THOMAS MANTON AND THE PRESBYTERIANS
IN INTERREGNUM AND RESTORATION
ENGLAND

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Thesis Abstract

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By Adam Richardson

This thesis presents Thomas Manton as a leading figure in the Presbyterian bid for the centre ground of English ecclesiastical culture in the Interregnum and Restoration. Not only was Manton active on multiple committees of national significance for religious settlement from the 1650s to 1670s, but he likely has the largest corpus of sermons for any seventeenth century Puritan. Much modern scholarship has overlooked the more moderate, sober religious figures while giving greater attention to figures who cast a unique but unrepresentative profile. This thesis aims to correct this by tracing the career and writings of a minister who, though a jure divino Presbyterian, served both Cromwell and Charles II as chaplain, and whose sermons have been cited by Presbyterians, Independents and Baptists for hundreds of years after his death.

This thesis will explore the political and ecclesiological landscape of the Interregnum and Restoration through the life and works of a single divine. Manton’s early years in Devon and Tiverton, his education at Blundell’s School and Wadham College, Oxford, his early clerical experience with Presbyterianism, his London parishes, and patronage networks will all be considered for their significance in developing a national leader. Then Manton’s role not only among the Presbyterians but between the Presbyterians, the Independents and successive regimes will be evaluated. He is present and involved at nearly every major turn, beginning with the death of Christopher Love, then working for the unity of the godly in the Commonwealth alongside Cromwellian Congregationalists, and finally working for a broad religious settlement in the Restoration. Though he was ultimately ejected from the Church of England, Manton continued work for the accommodation of the godly from within and to protect the church from heresy from without.

Nearly fifty years after Manton’s death, his lone biographer, William Harris, himself expressed surprise that others had not yet attempted a life of ‘a person of so great worth and general esteem, and who bore so great a part in the public affairs of his own time’ (Memoirs, vii). This thesis is the first modern scholarly work to set Manton in his historical and cultural context, as well as the first work based on a full reading of his Complete Works. By better understanding Manton, we can better understand the Presbyterians and Independents, and the politics of religion in Interregnum and Restoration England.
Acknowledgments

What is known is that writing a doctoral thesis is a marathon. What is perhaps lesser known is that it, like athletics, is a team sport involving many others to instruct, sharpen and encourage along the way. While the work was mine, and I take full responsibility for any mistakes herein, nonetheless this thesis has benefitted from and I have been personally enriched by input from many others.

Far from the dusty and dreary corners of popular imagination, I found the libraries where I worked to be bustling centres staffed by archivists with a contagious enthusiasm. I am grateful to the archivists and staff of the University of Aberdeen Archives, the Bodleian Library (Oxford), the British Library, the Cambridge University Library Manuscripts Room, the Edinburgh University Library, the Lambeth Palace Library (London), the London Metropolitan Archives, The National Archives (Kew), the National Library of Scotland, Plymouth and West Devon Record Office, the University of Wales (Lampeter), and the Westminster City Archives.

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<td>Bodl.</td>
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<td>CCED</td>
<td><em>Clergy of the Church of England Database, 1540-1835</em></td>
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<td>CJ</td>
<td><em>Journal of the House of Commons</em></td>
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<td>CSPD</td>
<td><em>Calendar of State Papers, Domestic</em></td>
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<td>Languishing</td>
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<td>LJ</td>
<td><em>Journal of the House of Lords</em></td>
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<tr>
<td>Meate</td>
<td>T. Manton, <em>Meate Out of the Eater, or, Hopes of Unity in and by Divided and Distracted Times</em> (1647)</td>
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<tr>
<td>ODNB</td>
<td><em>Oxford Dictionary of National Biography</em></td>
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<td>RB</td>
<td>Matthew Sylvester (ed.), <em>Reliquiæ Baxterianæ</em> (1696)</td>
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Introduction

Thomas Manton (bap. 1620-1677) was recognized by contemporaries as one of the greatest preachers in seventeenth-century England. In his funeral sermon for Manton, William Bates praised his ‘unparalleled Assiduity in Preaching’.\(^1\) Diarist Ralph Thoresby attended Manton’s funeral, recording that Manton was ‘deservedly styled the king of preachers’.\(^2\) According to Calamy, ‘Arch-Bishop Ussher was wont to say of him, That he was a Voluminous Preacher: Not as if he was tedious for length, but because he had the Art of Reducing the Substance of Volumes of Divinity into a narrow Compass’. Stephen Charnock ‘oft represented him as the best Collectour of Sense of the Age’.\(^3\) Robert Wild eulogized that ‘Hearers inquir’d not how the Time did pass, Nor listen’d to the Clock, nor look’d at Glass’.\(^4\) In the twilight of the brightest age of Puritan preaching, the nonconformist historian Calamy singled out Manton as having left ‘behind him the General Reputation of as excellent a Preacher, as this City or Nation hath produced’.\(^5\) Richard Baxter took the occasion of Manton’s death to characterize him more broadly as one who fought for ecclesiastical unity and orthodoxy, ‘being an able judicious faithful man, and one that lamented the intemperance of many self-conceited Ministers and people’ who ‘schismatically oppugned Christian love and concord’.\(^6\)

There has never been a broad evaluation of the life and works of Thomas Manton; this thesis is the first. This is surprising, considering his chaplaincies (both Cromwell and Charles II); his company (Baxter, Owen, Wilkins, Bates, Bates, A funeral sermon preached upon the death of the Reverend and Excellent Divine Dr. Thomas Manton (1678), 71; CWTM, XXII, 145.
\(^3\) Edmund Calamy, An Abridgment of Mr. Baxter's History of His Life and Times (1702), 210. The quotes from Ussher and Charnock are in both Calamy (1702) and Richard Stretton, 'Preface' in T. Manton, A Fifth Volume of Sermons (1701).
\(^4\) R. Wild, ‘An Epitaph Upon the Reverend Dr. Manton’ in Dunstan’s Whipping Post (1706), 80.
\(^5\) Calamy, Abridgment, 210.
\(^6\) RB, III, 182, §17.
Howe, Calamy, Reynolds); his patrons (not only Alexander Popham and the Earl of Bedford, but other peers including Lord and Lady Wharton, the Countesses of Bedford, Manchester and Clare; Lady Baker and Lady Trevor and the Scottish Duchess of Hamilton); his pulpits (Stoke Newington and Covent Garden); and perhaps most of all his enormous corpus of sermons which all remain in print in 2014. Amazingly, the main and virtually only biographical sketch of Manton ever written was William Harris’s *Memoirs* (1725). Harris himself expressed ‘wonder that the life of a person of so great worth and general esteem, and who bore so great a part in the public affairs of this own time...had not been attempted’.

**Scope**

This thesis will examine Manton’s theology and context, following his religious and political career as a moderate Presbyterian in the Cromwellian church and through the Restoration. More specifically, it will demonstrate the Presbyterian alienation following the regicide and under the Rump, the rapprochement under Cromwell in the mid 1650s and increasing influence until the Restoration. Again through the 1660s and 1670s, following the profound alienation of the great ejection, the Presbyterians nonetheless remain influential. Though ultimately losing, they continued to vie for accommodation within the Church of England, maintaining audiences not only with Charles Stuart but also influence with their elite patrons.

And yet historians will be forgiven if Manton has not been given primacy of place among Interregnum and Restoration divines. Manton at times appears to be a faceless name in the crowd, mentioned safely in the middle of lists of divines on committees. Manton is listed among the triers, among the authors of the *New Confession of Faith* (1654), among Cromwell’s chaplains, among the London Presbyterians, among the ministers sent to Breda, among Charles’ chaplains, among the Savoy participants, among the Bartholomeans, and among the Dons. He is later listed among the Calvinists, among the non-separating...

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7 *Memoirs*, xvi, xxxii.
nonconformists, and among those who combated antinomianism and antitrinitarianism.\textsuperscript{9}

So what makes Manton worthy of an individual study? Can such a project enhance our understanding of the Cromwellian and Restoration church in England? Manton is conventional, which is likely why there has not been a study up to now. However, this is what precisely justifies the exercise. Much of the recent research on seventeenth-century religious movements has focused on the fringe elements and radical groups that the times gave rise to.\textsuperscript{10} Historians often focus on unrepresentative figures, who either carved out a unique profile for themselves or seemed to prefigure modern ideas and sensibilities. This has the potential to distort our picture of the past. Turning to more conventional, ‘second rank’ figures who were highly esteemed in their own day can be a more effective way of getting the measure of a period.

The aim of this thesis is to move away from the edges and toward the centre, by tracing Manton’s life, career and writings. Manton was an important figure among moderate Presbyterians in the Cromwellian church, and increasingly so during the early days of the Restoration. He was a leading voice in the Puritan effort to maintain unity with the Congregationalists in addition to all orthodox clergy. Yet Manton remains largely unexplored, not just his theology as a preacher, but also his contribution as a statesman both to the unity of godly clergy in the interregnum period as well as attempts at comprehension in the Restoration.

A thorough biography of this ‘reverend and learned divine’ will help to illuminate some of the tensions between Baxter and Owen, as well as the


\textsuperscript{10} For example, see Andrew Bradstock, \textit{Radical Religion in Cromwell’s England: A Concise History from the English Civil War to the End of the Commonwealth} (London, 2010).
Presbyterians and Independents, and the conformists and nonconformists. Manton’s education at Oxford, his early clerical experience with Presbyterianism, Civil War events including Manton’s repeated preaching before Parliament, Manton’s connections with the Scottish clergy, and the relationship of the dissenters to the Church of England should all be explored for their cumulative impact on the London Presbyterians, the godly communities, and Commonwealth and Restoration England.

Sources
Given the importance of Manton to the study of Puritan preaching, a careful study of the provenance, content and reception history of Manton’s Complete Works is needed. Although Manton served in a public role as an ecclesiastical statesman, his primary influence and legacy was through his preaching and printed sermons. William Harris claimed that ‘no man of the age had a greater number of his sermons published after his death’. In his history of post-Reformation preaching, Hughes Oliphant Old noted that Manton’s corpus ‘probably gives us the best sustained impression of Puritan preaching which is available’.

During his lifetime, Manton printed two massive commentaries, eight sermons and 28 prefaces. In the decades following his death, Manton’s sermons were printed in five folio volumes from 1681 to 1701, interspersed with other individual titles. The smaller editions were later formed into volumes 1-5, and the folios into volumes 6-22 of the modern Complete Works (1870). The Works comprise a substantial set, filling 22 volumes with about 1000 expositions on 714 texts spanning 10,432 pages and containing approximately 6.5 million words.

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11 Memoirs, title page.
12 Memoirs, xxix.
13 Hughes Oliphant Old, The Reading and Preaching of the Scriptures in the Worship of the Christian Church, 7 vols (Grand Rapids, 2002), IV, 301.
14 See Bibliography for Manton’s print history and Appendix A for contents of the CWTM by original print date.
15 The word count results from an average of 630 words per page of Manton’s text.
While this remains large in comparison to the works of other contemporary divines, it almost certainly includes only a fraction of the sermons he delivered, most of which were lost. Manton was indeed a voluminous preacher, whose works offer insight not only into seventeenth-century Puritanism but also into its broader theological and social struggles.

Unfortunately none of Manton’s original sermon manuscripts survive. There are six letters in Manton’s hand. There is a single, seventeenth-century manuscript volume of Manton sermons, apparently prepared by an (unknown) editor for private use. The manuscript notes of several Manton sermons were preserved by his auditors, including several for which there are corresponding printed editions for comparison. However, the majority of sermons, recorded by auditors’ notes, are not in the Complete Works.

Beyond Manton’s corpus, sources include the work of contemporaries both lay and clerical. The primary early biographical sources come from William Bates, 

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16 For further Manton MS evidence, see chapter 6.
17 The six letters are the following: three letters to Richard Baxter, DWL MS BCii.320r, (27 January 1659), DWL MS 59.5, fo. 253 (September 1668) and DWL MS 59.2, fo. 273r, (26 September 1668); one to Simon Patrick, Bodl. MS Tanner 33 fol. 38; one to Robert Douglas, NLS Wodrow Folio MS Vol. 26, num. 2, letter 71, fol 137, 1661; and one to the Earl of Lauderdale, EUL MS La I.150.3, c. 1663.
18 For the list, see appendix H.
Richard Baxter, Increase Mather, Anthony Wood, and a more substantial sketch in William Harris’ *Memoirs* (1725). Further sources include the work of contemporary diarists such as Ralph Thoresby, John Evelyn and a young Thomas Burton. There are limited parish records for St Mary’s Stoke Newington and a few more for St Paul’s Covent Garden, including registers and churchwarden’s accounts, providing some insight into the diversity and wealth of the congregation.

This is the first study of Manton based on a thorough reading of all of Manton’s *Works*. And little wonder – the 6.5 million words is about nine times the length of the Bible on which Manton commented. Most of Manton’s work was undated, though I have identified for the first time a number of dates for his sermons from internal evidence. In addition to reading his works, I have thoroughly studied Manton’s prefaces to others’ works, considering both the content of the work itself as well as Manton’s relationship to the author. A close reading of Manton’s work, combined with a detailed analysis of his life, pulls the name out from the lists and shows us a man, a preacher, an ecclesiastical statesman, who was not simply a more politic Baxter or more prolific Calamy or Bates. By tracing the life and career of a single London Presbyterian, this thesis will help us understand better the politics of religion in Interregnum and Restoration England.

**Influence**

Manton’s influence among the godly clergy is evident early in his career. His first critic in print was John Price, a disciple of John Goodwin and political pamphleteer. Price listed Manton alongside renowned scholarly pastors in his friendly-fire response to the London Ministers *Representation*: ‘that Mr. Gataker, Mr Fuller, Mr. Blackwell, Mr Haviland, Mr. Manton should subscribe such notorious fallacies, argues that indeed the best of men are but men at best, and that the wisest are sometimes weake’.¹⁹ This demonstrates already in the 1640s Manton was well regarded by Independents; Gataker and Fuller were known as moderate, learned and willing to move beyond party lines.

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¹⁹ John Price, *Clerico-Classicum, or, The Clergi-Allarum to a Third War* (1649), 12.
MP and lay theologian Edward Leigh listed Manton among the 'great lights of our Church'. Leigh wasted no time in citing Manton's sermon on Revelation 3:2 *Languishing* (1648) on the Reformers' use of martyrology and catechizing to combat popery, and further on the apostle John's authority over the churches in Revelation. The 1650s were Manton's most active years for his public career, serving on multiple Protectorate committees (e.g. Triers, 1654 New Confession committee, readmission of the Jews). Commensurate with his increasing visibility and influence, they were also his busiest publishing years: 3 editions of *James* (1651, 1652, 1657), *Jude* (1657), and 19 prefaces including one for the Westminster Assembly's *Confession of Faith* (1658, 2nd ed.).

In the Restoration, Manton's writings remained influential. *James* and *Jude* were quoted by such diverse authors as Thomas Hall, John Gauden, John Flavell, Christopher Cartwright, Richard Gilpin, Andrew Marvell and Thomas Powell. Baxter placed both *James* and *Jude* in his essential recommendations to be included in even the 'Poor man's Library'. In his own sermon *Ministration of and Communion with Angels*, Isaac Ambrose quoted a lengthy passage from Manton's *Jude* regarding angelology. Manton is otherwise positively referenced

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21 Edward Leigh, *The Saints Encouragement in Evil Times* (1648), A8r.
23 Thomas Hall, *An Exposition...on the Fourth, Fifth, Sixth, Seventh, Eighth and Ninth Chapters of the Prophecy of Amos* (1661), 253, 317; John Gauden, *Charis Kai Eirene, or, Some Considerations Upon the Act of Uniformity* (1662), 35, 47; John Flavell, *The Fountain of Life Opened, or a Display of Christ in His Essential and Mediatorial Glory* (1673), 42, 585; Christopher Cartwright, *Exceptions Against a Writing of Mr. R. Baxters in Answer to Some Animadversions Upon His Aphorisms* (1675), 130, 180; Richard Gilpin, *Demonologia Sacra, or, A Treatise of Satan’s Temptations in Three Parts* (1677), 66, 76; Andrew Marvell, *Remarks Upon a Late Disingenuous Discourse, Writ by one T.D. Under the Pretence de Causa Dei* (1678), 95, 6; Thomas Powell, *A Sanctuary for the Tempted: Being a Discourse on Christ’s Friendly Admonition to Peter* (1679), b1, 268, 282, 283.
by John Humfrey and Obed Wills.26 Across the ocean in Boston, Increase Mather lists Manton’s *James* (1651) in his library by 1664.27 Mather lent his copy of *James* to the American colonial justice and magistrate William Stoughton (Harvard College 1650)28, who seems to have returned it as *James* was further listed in the libraries of both Mather’s son Cotton and grandson Samuel.29

Manton’s influence is further seen through the critics he acquired through the 1650s, who spoke out in the Restoration. When Manton refused his deanery early in 1661, ‘he fell under Lord Clarendon’s displeasure…and he once accused him to the king of some treasonable expressions in a sermon’.30 Roger L’Estrange chided Manton for republishing *Smectymnuus* and accused him of ‘calling the Episcopal party a Faction’.31 Manton is quoted or mentioned negatively by the usual anti-puritan publicists including Henry Foulis, John Birkenhead, James Heath, Samuel Butler, David Lloyd, George Vernon and William Jane.32 On the religious side, Manton’s most natural enemies would have been the Papists and sectaries, including the Socinians, though Manton was only named in print by Quakers William Caton, William Penn and Caleb Pusey.33 One month after

26 John Humfrey, *The Obligation of Human Laws Discussed* (1671), 17; Obed Wills, *Vindiciae Vindicarium, or, A Vindication of a Late Treatise, Entituled, Infant-baptism Asserted and Vindicated by Scripture and Antiquity* (1675), 122, 3.
30 *Memoirs*, xvi.
33 William Caton, *Truths Caracter of Professors and their Teachers* (1660), 30; William Penn, *A Just Rebuke to One & Twenty Learned and Reverend Divines (so Called) Being an Answer to an Abusive Epistle Against the People Call’d Quakers*
Manton’s death, in a sermon preached before the Lord Mayor of London, royal chaplain William Battie named Manton and quoted from *Jude* to expose the hypocrisy of the Presbyterians, who claimed ‘the Antichristian Party carrieth things by power’ and yet persecuted from the ‘same sense and fear of Toleration and Sectaries’.34

