a Calvinist to an Arminian doctrinal position. The evidence shows that he was never a Calvinist and that even his Scottish professor of theology was known for his Arminian sympathies. There is a significant note about Burnet's academic environment, and his own influence as a professor, in that none of the classmates of Burnet at Marischal College, who became ordained, served any but the episcopal church, and that all of the candidates for the ministry trained by Burnet at the University of Glasgow, whose records are available, were loyal to episcopacy even after presbyterianism was re-established in Scotland. Furthermore, an important factor about Burnet's views of the ministry is that he advocated the use of the English liturgy, confirmation, and the installation of the diaconate in Scotland, all of which practices were neglected in the truncated episcopal polity of the second episcopate.

Moderate episcopacy, in Burnet's conception of the ministry, meant that no ministerial order exists by divine right, and that episcopacy is the most perfect form of ecclesiastical polity on the basis of historic precedence, catholicity, and reason. Secondary
matters of order, liturgy and ecclesiastical laws, are not immutable, but are part of the jurisdictional freedom and responsibility of the church. Moderation meant the withholding of test acts, the declaration of ministerial absolution, but the denial of sacerdotal authority for the ministry. His view of the ministry was an inclusive policy toward dissenters, but in no circumstance did he advocate the removal of episcopacy. Cambridge Platonism provided a philosophical vehicle that was compatible with the influence of Hooker and Arminianism. A synthesis of faith and reason, revelation and nature, was theologically supportive of his disaffection towards controversial and dogmatic theology. When toleration became a political tenet that aroused fierce partisanship and an extreme polarity of views, Burnet's moderate philosophical temperament was at times distorted in practice. A middle of the road position was difficult to maintain. His rationalization of his actions on the Fenwick Attainder is better known, for example, than his prosecution of Thomas Naish for non-residence, and yet his obtaining a dispensation for Peter Allix's non-residence. Both ministers were important cathedral clergy. Naish, a tory, supported the High Church party. Allix, a moderate, ordained by presbytery, supported whig policy. However, the evidence shows generally that Burnet's diocesan example commended itself to the highest standards of the Anglican church.

Bishop Burnet did not conceive of the ministry as an intercessory rôle between God and the church, but thought that in addition to the obligation of governing the church in decency and order, the ministry declares in preaching and sacraments the "terms"
of the "covenant of grace", which he believed men had the free will to accept. Only the terms of the covenant, as revealed truths, are essential to salvation, therefore, inclusion of persons in the body of Christ is not dependent upon the action of an exclusive ministerial order.
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