On the other hand, it is notable who does not attack Manton. William Assheton is silent on Manton when openly criticizing Baxter, Calamy, Jenkyn, Case, Caryl, Marshall, Sedgwick, Newcomen, Simpson and others.35 Though Simon Patrick attacked dissent in the late 1660s and named names36, he conspicuously omitted Manton (though at the time they shared a common patron in Bedford), and in later years actually worked for the accommodation of dissenters.37 The diarist John Evelyn, in spite of his episcopal convictions attended and noted the sermons of ‘Dr. Manton, the famous Presbyterian’ on at least two consecutive weeks. His notes are sympathetic – recording the scripture passages and main heads of the sermons.38

The passing of time generally enhanced Manton’s reputation. In *The Everlasting Gospel* (1700), Cotton Mather names Manton, together with Bates, as the ‘Fratrum Dulce par’ who wrote ‘rare Schemes of Evangelical Truth, and Grace’.39 In Matthew Henry’s *Exposition of the Old and New Testament*, arguably the most popular commentary of the eighteenth century, Manton is the third-most quoted

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35 William Assheton, *Evangelium Armatum, A specimen...of Several Doctrines and Positions Destructive to Our Government...* (1663). Assheton gives 700 words to the trial of Christopher Love, and still does not mention Manton.
36 In *A Friendly Debate between a Conformist and a Non-Conformist* (1668), Patrick named, for example, William Bridge (pp. 25, 41), Philip Nye (p. 69) and Thomas Watson (pp. 20-1).
37 Patrick was later involved in Archbishop Sancroft’s 1689 scheme for the comprehension of dissenters, see Jon Parkin, ‘Simon Patrick (1626-1707)’, *ODNB*.
nonconformist divine after Ainsworth and Baxter.\textsuperscript{40} Fifty years after his death, Manton would be cited in Scotland as ‘the judicious Manton’,\textsuperscript{41} and still remembered one hundred years posthumously as the ‘learned and judicious Dr. Manton’.\textsuperscript{42}

Manton’s key champions in the nineteenth century ironically were Anglican bishop J. C. Ryle and Baptist minister Charles Spurgeon.\textsuperscript{43} Their American Presbyterian contemporary, Princeton theologian Charles Hodge, named Manton with Baxter and Bates as ‘distinguished for their learning, piety and zeal’.\textsuperscript{44} The 20\textsuperscript{th} century pastor and scholar A. W. Pink noted that Manton was ‘one of the best known of the Puritans’ and further that ‘none of the Puritans are more simple, succinct, and satisfying’.\textsuperscript{45} W. K. Jordan, referred to Manton as ‘perhaps the greatest of the Presbyterian liberals’.\textsuperscript{46} In the late 20\textsuperscript{th} century, the Reformed Anglican J. I. Packer praised Manton’s exposition as ‘brisk, lucid, practical, experiential, and searching,’ claiming that ‘Manton grabs, searches, humbles, and builds up in quite a breath-taking way’.\textsuperscript{47}

\section*{Context}

Though Manton was the son of an unknown country parson, his life would be lived on the national stage. By age thirty-six, Manton was minister of the wealthy and desirable parish of Paul’s Covent Garden, under the patronage of William Russell, the fifth Earl of Bedford. The parish included such influential grandees as Oliver St John and Sir William Fleetwood. Manton preached to Parliament on at

\begin{footnotesize}
\begin{itemize}
  \item \textsuperscript{40} Matthew Henry, \textit{Commentary on the Whole Bible}, 6 Vols (London, 1890).
  \item \textsuperscript{41} \textit{A Publick Testimony} (Edinburgh, 1732), 45. See also John Currie, \textit{A sermon Preached in the Church of Kirkaldie} (Edinburgh, 1733), 24; John Currie, \textit{Jus Populi Divinum} (Edinburgh, 1727), 78.
  \item \textsuperscript{42} \textit{The Antidote Against Popery} (Edinburgh, 1779), II, 16.
  \item \textsuperscript{43} Ryle, xvi; C. H. Spurgeon, \textit{Illustrations and Meditations or Flowers from a Puritan’s Garden} (London, 1883), v.
  \item \textsuperscript{44} C. Hodge, \textit{A Constitutional History of the Presbyterian Church in the United States of America}, 2 vols (Philadelphia, 1839), I, 30.
  \item \textsuperscript{45} A. W. Pink, \textit{Studies in the Scriptures}, 17 vols (Lafayette, 2001), I, 275; VII, 316.
  \item \textsuperscript{47} J. I. Packer, ‘Introduction’ in T. Manton, \textit{James} (Wheaton, 1995), ix-x.
\end{itemize}
\end{footnotesize}
least seven occasions in the years 1647-1660. He prayed at Oliver Cromwell’s second inauguration as Lord Protector, attended Charles II at Breda, and served both men as chaplain.

Manton emerges as an influential figure after the execution of Christopher Love in August 1651. Though deeply disturbed by Pride’s Purge and the regicide of Charles I, he came back into favour under Oliver Cromwell and the Commonwealth/Protectorate parliaments. He was a clear voice in the Presbyterian effort to renew common cause with Congregationalists like Thomas Goodwin, Philip Nye, William Bridge and William Greenhill, who held to the idea of a national church (and not separatism), and he sought inroads with moderate Presbyterians such as Thomas Gataker, Richard Vines and Richard Baxter who would allow presbyteries but still argue for a presidential bishop.

Though a *jure divino* Presbyterian, Manton mentions it only once in his writings, and that indirectly. In *Jude*, Manton states that with ‘ecclesiastical government...the particular form is specified, as well as the thing itself appointed’. While defining the ‘three pretenders to the power of the external call – the people, the elders, the magistrate’, in a single phrase Manton clarifies ‘we need not to speak of the bishops’ plea, for bishops, and presbyters, or elders, in the scripture are all one’. Manton further uses the words ‘Presbyterian’ and ‘Presbyterians’ only once each in 6.5 million words, both times to unite rather than divide: ‘The question, will not be whether you are of this or that party—

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48 Though Manton only published two of these sermons, the Journal of the House of Commons lists Manton as appearing eight times: six Parliamentary fast days (20 June 1647, 28 June 1648, 5 November 1654, 24 September 1656, 27 February 1657, 4 February 1659), and two days of Thanksgiving (3 June 1657 and 28 February 1660).
49 *CWTM*, V, 240.
50 *CWTM*, X, 474. Here Manton reduces church government to three phrases and in *CWTM* XIV, 236 states them to a single sentence: ‘The [minister’s] outward call belongs to the church, but it is to be done in order—election by the people, examination of life and doctrine with authoritative mission by the presbytery, confirmation by the magistrate’.
Presbyterian, Independent, Episcopal—but whether we are really sanctified and do adorn the gospel...Oh! Then look to this'.51

Manton, like Edmund Calamy, though committed to the Presbyterian cause was committed more so to the unity of the Godly within a national church. As a ‘Trier’ 
Manton worked within the state church that the ‘middle-way’ Congregationalists created. As the rector of Mary’s Stoke Newington, Manton had instituted 
parochial Presbyterianism with the godly MP Colonel Alexander Popham as the ruling elder. Later at Paul’s Covent Garden, Manton continued by attempting to 
institute a Presbyterian church government and to lay aside the prayer book, which was illegal at the time.52 However, when his congregation protested in 
1661, Manton conceded on both accounts, placing a higher value on unity in the church. However, unity was not as straightforward as a few simple concessions, even among the Presbyterians. Manton’s own assistant at St Paul’s Abraham 
Pinchbecke appealed to Richard Baxter for advice in how far to take his 
disagreements over Manton’s desire to examine those to take communion.53 
Following the Great Ejection on ‘Black Bartholomew’s Day’ August 24, 1662, 
Manton along with several other Puritans were convened to discuss with Charles II the comprehension of moderate dissenters in the Church of England.54

Early Historians on Manton

Harris’ Memoirs is based on two prior, brief accounts – Manton’s Funeral Sermon 
(1678) by William Bates and the sketch of Manton’s career by Oxford historian

51 CWTM, XVI, 21; the use of ‘Presbyterians’ is in Meate, treated in chapter 2.
52 Judith Maltby, Prayer Book and People in Elizabethan and Early Stuart England 
(Cambridge, 1998), 113-24, 224-33; John Morrill, ‘The Church of England, 1642- 
1649’ in The Nature of the English Revolution (Harlow, 1993), ch. 7, esp. pp. 151-
3; Ann Hughes, “‘The Public Profession of these Nations”: The National Church in 
Interregnum England’ in Christopher Durston and Judith Maltby (eds.), Religion 
in Revolutionary England (Manchester, 2006), ch. 4.
53 William Lamont, ‘Abraham Pinchbecke,’ ODNB; From Abraham Pinchbecke to 
William Baxter, 8 October 1657, CCRB, I, 272.
54 CSPD, Charles II (1663-4), 64, 5. ‘Venice: February 1663’, Calendar of State 
Papers Relating to English Affairs in the Archives of Venice, Volume 33: 1661-1664 
(1932), 228-9.
Anthony Wood included in *Athenae Oxonienses* (1691). Bates frames Manton using two images: a learned, zealous preacher, with a ‘conspicuous eminence that none could detract from him but ignorance or envy’ and an ecclesiastical reconciler, who ‘was no fomenter of faction, but studious of the public tranquillity’, for ‘he knew what a blessing peace is, and wisely foresaw the pernicious consequences that attend divisions’.

Anthony Wood included a segment on Manton in *Athenae Oxonienses* (1691), after receiving a one-page letter from Harvard College president Increase Mather outlining Manton’s life. Wood’s picture of Manton is related though less flattering, presenting him as a ‘forward and florid preacher among [the Presbyterians]’, and, quoting James Heath, styled Manton ‘Prelate of the Protectorship’. Wood, writing following the double Puritan defeats of both ejection and toleration, took the liberty to include a few disparaging snipes, remarking that Manton was ‘made one of the Triers, or Spanish Inquisitors’ and that he ‘looked like a person rather fatted up for the slaughter, than an Apostle, being a round, plump and jolly man’.

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55 Bates, *Funeral Sermon* (1678), 65-79; Anthony à Wood, *Athenae Oxonienses* 2 vols (1691), II, 446-8. For comparison, Harris’ *Memoir* is about 15,000 words, while Bates’ sermon segment on Manton is about 2300 words and Wood’s article is about 1600 words.

56 Bates, *Funeral Sermon* in *CWTM*, XXII, 143.


In 1702, Edmund Calamy included a very brief biographical snapshot of Manton in his *Abridgement*, mostly snippets from Bates, with some quotes on Manton the preacher, which also appear in John Howe's 'Preface' to Manton's *Fifth Volume*
Richard Newcourt followed Wood's description of Manton in his snippet on Covent Garden parish in *Repertorium*. Devonian John Prince, in a second and unpublished edition of *Worthies of Devon* (1716), quotes large segments nearly verbatim, interestingly from both Bates and Wood. Though writing from a conformist perspective, Prince's account is far more sympathetic than Wood's, painting Manton as a moderate man of letters, who assisted the restoration of Charles II.

Illustration Intro.3: Prince’s title page and Manton’s first page. Note Manton’s unfinished coat of arms.

Source: Devon Heritage Centre, personal image.

2. 1870 to Present

Anglican Bishop J. C. Ryle composed his ‘Estimate of Manton’ as a preface to the second volume of the newly published *Complete Works* (1870). Ryle’s ‘Estimate’

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agreed with the earlier pictures of Manton the moderate reconciler and learned expositor, with heavy emphasis on the latter. Ryle states boldly that ‘Thomas Manton was one of the best authors of his day’ and that ‘his works, like the “Pilgrim’s Progress” deserve the attention of all true Christians’. Ryle valued Manton most of all ‘as a homiletical expositor of Scripture’. 

Remarkably, no one has attempted a biography of Manton in the 20th century. Possibly Manton was perceived as conventional and therefore unenlightening; possibly because, as opposed to Baxter and Owen and other colleagues, Manton did not engage in polemical or political pamphleteering whatever – all of his extant writing is theological and pastoral. Much attention has been given to Richard Baxter and his Reliquiæ Baxterianæ (1696), though this has obscured the role of other prominent Presbyterians like Manton, who were more conciliatory towards the Cromwellian Congregationalists. Most recently Derek Cooper’s Thomas Manton: The Ecumenical Exegete (2011), as a study on Puritan exegesis, focused on seventeen verses in Manton’s James. Cooper writes as a historical theologian, tracing the tradition of Western Christian exegesis and its development over the centuries. This yields some interesting findings, but does little to relate Manton to his immediate historical context – the world of the Puritan Revolution and the Restoration.

The sketches of Bates, Harris and Ryle noted, there has never been a scholarly thesis or paper broadly addressing either Manton’s life or Complete Works. Therefore, this thesis aims to uncover the social and political and religious framework that underlies Manton’s preaching and ministry, as well as to provide an interpretive basis for his sermons.

**Historiography**

According to John Morrill, throughout ‘England’s wars of religion’ the national tensions were ‘diffracted into a series of unique patterns in each region’ though

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63 Ryle, ix, xvii.
64 Ryle, xix.
'the beam of light entering the prism was essentially religious in character'.65 Peter Lake goes so far as to say, 'to review the historiography of Puritanism is to review the historiography of early modern England'.66 Within this field of Puritanism, the strand of Presbyterian studies has begun to emerge as a recognizable tributary from the mainstream with the recent work of scholars such as Ann Hughes, Polly Ha, Elliot Vernon, Robert Letham, Michael Winship and Chad Van Dixhoorn. A brief review of both Puritan and Presbyterian historiographies will not only contextualize this single tree of Manton in the forest of the period, but conversely demonstrate how the study of Manton opens out onto larger questions.

1. Puritan

A brief historiography of Puritanism in modern time begins with the great Whig historians who saw Puritanism as a progressive force, allied with the forces of liberty while undermining religious conformity.67 The Whig narrative yielded to a Marxist interpretation popularized by Christopher Hill, which assumed economic and social structures determined behaviour, and was particularly preoccupied with radical movements. For Hill, the Puritans were a progressive force, but cast in Marxist economic terms, an ideology of a rising middle class engaged in a struggle with the power of the crown.68

Following Hill, a revisionist reaction emerged led by Nicholas Tyacke and Patrick Collinson, which emphasized Calvinism as the mainstream theology of the early Protestant Church of England. Here Reformed Calvinism is seen not as a progressive force that mobilizes the middling sorts, locking horns with a traditional conformist establishment – but rather as the major theological and cultural impulse in the Church of England until Archbishop Laud in the 1630s. Until Laud, the Church of England was connected with and very much in

66 Lake, ‘Historiography’ in Coffey and Lim, Puritanism, 346.
67 For example, see S. R. Gardiner, The History of England from the Accession of James to the Outbreak of the Civil War, 10 Vols. (London, 1883-4).
conversation with the Reformed churches on the continent, united in a Calvinist consensus ‘through the word of God and the sacraments, rightly administered’, and strengthened by ‘worry about popish Pelagianism’.69

Though historiography up to then had better noted and preserved the radical voices, and labelled them as Puritan, now the more middling and irenic voices were being identified in some senses as Puritan. The Revisionists pointed out that the careers of ‘Puritan’ clergy were actually integrated into the Church of England at all levels, and their scholars were fellows of Oxford and especially Cambridge. Perhaps they were not entirely comfortable with the prayer book, but were able to work with it provided it was not rigidly and uniformly enforced. This concept of a broader and more integrated Puritanism, which placed the locus of definition in values and ideals more than a sub-culture expression of those ideas, dramatically challenged the accepted wisdom in Puritan studies. Thus with this rising set of tensions between various factions of religious reformers, John Morrill confirmed the work of Lamont and Conrad Russell: ‘the English civil war was not the first European revolution: it was the last of the wars of religion’.70

As soon as the Revisionists began writing, there soon developed a post-revisionist reaction that acknowledged the complexity and instability, even inconsistency of the categories. While historians such as Lake and John Adamson as post-revisionists would accept much of revisionism, they push back on the idea that religion was at the root of the English revolution; for Lake it is impossible to isolate the religious strand from politics and culture – they are all part of a larger concatenation.71 After all, it was not until the Restoration that the

71 P. Lake, ‘Anti-Puritanism: The Structure of a Prejudice’ in K. Fincham and P. Lake (eds), Religious Politics in Post-Reformation England: Essays in Honour of Nicholas Tyacke (Woodbridge, 2006), ch. 5, esp. pp. 93-5; see also P. Lake,
bulk of Puritans operated as a religious community outside the established church, and even then only reluctantly.

2. English Presbyterian

Traditionally, historians have noted the Presbyterians in the grand scheme as little more than agitators for discipline (an image created in large part around the stereotyped Thomas Cartwright and voluminous Richard Baxter, who eschewed the otherwise sticky label ‘Presbyterian’), and certainly not as the more robust reformers they styled themselves. More recent revisionist and post-revisionist scholarship has served to correct the Whig and Marxist narratives where they (tangentially) touched the Presbyterians, but more remains to be done. Taking Spalding, Bolam, Slack, and Abernathy as read,\(^72\) a post-revisionist wave of scholarship is clarifying the problem of grouping figures into clean categories of Congregationalist, Presbyterian, and Episcopalian. For example, in the 1650s Baxter, Vines and Manton were not pushing for the return of bishops, though they would in principle support a reduced episcopacy. In 1660 and 1661 Manton republished Smectymnuus, not to promote presbytery but the opposite – to try to sneak presbyters in the side door, since the main entrance appeared to be filling up with bishops. This was the inverse of Joseph Hall’s *A Modest Offer* (1644), attempting to squeeze bishops in with a dominant Presbytery: ‘This I offer to your serious consideration, whether Episcopacie...reduced to the Primitive estate, may not be thought a forme, both better in it selfe, and more fit for this Kingdome and Church, then either of the other’.\(^73\)

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\(^73\) Joseph Hall, *A Modest Offer of Some Meet Considerations tendered to...the Assembly of Divines* (1644), 3.
Some work is beginning to emerge on the Presbyterians, partly because historians are beginning to move their attention from radical sects to the more mainstream figures, particularly royalists and Presbyterians. Polly Ha has challenged the accepted position that Presbyterianism faded in the 1590s, demonstrating there were significant debates taking place among a large and diverse network of ministers who harboured varying degrees of Presbyterian sympathy throughout the early seventeenth century.\footnote{Polly Ha, \textit{English Presbyterianism, 1590-1640} (Stanford, 2011), 3.} In \textit{Gangraena and the Struggle for the English Revolution}, Ann Hughes shows that while the Presbyterian vision produced its radicals pushing for independence, in fact Presbyterian radicalism was also at heart attempting to reform the cultural and social understanding and expression of church in the direction of a lay involved, parish-focused and national church structure. Along these lines, Elliot Vernon has written on interregnum Presbyterianism as ‘part of the ongoing English puritan ambition to refashion the parishes of the Church of England into reforming institutions where “heart-religion”, rather than cold, formalist profession, would dominate’.\footnote{Elliot Vernon, ‘A Ministry of the Gospel: the Presbyterians during the English Revolution,’ in C. Durston and J. Maltby (eds.), \textit{Religion in Revolutionary England} (Manchester, 2006), 116.} Eamon Duffy has asserted that the main concern of the godly ministers was about reform of individuals and congregations away from rote ritual and toward awakening the sinner to the need for reformation.\footnote{Eamon Duffy, ‘The Long Reformation: Catholicism, Protestantism and the Multitude’, in N. Tyacke (ed.), \textit{England’s Long Reformation, 1500-1800} (London, 1998), ch. 2; ‘The Godly and the Multitude in Stuart England’, \textit{The Seventeenth Century}, 1, No. 1 (1986), 34-5.} Building on the work of Hughes, Vernon and Duffy, which represents a renewed emphasis on the non-radical mainstream, this thesis will demonstrate Manton’s efforts at reformation through parish ministry, preaching, participation in the London Provincial Assembly and classical system, as well as supporting the magistrate – both Cromwell protectors – and both Stuart kings.

In terms of the later Restoration (and linking it to the Puritan politics of Cromwellian England), recent work by Mark Goldie has demonstrated the continuity of ‘Puritan politics’ from the 1640s extending into the 1680s. This
represents a development from the accepted narrative that traditionally separates the Puritans into pre- and post-1660 categories.\textsuperscript{77} Following Goldie, this thesis will trace the continuity of Manton’s influence through his dissenting conventicles and his political activity in both the Interregnum and Restoration.

In addition to the Puritans and Presbyterians, there has been a revival of interest in early modern sermon literature in the work Peter McCullough, Arnold Hunt, Ian Green, David Appleby, Mary Morrissey and others.\textsuperscript{78} Therefore, research on a Puritan, Presbyterian preacher such as Manton not only fills a gap in the historical record, but also builds on the recent trend in scholarship on sermon literature.

**Conclusion**

Collinson’s emphasis on puritanism within the Church of England, Tyacke’s stress on the dominance of Calvinism among Jacobethan divines, Morrill’s thesis of the ‘war of religion’, Goldie’s work on the continuity of Puritanism in the politics of religion in the Restoration, all point to the need for work on mainstream Puritan figures like Manton, who served from the Civil War to the eve of the Exclusion Crisis. Furthermore, the very recent work of Ann Hughes, Elliot Vernon, Chad Van Dixhoorn, Robert Letham, John Coffey and others, has demonstrated the significance of the role of Presbyterianism within the mix of interregnum parties, which collectively comprised the Interregnum Church of England.\textsuperscript{79}

\textsuperscript{78} See chapter 6 for the historiography of early modern sermon literature.
John Coffey has suggested ‘intellectual biographies...give us a better sense of the lie of the land, and of the period’s ideological supply lines and battle lines’.\(^{80}\) This thesis will be an intellectual biography in that it identifies and evaluates Manton’s thinking in historical context. But it will go beyond that, exploring the political, theological and ecclesiological landscape in which Manton was set, to understand his role in the development of each and the greater implications for seventeenth-century England.

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Chapter 1
Formation, 1620-1647

Introduction
This chapter will trace Manton’s roots in a Devon clerical family, as well as the formative factors in his childhood and education. It will demonstrate Manton’s early experience with Puritanism, through the Exeter merchant and politician Ignatius Jurdain and through his education at the grammar school of Tiverton. This chapter will examine the nature of Manton’s education at Wadham College Oxford in the late 1630s, locating his experience in the context of Laudian reforms. It will demonstrate the ideological impact on Manton of arriving at Oxford in the middle of the shift of power from the Jacobean Calvinists like Abbot and Prideaux to the Caroline Arminians like Laud and Neil. Further, Chillingworth published his Religion of Protestants (1638) in the middle of Manton’s tenure, placing him on the front row of the debate over the new rationalism, and sparking a debate over Socinianism that would feature in his writings throughout his life. Finally, the chapter will outline Manton’s early experience in the ministry, beginning at Colyton and moving on to his first London settlement at St Mary Stoke Newington (vacated by sequestration), under the patronage of MP Alexander Popham.

Early Life in Devon, 1620-1636
Thomas Manton was the third in a family line of ministers in the Church of England. His grandfather Thomas Manton first appears on the record receiving his BA from Broadgates Hall, Oxford on 31 October 1582, and proceeding MA from Christ Church on 9 July 1584. He was installed under the presiding bishop of Bath and Wells Thomas Godwin as the Rector of Elm (or ‘Great Elm’) in

Somerset on March 4, 1585, a position he held until 10 June 1592, a month before he died.2

On 20 May 1586, Godwin appointed Manton as perpetual vicar of Woolavington.3 Manton remained both at Elm and Woolavington as he entered Wells Cathedral in a triple role there: on 23 December 1589 Manton was simultaneously appointed both Prebend of Wedmore II and Chancellor of Wells Cathedral; the week after on 2 January 1590 Manton was named Canon residiary of Wells Cathedral.4 Manton continued as Prebend, Chancellor and Canon residiary until his death on 15 July 1592. It was a prestigious role – he was immediately succeeded as the prebend of Wedmore Secunda and Chancellor of Wells by Anthony Watson, already chaplain in ordinary to Queen Elizabeth I and presented by her to Wells, and later to the Bishopric of Chichester.

When Thomas Manton’s grandfather died in 1592, his father must have been quite young as he matriculated at Peterhouse, Cambridge as a sizar only in 1609, graduating with a BA in 1613.5 This Thomas Manton was ordained as a priest in the Church of England on 24 September 1615 by James Montagu, Bishop of Bath and Wells (1608-1616).6 On 26 June 1617, Manton was licensed under William Cotton, Bishop of Exeter as the Curate of Honiton, Devon.7 Cotton sympathized with nonconformity and ‘did not think it necessary to enforce inquiries’ as did Bancroft.8 Manton was then licensed under Puritan-sympathizing Bishop Arthur

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4 W. Bird and W. Baildon (eds.), Calendar of the Manuscripts of the Dean and Chapter of Wells, HMC, 2 vols (London, 1907-14), II, 316, 19. Within a few lines the name is listed separately as ‘Thomas Manton’ and ‘Thomas Maunton’.
5 J. Venn, Alumni Cantabrigienses: a Biographical List of All Known Students, Graduates and Holders of Office at the University of Cambridge, From the Earliest Times to 1900, Part 1, 4 vols (Cambridge, 1924), III, 137.
8 Mary Wolffe, ’William Cotton (d. 1621)’, ODNB.
Lake (Bath and Wells 1616-26, followed ironically by Laud), as the curate at Lydeard St Lawrence, Somerset on 18 August 1619. In Exeter, Cotton died in 1621 and was succeeded as Bishop by Valentine Carey who formerly had been installed by James I as Master of Christ’s College, Cambridge to pull the momentum away from Puritans and toward conformists. In this less accommodating environment, on 7 April 1623 Manton was appointed curate of St Mary Arches, Exeter, referred to by Mark Stoyle as ‘one of Stuart Exeter’s most desirable addresses’. In September of the same year, along with four others, Manton was licensed as a preacher throughout the diocese of Exeter. This role was to be short lived – Manton was buried on New Year’s Day, 1624.

Thomas Manton was baptized on 30 March 1620 at Lydeard St. Lawrence, Somerset, where his father was curate. Manton would have been only three years old when they moved from Lydiard St. Lawrence to the center of Exeter to St Mary Arches and where his father would die before his fourth birthday.

Illustration 1.1: The modern façade of St Mary Arches (L); and the rear (R) showing centuries of development.

Source: Personal images.

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10 Mark Stoyle, From Deliverance to Destruction: Rebellion and Civil War in an English City (Exeter, 1996), 19.
11 Devon Heritage Centre Sowton, Parish Registers, Exeter, Mary St. Arches 1538-1986, 5995A-0/PW/1, C. Fursdon (transcriber), on 1 January 1623/24, the burial was recorded of ‘Mantonn, Mr Thomas, parson of this parish’, unpaginated, with gratitude to Mark Stoyle.
There are few surviving details of Manton’s childhood, though several matters are worth highlighting. First, in Manton’s early years, the Admonition controversy of the 1570s was receiving renewed attention in Manton’s home diocese of Exeter by Bishop Carey, who actively campaigned against the puritan line of the necessity of preaching and for the conformist belief (outlined by Whitgift) that reading the Scriptures and prayer book was sufficient for faith.\(^\text{13}\) This national debate had resurfaced in Devon in 1604 with the publication of Samuel Hieron’s tract *The Preacher’s Plea*.

Hieron’s *Plea* had such an enduring impact that twenty years later Bishop Carey of Exeter invited John Downe to preach a response to it. As Arnold Hunt argues, ‘Downe’s sermon was not only a reply of the Admonition controversy, with Downe playing Whitgift to Hieron’s Cartwright, but also anticipated what would soon become a central feature of Laudian apologetic, with an emphasis on prayer and the sacraments as a counterweight to the puritan emphasis on preaching’.\(^\text{14}\) As Manton was baptized in 1620, he would have grown up in the shadow of these figures and perhaps the resonances of this debate.

This controversy alone may not have borne as much weight except for a second factor that likely aggravated it – the politically active and zealously religious tradesman Ignatius Jurdain. Jurdain was a parishioner at St Mary Arches when young Manton would have been there, rising from the ranks of Jacobean merchants to serve twice as the mayor and four times MP for Exeter, ultimately labeled the ‘Arch-puritan’ by detractors and *Gaius mine hoste* (from Romans 16) by admirers for his trademark hospitality.\(^\text{15}\)


\(^{14}\) Ibid, 36.

\(^{15}\) Stoyle, *Deliverance*, 19; F. Nicolls, *The Life and Death of Mr. Ignatius Jurdain* (1654), 16.
Having achieved a position of genuine civic influence, Jurdain began to leverage this position for moral reform, searching and prosecuting such practices as swearing, fornication, and especially Sabbath-breaking. Perhaps the most notable of Jurdain’s efforts for reform was his direct appeal to the crown against the highly controversial Book of Sports. Charles was operating under the Personal Rule, so there was no Parliament for appeal. Hence Jurdain, not one to abrogate his conscience quietly, wrote a letter of protest addressed directly to the King and delivered personally by Bishop Hall. When the King read the letter, he was incensed and threatened to hang Jurdain, though Bishop Hall pleaded on his knees, ‘That God had not a better servant, nor his Majestie a better Subject in the whole Land’.  

Manton later penned the introduction to Nicolls’ memoir of Jurdain’s life, including a ten-point outline of Jurdain’s godly character and activity as noted from Manton’s own personal observations. Manton wrote introductions to many works, but what is particularly noteworthy in this case is Manton’s long personal relationship with the subject from his early and formative years. Jurdain was a massive personality in a small parish, and when his parish minister died, it would make sense that Jurdain would take some responsibility in mentoring the son of his former minister. Manton recorded stopping by Jurdain’s house on one occasion, ‘being to receive a letter from him for Oxford’, presumably to assist in his entry. Jurdain later named Manton’s mother in his will. Indeed, the outstanding marks of Jurdain’s life become noticeable in Manton’s life as well, namely strict sabbatarianism, a love for the Scriptures and

16 Stoyle, Deliverance, 22, 33.
17 T. Manton, ‘To The READER’, a3–a4, in Nicholls, Life (1654); W. Whiteway, William Whiteway of Dorchester: His Diary 1618-1635 (Dorchester, 1991), 135. Hall was later remembered positively by Dissenters as ‘Pious and Learned’ in contrast with the ‘Violence and ill Conduct’ of ‘Laud and his Creatures’; see John Withers, A Vindication of the Dissenters from the Charge of Rebellion (London, 1719), 17.
18 T. Manton, ‘To the READER’ in Nicholls, Life (1654).
19 M. Stoyle, Deliverance, p 24; F. Nicolls, Life, 15.
20 Manton, ‘To the READER’ in F. Nicolls, Life, a3
21 F. Troup, ‘An Exeter Worthy and His Biographer,’ in Report and Transactions of the Devonshire Association for the Advancement of Science, Literature and Art, 29 (Kingsbridge, 1897), 371.
godly books and sermons, pressing works for assurance of salvation, and outspoken anti-popery. From his earliest years, Manton would have a front row seat to observe the tense relationship from the Puritan side in Exeter, sitting in Jurdain’s corner and to some degree under his care. Both Manton’s family history and daily environment would have worked to reinforce his sympathy to Jurdain and Nonconformity.

The only other fact about Manton’s childhood that is known is from Harris – that he was educated in the ‘free school of Tiverton’.22 Though at first glance it may seem odd that Manton was sent to Tiverton for his schooling while there was a free school in Exeter, there were several factors that made Tiverton a more obvious choice, particularly from Jurdain’s point of view. First, while the free schools were no longer run by the church, they were required to be licensed by the bishop, and the church continued to regulate the teachers in confirming subscription to the Thirty-Nine Articles and the Royal Supremacy. During Manton’s early years, Carey’s own articles for the diocese of Exeter required schoolmasters’ adherence to the established church.23 Further, MP Nicholas Duck was rebuffed by Carey in his effort to establish a new grammar school during the 1624 Parliamentary session, raising the question of why another school was needed.24 In the end, Carey was a known opponent of the Puritans, described by Richard Montague as ‘one of the firmest against our [Puritan] faction’.25 Most likely, Jurdain wanted Manton to study under a Puritan, and the Free School in Tiverton afforded him just that opportunity at Blundell’s.26

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22 Memoirs, vii.
23 Kenneth Fincham, Visitation Articles and Injunctions of the Early Stuart Church, 2 vols (Woodbridge, 1998), II, 7.
26 Mike Sampson, A History of Blundell’s School (Tiverton, 2011), chapters 1 and 2.
When Peter Blundell died in 1601, his will made Sir John Popham executor, to found a school which would accept boys who, ‘are of honest reputation and feare God…and none under a grammar scholler’. Though Blundell was not widely remembered as a Puritan, one historian noted that Blundell ‘strikes a distinctly Puritan note’ when he directs that ‘for the increase of good and godly preachers of the gospel’ they should make ‘provision for “Foundeing and establishing six schollers in the Universitie of Oxford or Cambridge in such manner as the said Lord Cheefe Justice [Popham] shall be thought meetest”’. Popham, described as a ‘terrible Puritan’, turned to Presbyterian scholar Laurence Chaderton to find a head for the new school. Chaderton recommended his former pupil Joseph Hall. Hall declined, but recommended his Emmanuel colleague and puritan-leaning Hugh Cholmley, who after three years of helping to finish establishing the school (but never actually teaching) was replaced by Samuel Butler under whom Manton would have been prepared for Oxford. Little is known about Butler. The biographer of his most famous student, George Bull, noted Butler was an ‘excellent grammarian both for Latin and Greek’. When he came to Blundell’s, he was ‘so considerable in his employment, that…he brought several gentlemen’s sons with him; so that he had scholars from many parts of the kingdom’.

**Education at Oxford, 1636-1639**

Under Elizabeth and James I, demand for education was growing at all levels, as the humanist ideals of training ‘good men, virtuous rulers and useful citizens’ combined with the religious quest of furthering the Protestant Reformation.

The two universities of Oxford and Cambridge along with the Inns of Court at

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London were increasingly accessible to a wider swath of society.\textsuperscript{33} Even so, Manton’s training at Blundell’s remained a rare gift, and he would not waste it. Manton completed the requirements for entry to university by age 14 and took a year back at home, waiting either for a place to become available or for supplementary funding (through Jurdain?) or both. Manton entered Wadham College Oxford as a plebeian on 11 March 1636.\textsuperscript{34} Though an Oxford BA typically required four years of study, ‘by a course of unwearied diligence, joined with great intellectual endowments, [Manton] was early qualified for the work of the ministry’, completing the requirements in just over three years and graduating from Hart Hall (to which he had only recently transferred from Wadham) on 15 June 1639.\textsuperscript{35}

The choice of Wadham is not obvious, unless for financial reasons. It is plausible that Manton received a form of patronage from either the Wadhams or the Pophams, since the Pophams were behind Blundell’s, and the Pophams and Wadhams were related by marriage.\textsuperscript{36} Most likely Jurdain was behind it, either to sponsor Manton, which he could have easily managed, or more likely to make arrangements through his son Ignatius. This younger Jurdain had graduated from Wadham (BA 1627, MA 1630) and in fact was not only a Fellow in the college (1632-39), but also became Bursar the same year that Manton entered.\textsuperscript{37} Wood lists Manton entering Wadham as a ‘servitor,’ though this is possibly an incorrect presumption since Wadham had no Servitors (only Battelers), and

\begin{footnotes}
\item[34] Oxford University Archives, matriculation register 1615-1648, SP 2; OUA, subscription register 1615-1639, SP 39, with gratitude to Sian Astill in the OUA. See also Foster, \textit{Alumni Oxonienses}, III, 968; Robert Gardiner (ed.), \textit{The Registers of Wadham College, Oxford, 1613-1719}, 2 vols (London, 1889), I, 129; Wood, \textit{Athenae}, ii, 445; \textit{Memoirs}, viii.
\item[35] \textit{Memoirs}, viii.
\item[36] In the fifteenth century, Sir John Wadham married Elizabeth Popham, one of the heirs of Sir Stephen Popham. Nicholas Wadham who founded Wadham College was their direct descendant. See John Prince, \textit{Worthies of Devon} (Exeter, 1701), 588.
\end{footnotes}
Manton does not appear. The evidence points to Manton entering as a Commoner and receiving some financial dispensation from the bursar, Ignatius Jurdain.

For the most part Manton’s experience of discipline at Wadham would have been typical of Oxford colleges (the statutes reflecting those of New College and Corpus at times word for word), representing continuity with medieval practice more than modern. The undergraduates were required to attend chapel services twice daily from 5-6 am and 8-9 pm. The Dean taught Logic from 6-9 am involving either lectures or disputes. Three times a week there were Classical Lectures at 2 pm on two Greek authors and one Latin author. Together there were about twenty-four hours of lectures or disputations per week, supplemented by the student’s own reading and writing.

Though Jurdain was involved, Wadham was not known as a particularly Puritan environment; in fact if anything it may well have nourished crypto-Catholic sympathies by the time Manton arrived in the mid 1630s as a result of influence of long time Warden William Smyth. The founders Nicholas and Dorothy Wadham were suspected Catholic recusants, a rumor reinforced by the foundress’ appointment of Smyth as the third Warden in 1617. Smyth had formed a connection with the Petre family, a Catholic noble family from Essex. After his appointment, Smyth served as Warden nearly twenty years. During

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41 Gardiner (ed.), *Registers*, I, xx, 8, 9, 129; II, 571.
this time, Smyth formed another connection – to William Laud, the college
Visitor as the Bishop of Bath and Wells from 1626. Alongside Laud, Smyth’s star
would rise: in 1629 Smyth was appointed a delegate for Laud’s university statute
reform, and in 1630-32 served as vice chancellor under Laud.

Smyth retired from Wadham in September 1635, and the college elected a new
warden Daniel Escott two days later – the first Warden to be elected rather than
appointed. Though little is known about Escott, Fincham suggests that he was
the only new college head from the 1630s who was not a ‘Laudian protégé or
willing supporter’.42 Even so, in February 1642 he was one of several college
heads who did not take the Parliament’s protestation oath without
reservations.43 Later however, in 1648, 11 of 13 fellows would be ejected by the
Parliamentary visitors.44

Wadham in the 1630’s was not a straightforward environment. The Visitor of the
college was the Bishop of Bath and Wells, at the time the fierce Laudian William
Piers, who had entirely suppressed lectures in Somerset, as well as sermons at
evensong. Piers apparently had some conflict with the college, as in 1633 he
wrote a letter ‘reproving the fellows for their dissention in the recent
elections’.45 A snapshot of the Wadham catalogue in 1641 reveals two books of
Common Prayer – one in English (1638) and one in French, provided ‘Ex dono
Ignatii Jordain. 1642’. The library was well-stocked with works by John Foxe,
Joseph Hall, Richard Hooker, William Perkins, a folio of Shakespeare’s plays
(1623) and a single item from Laud – a debate with ‘Mr. Fisher the Jesuite’
(1639).46

42 Fincham, ‘Early Stuart Polity’ in N. Tyacke, Volume IV: Seventeenth-century
43 Ian Roy and Dietrich Reinhart, ‘The Civil Wars’ in N. Tyacke, History of the
University of Oxford, 696.
44 Ian Roy and Dietrich Reinhart, ‘Oxford and the Civil Wars’ in N. Tyacke (ed.),
The History of the University of Oxford, vol. 4, Seventeenth Century Oxford (Oxford,
45 M. Dorman, ‘William Piers (bap. 1580, d. 1670)’ in ODNB.
46 H. A. Wheeler (comp.), A Short Catalogue of Books Printed in England and
English Books Printed Abroad Before 1641 in the Library of Wadham College,
An early roll call of Wadham graduates provides a lively variety of company. Robert Blake (1618) would later fight for Parliament and become a celebrated admiral. There were in fact early Dissenters, including Cornelius Burges (1615) one of the Presbyterian divines of the 1640’s who also came under Bedford patronage (Edward Russell, third Earl of Bedford), co-signed with Manton on the *Vindication of Ministers of the Gospel* (1649), and was lecturing at St Paul’s in the mid 1650s when Manton would have been in London. Preceding Manton in the early 1630s was William Russell, Manton’s future patron. John Gauden was there in the early 1630s as a tutor for William and his brother Francis. Contemporary with Manton was fellow Exonian Francis Bampfield (BA 1635, MA 1638), brother to House speaker Thomas Bampfield and a seventh-day Baptist, ordained a deacon in 1639 by Bishop Joseph Hall (possibly at the same ceremony with Manton). Thomas Leigh (matr. 1636, BA 1641) had a nearly identical career to Manton: entering Wadham with Manton, later a trier for the approbation of ministers, a London Presbyterian minister ejected from All Hallows Lombard Street in 1662, preached at conventicles for which he served a sentence, and licensed as a Presbyterian teacher in his home in 1672, even catechizing the younger Edmund Calamy.

Manton studied at Wadham for about three years, then in the spring of 1639 transferred to Hart Hall, only months before graduating. There are scant surviving records of Hart in the early seventeenth century, and Manton’s reasons for transferring are not entirely clear whether financial, theological or otherwise.

Nicholas Tyacke noted that in Oxford from the late sixteenth century onwards, ‘an obsession with Roman Catholicism was increasingly paralleled by alarm about a novel rationalizing tendency in religion’. These concerns eventually took

47 Gardiner (ed.), *Registers*, I, 103-4, 106; William and his brother Francis were tutored at Wadham by John Gauden.
48 Francis’ brother Thomas Bampfield would be a well-known Presbyterian MP for Exeter and serve on the House Grand Committee for Religion, including working on the Nayler case.
the shape of ‘two spectres, often indistinguishable, [which] haunted many English theologians during the seventeenth century. They called one popery and the other by the names of Arminianism and Socinianism…. Those so accused sometimes replied in kind, but more usually they resorted to a counter-charge of Puritanism’. The degree to which clerics and scholars reacted to these spectres often defined whether and to what degree they would be labeled Puritans.

Following an uneasy Elizabethan compromise, Jacobean Oxford (more than Cambridge) maintained a generally mainstream Reformed tradition characterized by two core elements: Calvinism (with its flagship doctrine of election), and the fundamental belief that the pope was Antichrist. With authority now having moved from institutional tradition to Scriptural truth, preaching was generally accepted as the primary means of grace by centrist churchmen and Oxford vice-chancellors such as George Abbot and Henry Airay, though not by John Howson already in 1602. The practice of preaching, reinforced symbolically by the physical prominence of pulpits over altars, emphasized the foundational authority of the Scriptures over traditions and practical priority of hearing the Word over sacramental ceremony.

The significance and impact of Laud on 1630s Oxford, during Manton’s intellectual, theological and ecclesiological coming of age, can hardly be underestimated. Liturgy, ceremony and rites that had been overlooked were now reinstated and enforced. A more ritualistic religion was growing, along with attacks on puritans and godly piety. The power base shifted from the Jacobean Calvinists of Archbishop Abbot, his chaplain Daniel Featly, and John Prideaux to the Caroline anti-Calvinists of William Laud, Richard Montagu and

51 Ibid, 569-71.
53 See ‘The King’s Declaration Prefixed to the Articles of Religion November 1628’ in H. Gee and W. Hardy, Documents Illustrative of English Church History (London, 1910), 520.
the Durham House Neileans.\textsuperscript{54} Two 1630s Laudian Oxonians, William Juxon and Gilbert Sheldon, would be the next Archbishops of Canterbury.

In 1629 Oxford was ‘the intellectual capital of Puritanism’, transformed by Laud in seven years to ‘the capital of the High Church party’.\textsuperscript{55} In the 1630s Laud was cleaning house and in 1636 issued a new set of university statutes, which recodified the traditional medieval \textit{Trivium} (Grammar, Rhetoric and Logic or Dialectic) and \textit{Quadrivium} (Music, Arithmetic, Geometry and Astronomy).\textsuperscript{56} The ‘new’ subjects, readings and regimen of disputations were designed, expressly under the Laudian statutes, to ensure a ‘mastery of language and literature’.

Manton arrived at Oxford in March 1636. An event during the royal visit of Charles I to Oxford at the end of August illustrates the changing winds into which Manton was sailing. In a sermon preached before Charles at Christ Church, the preacher Thomas Browne took a text from the gospel of Luke that quoted the masses hailing the triumphal entry of Christ into Jerusalem as her true king, ‘Blessed is the king who comes in the name of the Lord. Glory in the highest’. Browne argued not only for divine right of kingship but also against those who ‘are all for \textit{pax} but they will have no \textit{Gloria}, no altars or images, no kings or bishops; others are for \textit{gloria} but it is \textit{gloria in profundis} not \textit{excelsis}, they who say God is glorifyed by the damned in Hell’. Kenneth Fincham points out that in one brilliant move Browne managed to ‘assimilate puritan scruples over ceremonies with the threat of Presbyterian democracy and Calvinist teaching on reprobation into a catalogue of false teaching which had no place in a bastion of orthodoxy such as Oxford’. Not only was the sermon received with approbation but not long after Browne was appointed one of Laud’s chaplains.\textsuperscript{58} Given his background of west-country Puritanism under Jurdain, Manton would likely have sought refuge

\textsuperscript{54} Tyacke, ‘Religious Controversy’, 578, 581, 584-90.
\textsuperscript{58} Fincham, ‘Polity’, 207-8.
from the onslaught of Arminianism – and its attendant episcopalianism – in the university’s puritan subculture.

Also, William Chillingworth’s *The Religion of Protestants* (1638) was published during Manton’s tenure at Oxford. *The Religion of Protestants* ‘promoted the Bible, interpreted by reason, as an alternative authority to the pope’. Ostensibly it was an anti-Catholic rejoinder to English Jesuit Edward Knott’s *Mercy and Truth, or, Charity Maintain’d by Catholiques* (1634), particularly targeting papal infallibility. However, it ‘was equally subversive of Calvinist orthodoxy, for Chillingworth argued, like Hales earlier, that Christians are only bound to believe things ‘evidently contained’ in scripture’.59 Chillingworth argued, ‘Naturall reason is the last resolution, unto which the Church’s authority is but the first inducement’.60 These are high marks for human reason, and would be open to the criticism of crypto or even full Socinianism, according to ‘Prideaux’s description, in 1637, of Socinians who ‘make reason their tribunal’ for deciding controversies of faith’.61 Manton would later use ‘tribunal of our reason’ both positively (discernment vs. folly)62 and negatively (carinal reason vs. God’s word).63

So Manton’s Oxford was engulfed in the debates on authority (papal, scriptural or philosophical) and Arminianism, and though he would live nearly another forty years after graduating, he would die still fighting these battles. Under Laud, historic and staunch Calvinism was silenced and Calvinists marginalized as schismatic. Also, Laud continued the Jacobethan trend of ‘greater outside control over religious teaching, more stringent demands for conformity, and the refinement of oligarchic government within the university’.64 Laud achieved this

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62 *CWTM*, II, 433; XIX, 12.
63 *CWTM*, IV, 51; VII, 79; XV, 222.
through new formal statutes, through his position as Visitor of several colleges, and by leveraging his position as archbishop to influence patronage. Though these institutional changes would have been in their peak during Manton’s tenure at Oxford, they seemingly only served to push him deeper into the minority of convicted Calvinists and Puritans.

While Manton was at Oxford, there were significant developments between the churches of England and Scotland, namely the rising of the Scottish Covenanters who would play a key role in the the Bishops’ Wars and Civil War, as well as Manton’s life and ministry. In 1637, Charles I and Laud attempted to replace the Book of Discipline with the new Book of Canons as well introducing a new Scottish prayer book. The new prayer book included provision for priests’ vestments, altar rails, and kneeling during communion – which the majority Presbyterian audience would have understood as a return to the tyranny and idolatry of Roman Catholicism. The Scots revived the national covenant of 1581, declaring religious innovations from 1581 void. Negotiations with Charles I failed predictably as both sides were committed to fundamentally different versions of the Church of Scotland. Banners were raised on both sides, and by the summer of 1639 – right as Manton would have been graduating from Hart Hall – the skirmishes of the first Bishops’ War concluded with an uneasy settlement in June, with the second Bishops’ War to follow the next year.

**Early Ministry, 1640-1643**

Following his graduation from Hart Hall on 15 June 1639, Manton returned to Devon. There he was ordained as a deacon before he was twenty by Bishop Joseph Hall of Exeter in either late 1639 or early 1640, which would prove his final ordination. Ironically for Manton, this would have been the exact time that

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65 Trevor-Roper, *Catholics, Anglicans*, 77.
67 E. C. Vernon, ‘Thomas Manton (bap. 1620-1677),’ *ODNB; Memoirs*, viii. Baxter on the other hand, supposed Manton ‘submitted to Diocesane Ordination, when the Diocesanes returned’; see R. Baxter, *The True and Only Way of Concord of All the Christian Churches* (1680), 86. Harris claimed Manton had not been reordained, but following 1640, it was ‘[Manton’s] judgment that he was
Hall had published his *Episcopacie by Divine Right Asserted* (1640), followed the next year by his address to Parliament *An Humble Remonstrance*, triggering a pamphlet war, which would later involve Manton on the opposing side.68

He preached his first sermon in the parish church of St. Michael’s Sowton, Exeter on the text from Matthew 7:1, ‘Judge not, that ye be not judged’.69 The sermon text does not survive, though the fact that Harris notes the verse may indicate a conciliatory message, considering Manton’s later ministry. The church preserves its nave and tower from the 16th century, and boasts a continuous list of ministers dating back to 1278.70 From 1546-1626, the minister of the Sowton church had been selected under the patronage of the Earls of Bedford, granted to them for a lease of eighty years by Bishop Veysey under Edward VI.71 The minister whom Manton would have known would have been Hutton Dawson, the first post-Bedford minister, appointed by Bishop Joseph Hall in February 1635. When Dawson was sequestered in 1646, Manton's nephew 'John Mortimore was the intruded minister'.72 It is possible that Jurdain was Manton’s initial link with the church, as his son Ignatius Jurdain became vicar of there in September 1662.73

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68 See Chapter 2 on *Smectymnuus*. Manton would republish a rejoinder to Hall’s work (*Smectymnuus Redivivus*) on three occasions (1654, 1660, 1661).
69 *Memoirs*, viii.
70 The list is on the east wall of the nave; some early history is discussed in *The Antient History and Description of the City of Exeter* (Exeter, 1765?), 253-5.
73 From list of vicars, posted on the wall of the Sowton Parish Church, St Michael’s.
Sometime in 1640, Manton took a lectureship at the parish church of Culliton (Colyton) Devon (1640-43) that was well attended. Though only newly graduated and freshly minted as a twenty-year old deacon, Manton was already showing signs of spiritual leadership: ‘There [at Colyton] he had an occasion of reforming the disorderly practice of those who, after the example of a leading gentleman, fell to their private devotion in the congregation after the public worship was begun’. Though George Pulman suggested that Manton ‘appears to have laid the foundation of nonconformity in the town’, more recently Pamela Sharpe has traced nonconformity in east Devon to the early Reformation. By 1640, ‘the entire local government of Colyton...had declared themselves to

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75 Memoirs, viii.

support Puritanism’. As for the church, Colyton had a ‘long-held strong sense of independent [i.e. dissenting] thought and moderate Puritanism in the parish. A generation later, both Dissent and Puritanism would combine to make Colyton a major recruiting centre for Monmouth.78

Illustration 1.3: The parish church in Colyton, where Manton served as lecturer.

Source: Personal image.

If the influence of Puritanism on Manton is evident, the question remains, when did he encounter Presbyterianism? Sir Walter Yonge (c.1626-1670), second baronet, had Presbyterian leanings, and estates in both Honiton (where Manton’s father had served) and Colyton.79 Perhaps there is one hint of it from his home parish of St. Mary Arches, Exeter. Wood refers to Ferdinando Nicholls, the minister who followed Manton’s father as the parish priest after a gap in the record (and author of the memoir of Jurdain), in 1632, describing him as ‘a grand

77 Pamela Sharpe, Population and Society in an East Devon Parish: Reproducing Colyton 1540-1840 (Exeter, 2002), 35.
78 Sharpe, Colyton, 40, 52-4.
79 Mark Goldie, ‘Yonge, Sir Walter (bap. 1653, d. 1731)’, ODNB.
Presbyterian, if not worse. Nineteenth century historians saw Presbyterianism as widespread in the western counties, but even if accounts were exaggerated, the observation does point to a tradition of Presbyterianism in general. More recently Polly Ha has demonstrated a continuous Presbyterian Tradition through the late Tudor and early Stuart periods in various parts of England including Exeter. Thomas Bampfield, MP for Exeter and speaker of Richard Cromwell’s House, was a ‘lifelong Presbyterian’ and friend of Lord Wharton, took part in denouncing the Quaker James Nayler, and in the Restoration was a ‘staunch supporter of a Presbyterian settlement’.

Meanwhile Manton’s tenure in Colyton was not all business, as he was married to Mary Morgan, ‘daughter of a genteel family of Manston, in Sidbury, Devon’ in the parish church of St. Kerrian, Exeter, the parish adjacent to St Mary Arches where Manton had grown up. The Mantons’ wedding in May 1643 was squeezed in between two royalist sieges of parliamentarian Exeter. In the final week of 1642 Sir Ralph Hopton and his army attempted but failed to take Exeter, retreating back to Cornwall. On the 15th of May the Mantons were married, but a month later, Hopton’s army returned, and on 4 September 1643 Exeter was taken by the Royalists. The Mantons fled from Exeter to Lyme Regis, moving quickly on to London.

**London Settlement**

In London the momentum of change began to work in Manton’s favor; sequestrations were beginning to open up episcopal pulpits to energetic young

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84 Parish registers, Exeter, St Kerrian, held at Devon Heritage Centre, J. Nesbitt (transcriber), *Parish Register of St Kerrian, Exeter*, I, 12; *Memoirs*, ix.
85 Stoyle, *Deliverance*, 67-84.
Presbyterians. Harris notes, ‘At his coming to London, he was soon taken notice of as a young man of excellent parts and growing hopes. Here he neither wanted work, nor will to perform it’.86 Though the exact timeline of events leading to Manton’s first London settlement is not clear, both for England and the Mantons, events progressed rapidly: the Assembly began meeting on 1 July 1643; the Covenant was signed in Scotland (August) and England (September); the Mantons left Exeter on September 4 to flee to Lyme and then to London, then in 1644 the royalist prebendary of St Mary’s Stoke Newington Thomas Turner and parish minister William Heath were sequestered, and Manton was installed as the rector by the local patron MP Alexander Popham.87

Manton would have known of Popham from his grandfather Sir John Popham through Blundell’s, and the Pophams were a wealthy and influential family owning estates in both Devon and Somerset where Manton grew up. There were further connections with the Popham family in Colyton: Sir John Popham’s sister (and great aunt to Alexander Popham) Katharine Popham (d. 1588) married William Pole esq., lord of the manor in Colyton, and is buried in the Pole chapel, just to the east of the chancel in the Colyton church.88

86 Memoirs, ix.
88 This William Pole (d. 1587) was father to the antiquary of the same name, who was baptized in the Colyton church. Katharine Pole’s grave is large and ornate, and engraved with the following: ‘Here lieth the body of Katharine daughter of Alexander Popham ... the sister of Sir John Popham Knight Lord Chief Justice of England and lately the wife of William Pole esq. the elder’.
Popham installed Manton either late in 1644 or early 1645 with the backing of the local residents and the Committee for Plundered Ministers, earning £120 per annum. As it turned out, Manton (settled by Popham) and his successor Daniel Bull (selected by the vestry and confirmed by Cromwell in 1657) would be the

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only two rectors of Stoke Newington not selected by the Bishop of London (or his appointed Newington Prebendary) or the Monarch for nearly one thousand years (1080-2014). Following Manton and Bull, William Heath would be reinstated in 1660 as the ‘legal incumbent’.90

Unlike many of his contemporaries (e.g. Baxter, Sedgwick, Case, Love, Owen), it seems Manton did not serve as a Civil War chaplain.91 Perhaps it was because he had received his settlement from a Parliamentarian patron, and he was not entirely sympathetic to the cause. Perhaps he had simply seen enough. As a newly married man, Manton endured a siege (or two) at Exeter and witnessed the atrocities of the Royalist forces abandoning terms of surrender.92

**Conclusion**

Manton’s youthful years placed him firmly on a Puritan trajectory. He was the son and grandson Devonian Puritan ministers. He was raised under the care of the larger-than-life ‘Arch-Puritan’ Ignatius Jurdain, who was himself tried in the Star Chamber for being ‘the principall patron of factious and seditious persons in all the Western parts’.93 He was educated at Blundell’s, a school established and staffed by the ‘terrible Puritan’ Sir John Popham, and likely supported through Oxford by the Jurdains.94 Manton both graduated from Oxford and was ordained a deacon in the Church of England at the height of the Laudian crackdown on the godly, which rather than drawing Manton out of Puritanism, pushed him further into it. And following a lectureship in Colyton, he was settled in London, under a Parliamentarian patron, on the eve of the Westminster Assembly. Within two years Manton would be a member of the flagship Provincial Assembly and preaching to the House of Commons.

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91 Manton is not listed among either Parliamentary or Royalist chaplains; see Anne Laurence, *Parliamentary Army Chaplains, 1642-1651* (Woodbridge, 1990); M. Griffin, *Regulating Religion and Morality in the King’s Armies, 1639-46* (Leiden, 2004).
92 Stoyle, *Deliverance*, 84-5.
93 Mark Stoyle, ‘Ignatius Jurdain (bap. 1561, d. 1640),’ *ODNB*.
Chapter 2
Polarisation, 1645-1653

‘Contrary opinions in Religion, usually cause much alienation of affection, and great disturbances in the Common-wealth’.¹

‘I shall be bold to speake a word or two to my Brethren in the ministry...We are Embassadors of the Prince of Peace, twill ill become us to be men of violence’.²

Introduction
This chapter will demonstrate how Manton rose from being an obscure country preacher to being a leading London Presbyterian and an increasingly visible ecclesiastical statesman of the Interregnum. In Manton’s lifelong pursuit of a unified national church, we will observe evidence pointing in two different directions. On the one hand, we see Manton the irenicist and moderate, particularly evident in his Parliamentary sermons of 1647 and 1648. On the other, we see Manton the militant Presbyterian activist, particularly clear in the Love case. Following Manton’s education, ordination and settlement (chapter 1), this chapter traces his alienation from the Independents, followed by a rapprochement under the Protectorate (chapter 3).

English Presbyterianism
At the turn of 1640 the term ‘Presbyterian’ was not commonly used as a noun connoting a denomination as distinct from the Church of England, but rather more generally (e.g. ‘Presbyteriall’) to describe a type of church government within the Church of England.³ As Polly Ha observed, ‘these presbyterians neither saw themselves as being, nor behaved much like, a denomination. Rather

¹ Meate, 45; CWTM, V, 404.
² Meate, 38; CWTM, V, 400-1.
³ For example, see Ellis Bradshaw, An Husbandman’s Harrow to Pull Down the Ridges of the Presbyteriall Government and to Smooth, a Little, the Independent (1649); Henry Jeanes, The Want of Church-government No Warrant for a Totall Omission of the Lords Supper...Whether or No, the Sacrament of the Lords Supper May (According to Presbyterial Principles) Be Lawfully Administred [sic] in an Un-presbyterated church (1650).
they worked within a wider set of circumstances that they had not welcomed’. The role of Presbyterianism within the Church of England would soon receive renewed attention.

Following *Episcopacie by Divine Right Asserted* (1640), Hall’s address to Parliament published as *An Humble Remonstrance* (1641) incurred a swift and strong response from the five divines known collectively by their initials as ‘Smectymnuus’ in *An Answer to a Booke entituled An Humble Remonstrance* (March, 1641). The Smectymnuans denied *jure divino* Episcopacy, arguing instead that the highest church office in the New Testament is elder. Though they did not positively espouse a particular form of Presbyterian church government, negatively they were clear, publishing in all capital letters, ‘LET EPISCOPACY BE FOREVER ABANDONED OUT OF THE CHURCH OF GOD’.5

Illustration 2.1: An emphatic text from the Smectymnuans.


John Milton, a former pupil of Thomas Young, entered the debate publishing five anti-prelatical pamphlets between May 1641 and April 1642, engaging both

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James Ussher and Joseph Hall. Milton entered the debate on the side of Presbyterianism more as a default position; if the two systems were ‘prelacy’ or ‘presbytery’ then Milton would reject the oppressive prelacy of Laud, choosing ‘presbytery, if it must be so called’. However, Milton would quickly become disillusioned with the Presbyterians’ power in the Assembly and Parliament, and switch his sympathies to the more tolerant Independents, culminating in his well-known line, ‘New Presbyter is but Old priest writ Large’.

Westminster Assembly

On 4 January 1645 Parliament approved a lengthy ordinance that recast the forms of worship for the church in England, most notably removing the Book of Common Prayer and replacing it with the Assembly’s Directory of Worship. On 19 August 1645, the Parliament issued an ordinance for the establishment of Presbyterian Church Government for the province of London. The ordinance divided the Province of London into ‘twelve classical elderships’. In theory this was a complete overhaul of the ecclesiastical organization of the Church of England, beginning with the province of London: 138 London parishes divided into twelve Classes. At the time Manton was the minister at St Mary’s Stoke Newington, a parish assigned to the eighth London classis. The system was not implemented quickly or neatly.

London Provincial Assembly

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6 J. Witte, The Reformation of Rights: Law, Religion and Human Rights in Early Modern Calvinism (Cambridge 2007), 221; especially fn. 39 for a list of all five publications.
9 Firth and Rait, I, 582-607.
On 5 June 1646 Parliament passed an ordinance intended to expedite the settling of church government. The continuing lacklustre response from the divines brought a more direct word from Parliament, which on 9 June ‘Ordered, That all the Ministers of the several and respective Parishes within the Province of London be, and are hereby, required and enjoined forthwith to put in Execution the Ordinances concerning Church-Government’. Ten days later the London divines met at Sion College, resolving tentatively to attempt implementation of Presbyterian government, though not without reservations, published as Certain Considerations and Cautions Agreed Upon by the Ministers of London (1646).

The primary issue in Certain Considerations was that of ‘keeping off Ignorant and Scandalous persons from the Sacrament of the Lords Supper’. The divines perceived that ‘these particular Ordinances… do not hold forth a compleat Rule, nor are in all points satisfactory to our Consciences’. What is remarkable about this is that on 3 and 5 June 1646 the House and Lords had respectively passed regulations on the Lord’s Supper. This was to clarify regulations from 5 March 1646, when the Commons had passed, following a long preamble, a twenty-two point outline regarding the implementation of presbyterial church government, containing ten points specifically devoted to regulating admittance to the Lord’s Supper. These points were the clarification of earlier legislation passed 26 February 1646. Whatever ambiguities remained in the existing legislation by mid June must have seemed to Parliament as exasperatingly punctilious, and in actuality reflected unresolved conflicts from within the Assembly itself between hard liners and moderates.

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11 LJ, 5 June 1646, VIII (1645-47), 359-60. The previous ordinances regarding ecclesiastical government were passed on 20 October 1645 and 14 March 1645/6. (list of ordinances here and here)
12 CJ, 9 June 1646, IV (1644-46), 569.
13 Certain Considerations and Cautions, 6, 7.
14 For 3 June see CJ, V (1644-46), 562, 3; for 5 June see LJ, VIII (1645-47), 359, 60.
15 CJ, IV (1644-46), 463-5; see also the appendix of An Ordinance of the Lords and Commons Assembled in Parliament for giving power to all the Classick Presbyteries, (1645), A2, dated 26 February 1646.
From June 1646 to May 1647 the London divines were ostensibly organizing the classis system across the city, and on 3 May 1647 opened the London Provincial Assembly. William Gouge was selected the prolocutor and Manton selected as a scribe along with Ralph Robinson and John Cardell. Although the role of scribe was more of a starting than a senior role, it nonetheless shows a degree of trust, particularly in 1647 when hopes were high for a Presbyterian reformation. At this first meeting, they invited two ministers and four ruling elders from each of the twelve classes, for a possible maximum of 72 delegates, though the actual figure was 48, as four of the classes were not yet formed.

**Eighth London Classis**

The clerical delegates from the 8th classis, Manton and Smectymnuan William Spurstow, were both from the outlying parishes – Stoke Newington and Hackney. The lay ruling elder delegates of the 8th classis included Colonel Edward Popham, Sir David Watkins, and minor merchants Isaac Legay and John Bence. Popham was the brother of Manton’s current patron Alexander Popham and also a former Parliamentarian officer. Watkins, selected a lay member of the Grand Committee in the first Assembly, had been associated with the Independents. In spite of the fact that Spurstow and Manton would be prominent on the national level, this particular gathering of lay elders points to a less than zealous acceptance of Presbyterianism in the 8th classis. Tai Liu observed, ‘the Eighth Classis was probably the weakest among the constituted

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18 T. Liu, *Puritan London: A Study of Religion and Society in the City Parishes* (London, 1986), 84. The third outlying parish was St. Leonard Shoreditch. The seven city parishes were St Andrew Undershaft, St Helen Bishopsgate, St Katherine Cree, St Martin Outwich, St Ethelburga, St James Duke’s Place and St Botolph Aldgate.

classical presbyteries in Puritan London'. Though Manton had been known as a Puritan in Colyton, he by no means was a militant Presbyterian, and this slim showing for lay elders points to Manton's early moderate form of Presbyterianism.

**Tensions in Church and State**

And yet at the height of the Assembly's success, the (politically) Presbyterian-dominated House of Commons was beginning to weaken, undermining the Assembly's work. Though armed Royalism was defeated, there was still no monarch, no religious settlement, no payment for or disbanding of the Army. Distempers remained high among the remaining powerful factions, namely the Independent-dominated New Model Army and the Presbyterian majority English Parliament. Though allies in victory, in time the New Model would decide to hold their co-victors to account. Exactly one month after the opening of the London Provincial Assembly, on June 3, 1647 an increasingly politicized New Model Army seized the King from Parliamentary guards. From mid-June, the Army intensified pressure on Parliament to settle both with them and the king on terms accounting for their grievances. From Newmarket they began moving slowly toward London; army payments were hastily approved, eleven members requested leave (to flee), and the London militia was put on alert. Four days later, at this peak moment of crisis between Parliament and the Army, Manton would make his entry onto the national stage, preaching in the Commons for the first time on 30 June 1647.

**First Parliamentary Sermon (1647)**

Though revived in the 1640s, Parliamentary fast days were not new and in fact already carried baggage packed not only with religious but political subtleties.  

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Parliamentary fasts and sermons would become a regular event to mark special occasions including the first four parliaments of Charles I. However, following the withdrawal of Charles from Hampton Court to Windsor Castle, the occasion was left to Parliament to serve their purposes unchecked. Trevor-Roper points out that, ‘By agreeing to the system, Charles I had put into the hands of his enemies a means of co-ordination and propaganda to which he himself had no parallel’.24

Manton was invited by Somerset presbyterian MP Thomas Grove to preach alongside Nathaniel Ward, on the ascendancy due to the popularity of his book *The Simple Cobbler of Agawam* (1647). Having been deprived by Laud in 1632, Ward immigrated to Massachusetts two years later; buoyed by success both as a popular preacher and writer Ward returned to England to help reconcile the conflicts. Thus Ward, a 69 year-old victim of Laud’s ejections was slated to speak alongside the 27 year-old, recently settled Manton.

Ward’s Scripture text was from the prophet Ezekiel: ‘And fire is gone out of a Rod of her branches, which had devoured her fruit, so that she hath no strong Rod, to be a Scepter to Rule, this is a Lamentation, and shall be for a Lamentation’.26 Ezekiel is writing a lament from Babylonian exile regarding the failure of the Davidic line of kings to rule according to God’s law, bringing judgment on the nation. This message seemed straightforward enough in support of Parliament, but like Ezekiel, Ward was a prophet on a mission, and he would exploit this

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26 Ezekiel 19:14.
seeming clarity as only thinly veiling a critical ambiguity in the present case: does God’s judgment come on the nation because the king was sinful, or because he represented a sinful people? With the King in relative captivity, the two remaining suspects in the dock were Parliament and the Army – and Ward would accuse both.

Ward used the word ‘lament’ in its various forms a remarkable seventy times to air a wide range of concerns that proved equally wide in offense. Ward rebuked Parliament for not settling church government or royal authority, and lamented that the Army had (among other things) ‘bemeazled so many ignorant Country men and Townes, with impious and blasphemous opinions, and rude manners’. Manton and the two Lord’s preachers were thanked ‘ordered to print their Sermons, save only Mr. Ward, who gave Offence’, and an Army letter described it as ‘worse then Edwards his Gangrena’.

Manton being the younger minister by over forty years preached in the afternoon. His sermon was promisingly entitled, Meate Out of the Eater, or Hopes of Unity In and By Divided and Distracted Times. Like Ward, the text was from an Old Testament prophet, Zechariah, though the context and message were quite different: ‘In that day there shall be one Lord, and his name one’. In his preface to the published edition, Manton states that ‘something is offered, which by the blessing of God may be serviceable to reduce men from their violences & extremities to some better temper and moderation’. For this he had apparently been criticized, being accused of ‘tepid indifferency’ and ‘carnally-wise

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27 Considering the excessive use of the word ‘lament’ particularly near the end (eight times in one sentence), may show intentionality, considering the historical significance of the Biblical number 70 as a number of completion.
28 N. Ward, A Sermon Preached Before the Honourable House of Commons at Their Late Monthly Fast (1647), 19, 20, 23.
31 Zechariah 14:9.
neutrality’. Manton responded by defending his zeal however moderately expressed: ‘To these I shall only profess, that if I know mine heart, I abhor all such moderation & compliances as wil not stand with Christian zeal, and may disadvantage truth and religion, whatever become of my own party I would be faithfull and true to that interest’.32

Illustration 2.2: The cover page to *Meate Out of the Eater* (1647).

Manton’s main point in *Meate* is that ‘in the latter days there shall be great unity in the Church of God’, which will come from acknowledging Christ in a purity of worship.\(^{33}\) Though this is not radical, his vision of how this might play out as many churches in England coalescing into one Church of England would surely have raised some brows: ‘Tis promised here that there shall be one Name;...we see now, and wee may bewayle it, that among the holy people, there are distinct names as Lutherans, Calvinists, Presbyterians, Independents: But then all these shall vanish & be no more heard of, the whole family shall be named Christians from Christ’.\(^{34}\) Manton is not referring to God’s heavenly kingdom but an earthly Zion, namely England.

Manton garnishes further evidence of this latter day unity from a peppering of prophets including Amos, Isaiah and notably Ezekiel: ‘And there shall be no more any pricking thorne, nor any provoking bryar of all that are round about her’.\(^{35}\) Manton attributes to the Ezekiel passage the force of a promise from God, which conceals a warning to those who would stand in God’s way: ‘God hath promised to take away all provocation and molestation, and what ever is grievous;...as long as there is difference in Religion and worship, there will bee disturbances, and there cannot be that quiet and happy security, which the promises doe generally annexe to those times’.\(^{36}\) The implication is that God himself will effect this unity by removing all hindrances to it, so those in his hearing can either stand with God, assisting toward coming inevitable unity, or oppose God, incurring His wrath in a losing cause.

In distinction to Ward, Manton makes no direct accusations as to the blame for the current crisis, and few specific recommendations, prescribing not particular actions but rather more general principles to be considered and applied at their discretion.

\(^{33}\) *Meate*, p. 9; *CWTM*, V, 385.

\(^{34}\) *Meate*, p 8; *CWTM*, V, 385. This is one of only two mentions of Presbyterians, not only in the sermon, but also in the *Complete Works*; the other is *CWTM*, XVI, 21.

\(^{35}\) Ezekiel 28:24, from *Meate*, 9-10; *CWTM*, V, 385.

\(^{36}\) *Meate*, 10; *CWTM*, V, 386.
Manton qualifies his plea for reconciliation with a balancing warning against antinomianism (and/or against toleration): ‘In the liberty that you give, use great caution... you ought to be tender of Christ’s little ones... but you ought to be more tender of Christ’s truths’.\(^\text{37}\) In contrast with the aging Ward’s stinging lament, although Manton acknowledged England’s shortcomings (an indirect rebuke to the magistrates), he focused on God’s promise of latter day unity ushered in by obedience to God’s covenant. In a possible allusion to the Solemn League and Covenant, Manton preached ‘that when the tenor of the Covenant is expressed, Unity is made one of the chiefe blessings of it’.\(^\text{38}\) The means to preserve covenant unity was to ‘quicken your Ministers and Elders in their Provinciall and Classicall meetings, by some charge and command to think of waies how best to gain and deale with dissentients’. In as specific as an application as Manton would ever offer, he challenged them to ‘Call men through age and experience versed in such a work, men of a moderate and sober spirit, who prefer the interest of religion before that of a party.... and by the blessing of God, much good might be done’.\(^\text{39}\)

Manton closes with a quote from Augustine, recently popularized by Sir Francis Bacon: ‘though there be divers colours, yet let there be no rent in the Churches coate’.\(^\text{40}\) Though Manton would die thirty years later, his message must have remained quite consistent, as twenty-five of his fifty *Last Sayings* published immediately after his death came from this one sermon.\(^\text{41}\)

\(^{37}\) *Meate*, p. 48; *CWTM*, V, 406.
\(^{38}\) *Meate*, p. 27; *CWTM*, V, 395.
\(^{39}\) *Meate*, pp. 46, 7; *CWTM*, 405.
\(^{40}\) *Meate*, p. 48; *CWTM*, V, 406. Manton’s quote here is from Augustine of Hippo (d. 430) which had been more recently popularized by Bacon’s essay, ‘Of Unity in Religion’ in *The Essays or Counsels, Civill and Morall, of Francis Lo. Verulam, Viscount St. Alban* (1625), p. 14; See also Francis Bacon, ‘Of Unity in Religion’ in *Essays* (Ware, 1997), 10. For Augustine’s original, see J. P. Migne (ed.), Augustine, *Sancti Aurelii Augustini hippocensis episcopi Opera Omnia* (Paris, 1841), IV, 509. For other uses of this quote in Manton, see *CWTM*, V, 406; XVI, 379.
\(^{41}\) T. Manton, *Words of Peace: or, Dr Manton’s Last Sayings* (London, 1677), sayings 3, 8-10, 14-21, 28-39, 46.
That very day, perhaps in response to Manton, Parliament created a Committee for Accommodation, headed by MP Anthony Rous, ‘to nominate such Persons as they shall think of Piety, Moderation, and Learning, to be propounded to the House for their Approbation: Who shall have Power to take into Consideration Heads of an Accommodation’.\(^{42}\) The next day the Committee appointed Manton along with Caryl, Burgess, Bridge, Strong, Whitaker, Valentine, Wharton and several others ‘to consult together, and bring in an expedient for the better settling of Religion’.\(^{43}\) However, in a sign of things to come, the motion would prove fruitless; there is no further evidence of the activity of this committee.

The second LPA met on 8 November 1647, and again Manton and Spurstow, Watkins, Popham, Bence and Legay were chosen delegates.\(^{44}\) Furthermore, graduating from scribe, Manton was added to the Assembly’s Grand Committee.\(^{45}\) Manton was now vitally connected to the core of Presbyterian clerical power in London – minister in a London parish, having preached in Parliament, and a member of the Grand Committee of the London Provincial Assembly.

Throughout December 1647 negotiations between the king and Parliament continued to deteriorate while covert negotiations with the Scots made rapid progress, paving the way to the second Civil War. Manton makes an appearance right in the middle of this on 11 January, together with the London Provincial Assembly presenting a petition to the House of Commons urging Parliament to ‘hasten the formation’ of the four remaining unformed classes, as well as to clarify censures so that ‘scandalous persons might be more effectively excluded from church communion’.\(^{46}\) This must have seemed incredible to the MPs, as it was only a month since the London ministers published the Testimony abhorring

\(^{42}\) CJ, V (1646-48), 228.
\(^{43}\) Weekly Account, 29 June - 7 July 1647, 2.
\(^{44}\) London Metropolitan Archives, CLC/198/SICA/008/MS33445/00, Court of Governors’ minutes [Court Registers] A, 1631-1716, ‘Minutes of the London Provincial Assembly 1647-1659’ entry for 2 December 1647; with gratitude to Elliot Vernon for providing images of the book.
\(^{45}\) Ibid, f. 16.
Erastianism. Nonetheless one month later they are petitioning the Parliament to intervene to formulate their classes, which had been created by Parliamentary ordinance two and a half years earlier. The petitioners were thanked and excused, though the petition was never raised or treated again.\textsuperscript{47} The action/reaction cycle of Parliamentary ordinances interacting with petitions from the Westminster divines and the London synod, further complicated by each assembly's intramural battles, ensured that ‘the structure of English Presbyterianism was developed in an unsatisfactory and ramshackle fashion through various acts and ordinances that came into force between 1645 and 1648’.\textsuperscript{48}

\textbf{Second Parliamentary Sermon (1648)}

By June the second Civil War was at its height, when Manton made his second appearance in Parliament, preaching at the monthly fast on 28 June 1648 alongside Richard Vines, a member of the Assembly of Divines and Master of Pembroke College, Cambridge. Manton being junior minister by twenty years, preached the afternoon sermon.\textsuperscript{49} The sermon text was Revelation 3:2, ‘Be watchful, and strengthen the things which remain, that are ready to die; for I have not found thy works perfect before God’. In this passage Christ is speaking directly to the exiled apostle John with a rebuke for the church of Sardis; the context is the previous verse – stunning in its bluntness: ‘I know thy works, that thou hast a name that thou livest, and art dead’. Manton, invoking Elizabethan Presbyterian Thomas Brightman, reflects that, ‘England heretofore was compared to Laodicea for its lukewarmness, it may be compared to Sardis for its languishing’.\textsuperscript{50}


\textsuperscript{50} \textit{Languishing}, p. 14; \textit{CWTM}, V, 424. Manton refers to Brightman four times in \textit{Languishing}. The significance is that Manton was reading Brightman, and there are many parallels between the two: Presbyterian dissenters who decried separatism, criticized episcopacy and prayer book conformity, and placed England in the eschatological context of the erring churches of Revelation.
Illustration 2.3: The cover page to *England’s Spiritual Languishing* (1648).

"ENGLANDS
Spirituall Languishing;
WITH
The Causes and Cure:
Discovered in a
SERM O N
Preached before the Honorable House
OF
COMMONS,
On their Solemn Day of FAST, at
Margaret’s Westminster, June 28, 1648.

BY
THOMAS MANTON,
Minister of Stoke-Newington.

London, Printed by R. Cotes for John Clarke at the lower end of Cheapside, in the entrance to Mercers-chappel, 1648."
In the published Preface, Manton emphasizes the increasing urgency from *Meate to Languishing*, preaching ‘then to a subject of peace, our distractions were great; and now to treat of Zeal, our destruction (we fear) draweth nigh’. Manton laments that ‘some have been too silent whiles the truths of God have been made void’. Manton considers himself not the injurer but the healer: ‘when offences are publique, ‘twere an injury to religion to be silent...therefore when the house of Jacob offendeth, it must be told its own with a full throat’. Manton notes this comment in the margin as from ‘Isa. 58.1, opened to this purpose by Mr. Richard Vines in the morning’, thereby tying the tenor and purpose of his message not only to the times but also to Isaiah and to the senior minister Vines.

In *Languishing*, Manton’s main point is simple and direct: ‘a special way to save a church and a people from imminent and speedy ruin is the repairing of decayed godliness’. This was a safe message falling on at least superficially sympathetic, if not distracted ears. Recognizing that his audience would be more politically than spiritually inclined, Manton attempts to awaken interest with statements that reinforce the mutual interest of religion and politics: ‘there are confusions in the church, and then what followeth? Distractions in the state’. In this case Manton then points not to Scripture but to history to make his point: ‘It was grave advice which the English divines gave the Dutch magistrates in the Synod of Dort, that they should take heed lest, by their connivance at church disorders which they could help, they did not draw on state tumults and factions, which, when they would, they could not help’. The admonition would pack an immediate punch, with Holland on the brink of its own civil war. Because ‘religion is, as it were, the soul of the commonwealth,’ the solution was simple: ‘if you would take away the cause of the ruin, and redress the disorders of the commonwealth, repair the decays of religion’.

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51 *Languishing*, A3.
52 *Languishing*, A5.
53 *Languishing*, A5 marginal note 7; *CWTM*, V, 414, fn. 1.
54 *CWTM*, V, 419.
55 *Languishing*, 8; *CWTM*, V, 420-1.
The final exhortation is reserved for the ‘magistrate’. Here Manton adroitly avoids political entanglement, focusing less on specific actions and more on personal and corporate godly perspective and practice. This tactic is consistent with the ‘safe’ strategy of Manton’s whole discourse – sticking close to the Biblical text and outlining only general uses that avoid specific demands on senior politicians. Manton only briefly challenges the Commons, with more of a plea than a threat, to ‘heartily establish a holy government in the church’. Rather than focusing on Presbytery as the solution, he focuses on order: ‘Order and discipline is the fence of religion, and a church well governed is “terrible as an army with banners”...The present decays are by confusion’.\(^{56}\) Manton’s closing words challenge his hearers to persevere faithfully, in light of the sovereignty and goodness (and perhaps inscrutability) of God’s Providence, and in hope of future reward whether temporal or eternal: ‘Either God will provide an ark of safety for you for the present, or give you heaven, which shall make amends for all’.\(^{57}\)

**The Rump**

The seven weeks between Pride’s Purge and the Regicide would prove decisive for the political and religious fortunes of the English Presbyterians in terms of both the national settlement and classical system. Manton did not comment on the purge directly, but he reveals his position indirectly through a comment in the Prolegomena to his 1651 Commentary on James: ‘I acknowledge myself indebted to the courtesy of that learned and worthy gentleman, Colonel Edward Leigh, to whose faithfulness and industry the church of God oweth so much’.\(^{58}\) Leigh was an MP (Staffordshire) and lay theologian, who had with Prynne led the Committee of Plundered Ministers and was described by Royalists as ‘a dangerous Presbyterian’.\(^{59}\) The scandal in Manton’s support is that Leigh had been arrested on December 6 during Pride’s Purge and imprisoned along with

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56 *CWTM*, V, 439.
57 *CWTM*, V, 440.
58 *CWTM*, IV, 11.
Prynne at King’s Head in the Strand till at least mid January; when James was published only two years later, Leigh remained estranged from the Rump.\footnote{David Underdown, \textit{Pride’s Purge: Politics in the Puritan Revolution} (Oxford, 1971), 195.}

In contrast with Manton’s Parliamentary sermons, following Pride’s Purge both Presbyterians and Independents were more openly aggressive in the pulpit. The 26 December Parliamentary fast day featured Thomas Brooks and Thomas Watson. In the morning the Independent radical Brooks preached a predictable sermon on bringing the king to justice, as ‘atonement cannot be made for the land on which blood has been shed, except by the blood of the one who shed it’\footnote{Thomas Brooks, \textit{God’s Delight in the Progress of the Upright} (1649), title page.} Brooks invoked the positive example of Jehu in bringing the wicked Ahab to justice while condemning his negative motives: ‘The matter was good – but [Jehu’s] principles were bad’.\footnote{Brooks, \textit{God’s Delight}, 47.} In the afternoon, Watson the Presbyterian, who was a month later a co-signee with Manton on the London Ministers’ \textit{Vindication}, issued severe warnings against those who destroy the God-ordained order of both ecclesiastical and civil government: ‘The powers that be are of God….Magistracie is the hedge of a Nation, And he that breaks an hedge, a serpent shall bite him’.\footnote{Thomas Watson, \textit{God’s Anatomy Upon Man’s Heart} (1649), 12-17.} With this Watson effectively ended Presbyterian preaching before Parliament until the dissolution of the Rump in 1653.\footnote{Carlson, ‘A History of the Presbyterian Party’, 86.} But the MP’s made their choice as well: the next day, the Commons conducted a first reading of an ordinance outlining a court trial for the king.\footnote{\textit{CJ}, VI (1648-1651), 105 (27 December, 1647).}

In mid-January, Manton along with the London ministers gathered at Sion College to write an open letter to Fairfax and his council outlining their abhorrence of the army’s proceedings, and their call for the Army to repent.\footnote{\textit{A serious and faithful representation of the judgements of the ministers of the Gospell within the province of London}, (18 January 1649), esp. 1, 2, 9, 19.} On 18 January, forty-seven London ministers including Manton, Thomas Watson, Thomas Gouge, Elidad Blackwell and Christopher Love, subscribed, published
and delivered this letter as *A Serious and Faithfull Representation*. Two days later, to counter the rumour that the Presbyterians were working in concert with the Independents to bring the king to justice, Cornelius Burgess produced *A Vindication of the Ministers of the Gospel*, subscribed again by Manton and 56 other London ministers.\(^{67}\) The *Vindication* was unambiguous against the recent purge and impending regicide.

Such vehement opposition to the king’s trial from the Presbyterians might seem ironic in light of the fact that it was they who helped stoke the war on behalf of Parliament against the king. Elliot Vernon pointed out that Milton picked up on this theme in his *Tenure of Kings and Magistrates*, accusing the Presbyterians of essentially being sore losers (to the army) and reacting against the loss of their ‘hope to bee made Classic and Provincial Lords’.\(^{68}\) Vernon argues there were two main reasons the Presbyterians balked at the regicide: breaking the Covenant oath and ruling by illegitimate power. As for the Covenant, in a Restoration sermon Manton unsparingly addressed covenant breaking: ‘in such a solemn covenant as he hath made between us and himself…it is not safe to break with God…when we will break with God, what should we expect but that he should avenge the quarrel of his covenant’?\(^{69}\) As for power, only the (divinely and providentially appointed) magistrates could legitimately oppose a king. But now the army had unilaterally and illegally restructured Parliament, whose actions were not those of a providentially appointed body but rather of ‘a faction of self-interested usurpers’. More broadly, symbolically a regicide would ‘overthrow the very constitution that magistracy had commanded it to preserve’?\(^{70}\)


\(^{69}\) *CWTM*, VIII, 88.

\(^{70}\) Vernon, ‘Quarrel’, 207-8. See also *Serious and Faithful Representation* (1649), 7.
To Manton and his Presbyterian colleagues, this would amount to treason before God and would incur his divine vengeance against both individual offenders and the nation as a whole. Then they, the shepherds of the nation, would be held responsible by God for dereliction of duty. The London ministers together with ‘many thousands of other faithfull, and Covenant-keeping citizens’ wrote a third and final document, the Apologetical Declaration of 24 January 1649, to confirm their commitment to the Covenant, wherein the ‘Covenant-breaking and Apostacie of others is disclaimed and abhorred before God and the whole world’. Lacking the power to change the course of events, they would have to settle for a public declaration for the clearing of their consciences.

Following a one-week trial, Charles I was sentenced to death on 27 January 1649 and three days later publicly beheaded at Whitehall.

**Presbyterians and the Rump**

The Rump Parliament, now governing England, was ‘widely expected to introduce immediate and radical religious change….In the weeks between Pride’s Purge and the execution of the king, heresy and schism seemed finally to have triumphed’. Pamphleteers fuelled suspicions that Rumpers were a group of radicalized Independents ready to remove all order established by Westminster and the Long Parliament in the 1640’s: ‘it appears we shall have as many Religions, as there be men of different Judgments. So Farewell Protestant Religion’.

In reality, for a post-revolutionary government the Rump proved surprisingly moderate in its political constitution and religious reform. The still fledgling Presbyterian religious settlement of 1648 was left legally intact (at least on paper if without practical momentum or even implementation). Underdown and Worden have both recognized the difficulties in delineating clearly the political

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71 An Apologetical Declaration of the Conscientious Presbyterians of the Province of London (1649), 1.
73 Mercurius Elencticus 12-19 December 1648, 3; see also Worden, Rump, 119.
Independents and Presbyterians of the Rump due to their growing common interest of mutual opposition to fringe elements. If the events of the 1640’s had divided Independents and Presbyterians, ‘after 1649 the growing manifestations of extreme religious radicalism…alarmed and appalled most M. P.s, whether they were presbyterians or independents’.74 Indeed Manton’s own ‘Presbyterian-leaning’ patron Popham was not only not purged, but in fact elected (along with Oliver St. John – from Manton’s future Covent Garden congregation) on February 14 to Cromwell’s first Council of State.75

In the meantime, Manton and the London Presbyterians were sorting out how to move forward not with things as they wished but as they were. Based on both the *Representation* and *Vindication* to which Manton subscribed as well as his recent Parliamentary sermon, it is likely that he would have been at least tempted to expect the worst in terms of civil and ecclesiastical chaos, leading to heresy and schism and ultimately divine judgment.

From February 1649 till July 1651, we hear little from Manton, who seems to have focused on pastoral labours. With 8th classis colleagues Blackwell and Spurstowe, he examined and ordained Adam Martindale in July 1649.76 He would have been writing his weekday lectures on James (published November 1651) and Jude (published 1657) while preaching at Stoke Newington. In a rare personal reference imbedded in his exposition of James 1:19, Manton locates the time of his writing around 1650: ‘I have been in the ministry these ten years, and yet not fully completed the thirtieth year of my age’.77

**Manton and Christopher Love**

Following the regicide, the next major event of Manton’s early career was the arrest, trial and execution of his fellow London Presbyterian Christopher Love.

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75 History of Parliament Trust, London, unpublished article on Alexander Popham for 1640-1660 by Andrew Barclay. I am grateful to HoPT for allowing me to see this article in draft. See also *CSPD* (1649-50), 6.
76 Richard Parkinson (ed.), *The Life of Adam Martindale* (Manchester, 1845), 86; Surman (ed.), *Register-booke*, xiii-xiv.
77 *CWTM*, IV, 134.
The significance of the Love episode has never been fully explored, particularly the relationship between its political and religious aspects. The trial polarized England nationally; the high stakes drew in players from all levels of society, and though not involved in the trial, in the end Manton both took his stand with Love on the scaffold and preached his funeral sermon.

Worden points out that Baxter understood the conflict in primarily spiritual terms, and faults Baxter for overlooking ‘the political significance of the affair’ by ‘viewing the execution as a piece of gratuitous malice… [Love] was executed at a time of acute political danger, for political misdemeanours’. This is partially true. Yes, Love was accused of treason and tried as a political dissident. But foundation of his political actions was religious belief. Love masterfully combines these elements in a parable he penned in a response to John Price’s *Clerico-Classicum* in April 1649: ‘Suppose… your servants should offer you violence, and lay you under restraint, and should then come to a Minister, and pray him to advise them, how they shall distribute their Masters goods, and what or how much each of them should take to themselves; now should that Minister consult with those servants, hee should be an abettor in their horrid insolencies against their Master’. In the parable, the minister’s ‘political’ actions are to resist the usurping servants. But these actions are based on ‘religious’ conviction – their covenant before God with their master, noted later by Love: ‘the Godly Ministers were impartiall in the Covenant of their God, they held themselves


bound in their places and callings to oppose Malignity as well as Heresie, to
defend the Kings person and the Parliaments priviledges as well as the Peoples
Liberties; in fine they hold themselves engaged to one thing in the Covenant as to
another”.81 How could they take the engagement before Parliament when they
were already engaged before God?

Through the provocation of the Engagement controversy, the London ministers
had two main options. Moderate Presbyterians such as Edward Reynolds
deprecated the Engagement and continued serving quietly; others actively and
vociferously resisted the Engagement.82 Wood claims that ‘when the
Independents ruled, [Manton] closed with them, took the oath called the
Engagement’.83 This is conjecture and almost certainly false. Judging from Love’s
scaffold speech (which Manton would have helped him prepare) and the
statements of the London Presbyterian ministers surrounding the regicide,
Manton almost certainly would have taken the course of the moderate
Presbyterians in quietly not taking the Engagement.84 So while the trial
practically regarded political events, these events were motivated by the deeper
religious belief of subjects loyal to their divine and human kings.

Love had overlapped Manton exactly at Oxford, beginning as New Inn Hall
Servitor from June 1635 and graduating one month ahead of Manton in May
1639. Considering it ‘corrupt’, Love refused Episcopal ordination as well as being
the first minister to refuse subscription to the new Laudian canons.85 Love
pursued and received Presbyterian ordination in 1645, and was selected for

81 Love, Vindication, 37.
82 Vernon, ‘Sion College Conclave,’ 340. For various theories of the Engagement
controversy see Quentin Skinner, ‘Conquest and Consent: Thomas Hobbes and
the Engagement Controversy’ in G. E. Aylmer, The Interregnum: The Quest for
Settlement 1646-1660 (London 1972), 79-98; Glenn Burgess, ‘Usurpation,
Obligation and Obedience in the Thought of the Engagement Controversy’,
83 Anthony à Wood, Athenae Oxonienses, 2 vols (1691), II, 446.
84 For example, Love stated directly, ‘I die with my judgement not satisfied to
take the ingagement, God preserve those that refuse it’. Christopher Love, The
True and Perfect Speec [sic] of Mr. Christopher Love on the Scaffold (1651), 4.
parish ministry at St Anne and St Agnes Aldersgate in the fifth London Classis. In March 1649 Love moved to St Lawrence, Jewry. Love was active among the London ministers, subscribing along with Manton both the *Representation* and the *Vindication* of January 1649.

Like Manton, Love moved in mainstream Presbyterian circles. Like Manton, he rejected the Engagement, and favoured *jure divino* Presbyterianism. Love committed the additional evil of being publicly vociferous in his opposition both to the Rump (symbolizing illegitimate rule) and to the New Model (symbolizing illegitimate religion). Love's pamphlet war with Army supporters is captured by the title of his 1647 pseudonymous tract, *Works of Darkness Brought to Light. Or A True Representation to the Whole Kingdome of the Dangerous Designes Driven on by Sectaries in the Army.* Love would have considered himself to be fighting for the lifeblood of religion in England and the eternal safety of the souls in his care.

Through the investigation, a wide dragnet resulted in a number of Presbyterian arrests, though only Love and Drake were tried and found guilty of treason. The trenches were dug nationally, and the battle took on symbolic significance for both sides. On the one hand, it was a simple case of political treason against a fledgling government, which could not be tolerated and would serve as a warning to others. On the other hand, some saw it as an opportunity for the Independents to reach out to the Presbyterians and heal divisions and pave the road forward with ecumenical unity.

Cromwell was silent from Scotland. In the end, the sentence stood, and 'broke the back of clerical opposition to the Rump'.\(^{86}\) Love's execution sent a clear message: stand against the regime to your peril.

Manton’s response to all this was unequivocal. Though Manton had not been involved in Love’s meetings, he maintained a deep respect for Love, having studied and served with him for fifteen years. In the days leading up to his

\(^{86}\) Worden, *Rump*, 248.
execution, Manton (along with Calamy and Ashe) attended Love to prepare him for death.\textsuperscript{87} On the day of Love’s execution, 22 August 1651 (the same day Charles marched on Worcester), Manton stood on the scaffold with him and received his cloak as a parting gift.\textsuperscript{88} Furthermore, Harris relates that Manton preached Love’s funeral three days later:

The Doctor was resolved to preach his funeral sermon, which the Government understanding, signified their displeasure, and the soldiers threatened to shoot him; but that did not daunt him, for he preach’d at St Lawrence Jury, where Mr. Love had been minister, to a numerous Congregation.\textsuperscript{89}

In the funeral sermon, one specific Biblical reference that could potentially draw parallels to Love was that to Stephen Martyr.\textsuperscript{90} The reference is significant because it contained an indirect indictment of the current regime: Stephen was wrongfully martyred for his genuine faith by party men who had ‘usurped’ the role of the true shepherds in Israel. Manton further and possibly dangerously vindicated Love by referencing the sin and subsequent downfall of the pagan Babylonian king Belshazzar. Belshazzar was the grandson of Nebuchadnezzar, who had dethroned Israel’s anointed king, taken captive the covenant people of God and desecrated and burned the temple; God had responded by sending the famous hand to pen their judgment. Elliot Vernon has suggested, that ‘in effect, Manton was inviting the Commonwealth to read the writing on the wall’, prophesying ‘the fall of the Commonwealth’.\textsuperscript{91}

The early print history of this sermon is worth noting. The whole text of the original sermon was about 3100 words printed on twelve quarto pages. The \textit{imprimatur} John Downname is listed at the end, in fact one of Parliament’s licensers of the press.\textsuperscript{92} One year later Manton’s sermon was reprinted as an

\textsuperscript{88} Rutt, II, 89.
\textsuperscript{89} Memoirs, 18, 19.
\textsuperscript{90} Manton, Sermon, 6.
\textsuperscript{91} Vernon, ‘The Sion College Conclave,’ 366, 8.
\textsuperscript{92} Rutt, II, 89.
appendix to Love's work, *The Natural Man's Case Stated*. In this second edition, Manton’s sermon grew to 8600 words printed in 34 quarto pages, nearly three times the length. Most of the additional material is straightforward enlargement, though some changes carried more significance. For example, the 1652 printing contains multiple puns on the word love, such as, ‘Oh blessed be the Lord Jesus Christ for this love forevermore’. Also, Manton expanded his allusion to Belshazzar, highlighting the intentionality of the reference. In the first edition, Manton makes a passing reference to the episode: ‘[Death] is like the hand writing against Belshazzar upon the wall, it will mar all their jovial company, but with the righteous death makes way for their eternal happiness’. In the second 1652 edition, Manton enlarges and changes the thought enough to perhaps make one draw a concrete reference to the first Anglo-Dutch war (as a means for divine rebuke) just getting underway: ‘the thought of [death], like Belshazzar’s handwriting against the wall, smiteth you with trembling in the midst of all your cups and bravery.... Belshazzar seemed a jolly fellow, a brave spirit, sets light by the Persian forces that were even at his door; but God soon taketh off the edge of his bravery’. Not only are God’s people in captivity and God’s vessels desecrated, but God’s judgment is coming on those who appear ‘brave’ and ‘light’ in their temporal success.

**The Late Rump**

After the Scots were crushed in 1651 at Worcester, Presbyterians on both sides of the border had to come to terms with Independent hegemony. With the Covenant politically irrelevant, the London Presbyterians would be constrained to focus on parish, classis and synodal ministry while their patrons sorted out Parliamentary reform. This was particularly evident in Manton’s thin participation with the London Provincial Assembly at this time: though Manton served for the 8th Classis in the 12th provincial assembly (November 1652 - April

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1653), the attendance register suggests that Manton only attended one meeting (the 9th session) on 8 February 1653.\footnote{DWL MS 35.3 fo.425v, with thanks to Elliot Vernon for this reference and observation in personal communication.}

Though pulling back from public life in the early 1650s, during this season at Stoke Newington Manton accelerated his writing. By 1651 he had prepared full expositions of both James (1651) and Jude (1657) for the press. In November 1652, the second edition of James was printed.\footnote{Thomason, Catalogue I, 889.} In 1652 and 1653 Manton and Calamy reprinted Christopher Love’s sermons, along with the longer edition of The Saint’s Triumph over Death. In 1652 Thomas Case published Correction, Instruction or a Treatise of Afflictions – a series of meditations-turned-sermons on suffering composed during his five-month imprisonment in the Tower for his connection with the Love plot. The preface is a letter written by Manton to Case on the value of both his prison time for writing and his writing for public use: ‘It seemeth when you went into prison, the Spirit of God went into prison with you;... the restraints and enclosures of a prison cannot prejudice the freedom of His operations’. Manton goes even further, ‘Sir, I could even envy your prison-comforts, and the sweet opportunities of a religious privacy.... Good Sir, be persuaded to publish those Discourses...do not deprive the world of the comfort of your Experiences’.\footnote{T. Manton, ‘To my Reverend Friend, Thomas Case’ in T. Case, Correction, Instruction (1652), A3r-A4r.} Manton’s opportunity for ‘religious privacy’ would come.

On 20 April 1653, Oliver Cromwell dismissed the Rump Parliament. Cromwell and the Council of Officers settled on a new constitutional model inspired by the Jewish Sanhedrin, which first met on 4 July 1653.\footnote{Also called the Parliament of Saints, Little Parliament, and most commonly to posterity, ‘Barebones Parliament’ after the nominee from the city of London, Praise-God Barebone.} However, due to infighting, the ‘Barebones Parliament’ was hastily dissolved by petition of its own members on December 12, 1653. Four days later, Oliver Cromwell was inaugurated as Lord Protector. Though Cromwell was an Independent, he had a vision for unity – a vision that Manton shared, and in which he would play a leading role.
Conclusion
In the years 1645-1653, though under the patronage of a Parliamentarian Colonel, Manton’s Puritan and monarchist fidelities are evident. Manton signed both the *Representation* and the *Vindication*, following *Languishing* is not invited back to preach in Parliament, attended Christopher Love on the scaffold and preached his funeral sermon. Concurrent with Love’s death was the Scots’ defeat at Worcester, a turning point for the decrease of Presbyterian power both politically and religiously. So Manton turned his attention to publishing, and preparing his flagship expositions of *James* and *Jude*. In spite of this alienation from the regime, Manton’s star would rise in the Protectorate.
Chapter 3:

Rapprochement: Uniting the Godly, 1653-1660

‘The Lord deliver us from the furies of transported, brain-sick zealots’!¹

**Introduction**

Following Manton’s alienation from the regime under the Rump and early Independents, this chapter will trace a *rapprochement* under Cromwell, followed by the short-lived ascendancy of the Presbyterians in the late 1650s. Though Manton remained Presbyterian to the end, he also remained committed to a unified Church of England – a value he shared with Cromwell. As early as 1648, Cromwell had written to Robert Hammond of his desire for the unity of the godly party: ‘I profess to thee I desire it in my heart, I have prayed for it, I have waited for the day to see union and right understanding between the godly people (Scots, English, Jews, Gentiles, Presbyterians, Independents, Anabaptists, and all)’.² During the Protectorate, this chapter will demonstrate how Manton interacted with them all.

Manton emerges in the years 1653-1660 as an ecclesiastical statesman, employed primarily in reuniting the godly party. Following the disintegrating political and religious centrifuge of the Civil Wars, Cromwell now worked to unite the diverse godly party of Presbyterians, Independents and Baptists. The regime appointed Manton to multiple Protectorate committees, giving him a voice in a wide range of national debates. The opening of this period saw Manton continuing at Stoke Newington, but in 1656 he moved under the patronage of the (Fifth) Earl of Bedford to St Paul’s Covent Garden, which included such parishioners as Oliver St John and Sir William Fleetwood.³ The Cromwellian church settlement proved fragile however, quickly collapsing following Richard’s brief Protectorate (in which Manton also featured), culminating in another ecclesiastical overhaul in the Restoration.

¹ *CWTM*, III, 95.
² Abbott, I, 677.
³ E. C. Vernon, ‘Thomas Manton (bap. 1620, d. 1677)’, *ODNB*. 
The 1650s was Manton’s most active time in terms of publishing, totalling twenty-three works encompassing commentaries, individual sermons and prefaces. Manton returns to Parliamentary preaching in 1654 after a six-year hiatus. Following *James* (1651), in 1657 Manton published his second major commentary, *Jude*, to stem heresies which he saw proliferating. Manton published two funeral sermons: Christopher Love (1651) and Jane Blackwell (1656), wife of 8th classis colleague Elidad Blackwell of St Andrew Undershaft. Otherwise, throughout the protectorate Manton wrote multiple prefaces to others’ works (including *Smectymnuus Redivivus* and Westminster’s *Confession of Faith*), which will be analysed in context.

**Non-settlement in the Rump**

The Rump had sporadically addressed religious settlement and ultimately failed, leaving a trail of ambiguities in trying both to offer and limit freedom of conscience. This struggle was not new to the 1650s. Though the magisterial Presbyterian settlement of 1646 had theoretically imposed a national ecclesiological model, in fact it had been largely ignored. Throughout the civil wars, sects such as the Seekers, Ranters, Diggers, Fifth Monarchists and Muggletonians had proliferated, and gathered congregations met with separatist ministers throughout England.⁴ Delineating heresy from error presented a challenge when a ‘plethora of different movements…all emerged from the intense religious subculture of the godly,’ and ‘leading Puritan theologians were deeply exercised by the problem of theological diversity’.⁵ For example, in September 1650, Parliament repealed the Elizabethan Settlement, including the Act of Uniformity and ‘an Act for punishing of persons obstinately refusing to come to Church’, making parish church attendance voluntary. However, in the same act of Parliament, worship attendance was made compulsory.⁶ In repealing both the Elizabethan Settlement and a compulsory Presbyterian scheme,

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⁶ Firth and Rait, II, 423-5.
Parliament created a vacuum that needed to be filled. Meanwhile, political and military exigencies such as the Engagement controversy and continuing war with Scotland drew the attention away from religious settlement, and the machinery needed to fill the vacuum temporarily stalled.

Michael Lawrence has plausibly demonstrated that the spark which fired the engine once more was John Biddle’s release from prison by the Act of Oblivion on 24 February 1652. Two weeks prior, following debate in Parliament on the Act of Oblivion, Owen, Nye, Simpson, Thomas Goodwin and ‘divers ministers’ presented the House with an edition of the Racovian Catechism in one hand (as impetus for settlement) and a ‘Humble Petition of divers Ministers of the Gospel’ (suggesting a process for settlement) in the other. Parliament duly appointed a committee ‘to consider with them upon such Proposals as shall be offered for the better Propagation of the Gospel,’ which was to meet the following day. Owen and his colleagues arrived prepared, submitting fifteen proposals, published six weeks later as *The Humble Proposals of Mr. Owen, Mr. Tho. Goodwin, Mr. Nye, Mr. Sympson, and Other Ministers...for the Furtherance and Propagation of the Gospel in this Nation.*

*The Humble Proposals* (1652) was a watershed moment, not only for Owen and the Independents, but also for the larger godly party as well as the sects. Opposition to the Proposals came from diverse sources, beginning with the radical Independent Roger Williams. London Baptists such as Hanserd Knollys

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8 *CJ*, VII (1651-60), 86.

and Henry Jessey published multiple tracts against it. Even Milton in his *Sonnet To the Lord General Cromwell* painted a bleak picture,

... new foes arise  
Threatening to bind our souls with secular chains:  
Helpe us to save free Conscience from the paw  
Of Hireling wolves whose Gospell is their maw.10

The main rub was that the Independent authors seemed to be regressing toward an Erastian system designed to protect themselves more than liberty of conscience, exposing the sects who had taken refuge on their flanks. Baxter expressed this understanding: ‘I hear the Independents are now about cutting out all but themselves’.11 Even so, the barbarians at the gates were forcing alliances among the heretofore divided Puritans.

In the early 1650s, a common fear of the sects had shifted the emphasis from points of division to points of unity among the godly. Michael Lawrence has plausibly argued that under the Rump, ‘the fear of ‘Ranters’, antinomians and anti-Trinitarians was common to both Presbyterian and Independent alike....Beneath their diverse ecclesiological convictions, there remained a single recognizably puritan core: the concern for the preservation of the Reformed gospel and the promotion of a godly piety through the efforts of a learned clergy and a converted magistracy’.12 In *James* (1651), Manton summarized the dynamics of division and unity in light of the sectarian threat: ‘The warm sun maketh the wood warp and cleave asunder; in prosperity we wax wanton and divide; when the dog is let loose, the sheep run together’.13

**Toward a Protectorate Settlement**

For many Presbyterians, by the 1650s the unity and health of the godly party took precedence over ecclesiological faction. Baxter’s voluntary Worcestershire

13 *CWTM*, IV, 425.
Association was functioning by 1653, and more followed in the same model in other counties. In Exeter, where Manton grew up, one news journal reported a public fast on 22 October 1653 involving two churches and eight ministers, ‘To unite the honest people, but especially the Ministry of this place; therefore the Presbyterians and Independents joyned together in the duty’.14

Even the London Provincial Assembly was working towards accord, with Manton sporadically attending its 13th session from May-October 1653.15 The London ministers were primarily working on Jus Divinum Ministerii Evangelici (1654) under the editorial direction of Edmund Calamy and James Cranford, which struck a surprisingly conciliatory tone. In the opening lines of the preface, they quote Bucer and Luther respectively: ‘We would willingly purchase with the losse of our lives, the removing of the infinite scandals that have been given to the Churches of Christ by the divisions of Christians….We are as desirous to embrace Peace and Concord, as we are desirous to have the Lord Jesus be propitious to us’.16 At least some of the sheep were exploring the possibilities of running together.

By spring of 1654 meetings were taking place, as Dury wrote Baxter on 22 February: ‘at the last meeting... the most considerable men of both parties met in a competent number... therefore they named a Committee of noted men of both parties, five of a side’.17 Almost certainly Manton was one of the five

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15 DWL MS 35.3 fo. 132r, with thanks to Elliot Vernon. The attendance register, DWL MS 35.3 fo.423v shows Manton attending at 4 sessions: the 1st, 11th, 14th and 15th.
16 Jus Divinum Ministerii Evangelici or the Divine Right of the Gospel Ministry (1654), B, B1, though the final page (p. 149) is inscribed with the date ‘Novemb. 2. 1653’.
17 D. W. L. MSS., 59.5.199, cited in Nuttall, ‘Presbyterians and Independents’, 12. See also Abbott, III, 206; P. Toon, God’s Statesman (Exeter, 1971), 91. Baxter had already suggested schemes for unity several times to others; see Baxter, ‘Dedication of the Whole’ in Saints Everlasting Rest, (2nd ed., 1651), sig. B1v; ‘Baxter to Thomas Hill,’ 8 March 1652, DWL MS BC iii.27 2v-273r, cited in T.
Presbyterians, as he is named in a letter from Dury two weeks later. The two parties had named five representatives each to a meeting on 2 April 1654, in which Manton had been deputed, and ‘to whom the future proceedings and preparatives of a full agreement are referred’.18

Manton already had a platform through preaching to Parliament (1647, 1648) and publishing a multi-edition commentary on James (1651, 1652). But now Manton was seated on a peer-selected committee of London ministers working for national religious settlement. Nuttall observed this conference ‘is worth attention as the beginning of a definite attempt to reach ‘a full agreement’ between five leading Presbyterians and five leading Independents, each group having been nominated by a wider group within their respective denominations’.19 For Manton, being selected to this role was a stunning achievement, as among the five Presbyterians he was the only non-Westminster divine and the youngest by twenty years, Calamy (b. 1600) the only other born in the seventeenth century.20 This gathering appears to have disbanded after only one meeting, being overtaken by an official group of many of the same ministers, organized by Cromwell himself.21

Religious Settlement: No Rent in the Garment of Christ

The circumstances under which Manton first became acquainted with Cromwell are not clear, though Harris claims that Manton was sworn one of Cromwell’s chaplains from the beginning of the Protectorate.22 Wood and Harris describe Manton as praying at Cromwell’s first inauguration on 12 December 1653, though this is almost certainly false.23 Since Manton is recorded in other sources

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Cooper, John Owen, Richard Baxter and the formation of nonconformity (Farnham, 2011), 143.
20 Four of the five Independents were also Westminster divines (excluding Samuel Slater), and all older than Manton by at least 15 years (William Carter b. 1605).
21 CJ, V (1646-1648), 228; Weekly Account, 29 June - 7 July 1647, 2.
22 Memoirs, xii.
23 Anthony à Wood, Athenae Oxonienses, 2 vols (1692), II, 446; Memoirs, xii.
as praying at both Oliver’s second inauguration and Richard’s, it is likely that
Wood and Harris conflated Cromwell’s 1653 inauguration with his second in
1657. Whitelocke, whom Harris cites as a source, places Manton’s prayer only in
1657.24 Clarendon does not mention Manton at either; James Heath mentions
Manton only at Oliver’s second and Richard’s inaugurations.25 Both Clarendon
and Heath would have motive to mention other connections between Manton
and Oliver if there were more. Four contemporary news-books describe identical
ceremonies for this first inauguration, and in all four the only religious element
is a sermon by Cromwell’s chaplain Nicholas Lockyer upon return to Whitehall.26
Stoughton notes that Cromwell’s first installation proceeded, ‘without the
addition of any sacred rites,’ noting (below) only Lockyer’s ‘exhortation at the
banqueting house, Whitehall’.27 Contemporary papers universally mention
Manton’s prayer at the second Protectoral inauguration.28 The timing matters,
because it shows us how soon Cromwell was willing to go public with support
for Presbyterianism (and vice versa); apparently not yet in December 1653.
However, that autumn Cromwell was working for unity behind the scenes.

**Rapprochement for the Godly**

Jeffrey Collins argues that the Cromwellian religious settlement is arguably the
critical storyline in the interregnum political narrative.29 On 2 October 1653
Cromwell assembled a group of diverse ministers for at least the second time ‘to
persuade them that hold Christ the Head, and so the same in fundamentals, to

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25 W. Dunn Macray, (ed), *The History of the Rebellion and the Civil Wars in
the Late Intestine War* (1663), 735; *Chronicle* (2nd ed., 1676), pp. 394, 410.
26 *Mercurius Politicus*, 16th-22nd December 1653, 3053; *Severall Proceedings of
State Affaires in England*, 15th-22nd December 1653, 3498-3500; *Weekly
Intelligencer*, 13th-20th December 1653, 94, 5; *The Faithful Scout*, 16th-23rd
December 1653, 1250, 1.
28 *Mercurius Politicus*, 25th June – 2nd July 1657, 7883; *Public Intelligencer*, 22nd,
29th June 1657, 1455.
29 Jeffrey Collins, ‘The Church Settlement of Oliver Cromwell’ in *History*, 87
(January 2002), 29.
agree in love, that there be no such divisions among people professing godliness’ and ‘to labor the union of all God’s people’.\textsuperscript{30}

This unity would not be achieved however at any and every cost. Collins argues that far from abandoning coercion, ‘the Cromwellian Independents could and did coerce their religious opponents, both sectarians on their left flank, and high-churchmen on their right.... Licentious tolerationist sentiment and the political challenge posed by \textit{jure divino} church forms offended [Cromwell] equally’.\textsuperscript{31}

Though Manton’s Presbyterianism maintained real differences with Cromwell’s Independency, Manton shared Cromwell’s broader vision for unity of the godly, with particular emphasis on protecting godly unity while opposing the sects from without and parties from within: ‘Unity consists in an agreement in the truth, not in a coagulation of errors’.\textsuperscript{32} In his first sermon to Parliament, Manton summarizes like statements in Zwingli, Tertullian and Jude by arguing, ‘The intent of our ministry is not that we should gain men to the support of our faction and party, but to Christ and Christianity’.\textsuperscript{33} In \textit{James}, Manton makes no mention of either ‘Presbyterians’ or ‘Independents’ as a party, but mentions the ungodly twelve times and the godly fifty-five times.\textsuperscript{34} On the one flank, like Cromwell, Manton was no friend to the high churchmen whom he would have associated with a rising tide of Arminianism as well as episcopacy and its idolatrous elevation of \textit{adiaphora}. On the other flank, Manton shared the Protector’s intolerance of heresy, and particularly his chaplain Owen’s abhorrence of antinomian and antitrinitarian sects, having taught against them in the mid-1650s. Along with Jenkyn, Manton published against the sects in \textit{Jude} (1657): ‘a creeping party, such as by sordid and clancular ways seek to

\textsuperscript{31} Collins, ‘Church Settlement of Oliver Cromwell’, 20, 33.
\textsuperscript{32} \textit{Meate}, 49; \textit{CWTM}, V, 407.
\textsuperscript{33} \textit{Meate}, 34. \textit{CWTM}, V, 402.
\textsuperscript{34} For examples, see \textit{CWTM}, IV, 31, 56, 58, 61, 71, 78, etc.
undermine the truth, a kind of mean and loose sort of people, that vented monstrous and gross conceits'.

Manton's means to the end of unity were slightly different from Cromwell's. Manton and the Presbyterians (and John Owen) would have been more scholastic in their approach to dissecting error from heresy using the classical means of rhetoric and logic filled with the content of historical theology, while 'Cromwell identified the boundary between the godly and the reprobate more through instinct than through theology'. Though for all their differences, Manton had likewise emphasized piety over party. In his 1648 Parliamentary sermon Manton lamented the 'opposition and snarling at piety and purity, as the purity of reformation.... Let them read God in you of a truth, and be not distinguished so much by a party and profession as by holiness'.

**Triers**

Following preliminary meetings, on 20 March 1654 Cromwell and the Council passed *An Ordinance for appointing Commissioners for approbation of Publique Preachers* commonly known as 'Triers'. The original Ordinance specifically named 27 ministers and 11 laymen – a who's who of Independents, Presbyterians and Baptists – with much the same constituency of the October meetings. The Triers included all five of the Independents from Dury's association plus Manton and Marshall from the Presbyterian side. Among the Triers were three Non-separatist Baptists Henry Jessey, John Tombes and Daniel Dyke. Following years of semi-official initiatives toward a church settlement, the Triers were a concrete step towards not only settlement but the unity of the godly – literally in a body of Commissioners, and figuratively in the diverse set of

35 *CWTM*, V, 7. See also William Jenkyn, *An Exposition of the Epistle of Jude, the First Part* (1654), A2-A4. For further work on Jenkyn and the significance of his commentary on *Jude* in the sect-magistrate dynamic, we await the forthcoming thesis from Chin How Wong.  
36 Worden, *God's Instruments*, 73.  
37 *Languishing*, 23, 30; *CWTM*, V, 430, 6.  
39 Firth and Rait, II, 855.
godly churches they symbolically knit together in a garment with no rent, giving ‘practical expression to the Protector’s desire for Christian unity’.40

Ostensibly the Triers were ‘established for the supplying vacant places with able and fit persons to preach the Gospel’.41 Committee registers record over 3500 approvals in five years of activity.42 Harris tells us that though serving as a Trier was burdensome, Manton nonetheless considered the work vital, and ‘seldom absented himself from that service, that he might, to his power, keep matters from running into extremes’.43

While this body was seen by Cromwell himself and by later historians as one of the major achievements of the Protectorate, it nonetheless had critics.44 John Goodwin called them ‘Tormenters’, and Laurence Womock published the apocryphal experience of an unsuccessful Episcopal incumbent-examinee.45 The controversial royalist James Heath had a perhaps predictably scathing analysis of the Triers, particularly attacking their pietistic enthusiasm. Heath lists Manton by name (publishing later, and on the right side of history in 1663), perhaps because Manton would be the most recognizable Presbyterian for his Restoration audience: ‘Mr. Manton and others, were named Commissioners. The Question these men put to the Examinants, was not of abilities or Learning, but Grace in their Hearts; and that with...bold and saucy inquisition’.46

40 Nuttall, ‘Presbyterians and Independents’, 13. See also Ethyn Kirby, ‘The Cromwellian Establishment,’ Church History, 10 (June, 1941), 149-52; Coffey, Persecution and Toleration, 148.
41 Firth and Rait (eds.), II, 855.
43 Memoirs, xiii
44 Abbott, IV, 489, 495.
45 John Goodwin, Basanistai. Or The triers, (or tormenters) tried and cast, by the laws both of God and of men (1657); L. Womock, The Examination of Tilenus Before the Triers; in Order to his Intended Settlement in the Office of a Publick Preacher in the Common-wealth of Utopia (1657). I strongly suspect Womock’s character Efficax represents Manton, as Efficax emphasizes practical piety and evidences of grace as well as the Holy Spirit, though the determination lies outside the scope of this work.
46 Heath, Chronicle (1663), 664.
Manton would have embraced the ‘grace in their hearts’ criticism as a badge of honour, perhaps explaining why he was selected as a Trier as opposed to other Presbyterians. In his exposition on II Thessalonians, Manton said this about God’s commendation: ‘our contest is not who hath most wit and parts, but most grace’.47

As a moderate Presbyterian, Manton had preached against scandalous ministers whom he saw promoting division through lifeless, ritualistic religion. In Languishing, Manton lamented the ‘insipid formality and dead-heartedness that is found everywhere’.48 This was not merely a lack of proper, Reformed doctrine, but rather a lack of reformed lives. For Manton ‘works are an evidence of true faith’, and the fruit was of one unity with the root. In his comment on the famous ‘faith without works is dead verse from James, Manton illustrated this unity: ‘The apostle speaketh in allusion to…a dead plant, which hath only an outward similitude and likeness to those which are living; it is dead in regard of root, and dead in regard of fruits’.49 To Manton there was no conflict between faith and works: ‘the dispute doth not lie between faith and works, as between faith pretended and faith discovered by works’.50 Both were necessary: ‘Sapless, lifeless Christians incur the penalty of damnation as well as the openly wicked’.51

As for the business of Triers, Ann Hughes pointed out that Cromwell himself would have supported the view that more than ‘abilities or learning’ was required for godly ministry: ‘the triers...valued education but only when it was combined in aspirant ministers with evidence of a ‘good life and conversation’ and essential signs of the ‘grace of God’.52 This was partly why the Trier system worked (and delayed the necessity of a creed) – it allowed the godly from different ecclesiological factions to work together in common cause, while

47 CWTM, III, 82-3.
48 Languishing, 17; CWTM, V, 426.
49 CWTM, IV, 237.
50 CWTM, IV, 237-8.
51 CWTM, XVI, 291.
resisting not each others’ doctrines but the ungodly. As a moderate Presbyterian, this would suit Manton well, pulling him out of his mainly Presbyterian circles of London’s eighth classis and Provincial Assembly, and place him in direct ministerial service alongside Independent and Baptist ministers.

**Near Settlement: 1654 New Confession**

In addition to serving as a Trier, Manton was selected to help fashion a new doctrinal standard for the commonwealth. Though the national Presbyterian scheme had never been formally repealed (or replaced), articles 36-38 in Cromwell’s Constitution, the *Instrument of Government*, did in fact provide for liberty of conscience for ‘such as profess God in faith by Jesus Christ... provided this liberty be not extended to Popery or Prelacy’.53 Balancing liberty with restraint would be difficult, and the obtuse language of the *Instrument* did not help, Blair Worden describing it as ‘hastily compiled and clumsily worded’.54

In October, the ‘Committee for the whole house, for Religion’ debated clauses 36-38 of the *Instrument* ‘without being able to draw an agreement about the point of liberty of conscience’.55 Burton agonizingly recorded, ‘Friday 27, Saturday 28. Wholly spent upon the debate of the thirty-sixth Article.§ The House being much divided, nothing was, either day, resolved, but adjourned over until Monday next’.56 By November 1 there was no progress in the debates, and the stalemate forced the House to form a sub-committee to answer directly to Cromwell, ‘to confer with His Highness, about stating the Point of Liberty of Conscience’.57 This Committee was given ‘power to call such Ministers...as they shall think fit’, and

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54 Worden, *God’s Instruments*, 77.
56 Rutt, I, lix.
'being about Fourteen, named every one his man'. A mini assembly of divines was to meet at Westminster (once again) and settle – or advise on a settlement for – religion (once again). Manton was thirty-four years old, a decade into a London parish, and one of the fourteen.

This mini-assembly included the main segments within godly orthodoxy – Presbyterians, Independents and Baptists. Thomas Grove noted to Baxter: ‘You may wonder at the miscelany but it was thought fitt to have men of severall interests and judgments’. However, diverse appearances would not automatically make for an ecumenical result. Several news sheets reported on the assembly; one listed, ‘The proposals of Mr. Goodwin, and other Ministers to the Committee of Parliament’, printing verbatim the first ten of Owen and Goodwin’s Principles from 1652. Baxter averred the actual composing and defining of the Fundamentals was more one-sided than broad-based: ‘The great doer of all that worded the Articles was Dr. Owen: Mr. Nye, and Dr. Goodwin and Mr. Syd. Sympson were his Assistants...the rest (sober Orthodox Men) said little’.

While Baxter presents Manton (along with most of the Presbyterians and Baptists) as silent, this may be an exaggerated view of the exchanges, coloured by Baxter’s later disappointments with Owen. But even if unfairly exaggerated, Manton’s relative silence may also be indicative of his more or less agreement with both Owen and Baxter on different issues.

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59 The exact participants are difficult to identify, but Baxter lists ten others: Presbyterians Marshall, Cheynell, Vines, Manton and Jacombe, as well as Independents Goodwin, Owen, Nye, Simpson and Reyner; RB, I, pt. II, 197, §50; see also Cooper, Owen and Baxter, 179.
60 CCRB, I, 157.
61 The Weekly Post, 31st October – 7th November 1654, 1630-1; see also Several Proceedings in Parliament, 2nd – 9th November 1654, 4230.
63 Cooper, Owen and Baxter, 180-1.
Though unity of the godly was the goal for all, Baxter and Owen had opposing visions for how to achieve this. Perhaps paradoxically, it was Baxter who was keen on unity while seeking inclusion, whereas Owen was keen on unity while seeking exclusion. In Baxter’s idiom, ‘We are framing a Means of Union, and not of Division’. The trajectory was already evident from the year before: in May 1653 Owen launched an attack against the Socinians with *Diatrib a de justitia divina*, whereas two months later Baxter launched an accord with the successful Worcestershire Association and *Christian Concord*. Though still not open to Socinians, for Baxter, ‘purity of doctrine was much less important than it was for Owen and his allies’.

For Baxter, unity was a critical step on the way to purity, while for Owen purity was a critical step on the way to unity – and Manton would exhibit both lines of thinking. Paul Lim argued that for Baxter ‘the pursuit of purity in an age of ecclesiological fracture would be best facilitated by associations, which were designed to create godly unity over against radical sects and their anticlerical clamor’. On the cover of *Christian Concord* (1653), Baxter quotes Jude 19, ‘These be they who separate themselves, sensuall, having not the Spirit’. Meanwhile Manton in the mid 1650s was revising his commentary on *Jude*, including a full sermon on Jude 19 and the evils of separatism: ‘separation, or dividing ourselves from the fellowship of God’s church is sinful…. Cain was the first separatist’. Manton does acknowledge a connection between community and purity: ‘though others withdraw…those that continue in the body will contribute their mutual help and care to confirm and build up one another. A draft of wine is best preserved in the hogshead, and Christians in their societies; coals lying together keep in the heat; apostasy began in forsaking the

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64 *RB*, I, pt. II, 204.
assemblies’.

For Manton, as for Baxter, perhaps one means to purity is unity – at least to preserve it if not to create it.

Owen, on the other hand, took the other road from Baxter toward unity via purity. To this end, Owen was at home fighting on multiple ideological fronts, having published a collection of Oxford lectures in the *Diatriba* (1653) against the Socinians, followed by his first extensive polemical work, *The Doctrine of the Saints’ Perseverance* (1654), in answer to John Goodwin on God’s sovereignty in election. Manton would have sympathized with Owen in this, promoting perspicuity and truth as essential defenses in protecting the unity of the church. In *Meate*, Manton plainly stated that ‘in the latter dayes there shall be great unity in the Church of God...purity is the ground of this unity’. Like Owen, Manton had just attacked the Socinians and Biddle by name, together with Cranford, Jackson and Calamy republishing Matthew Poole’s *Blasphaemoktonia* (1654) in defense of the deity of the Holy Spirit. Not only Biddle but also John Goodwin brought the Presbyterian and Independent sheep together. In October, Manton may well have had a hand in six Presbyterian booksellers issuing to Parliament *A Second Beacon Fired* (1654), ‘which called for a crackdown on heresy... and named Goodwin’s *Redemption Redeemed* alongside works by Biddle, Dell, Feake and other radicals’. Of the six bookseller signatories, Luke Fawne had published *James* (1651) and John Rothwell had published *Smectymnuus* (1654) and *Blasphaemoktonia* (1654) for Manton. So Owen’s plan for creating unity through a foundation of purified doctrine would doubtless have resonated with Manton and the other Presbyterians on the committee ‘who welcomed the Congregationalists’ desire to get tough on heresy’.

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70 Richard L. Greaves, ‘John Owen (1616-1683),’ *ODNB*.
72 T. Manton et. al, ‘Christian Reader’ in Matthew Poole, *Blasphemoktonia: The Blasphemer Slaine with the Sword of the Spirit* (1654), A3v-A4v.
At this crucial moment in the life of the first Protectorate, there were two visions presented to the nation’s representatives at Westminster, and almost certainly Manton was torn, either uncertain of which course to take or unwilling to commit, not wanting to alienate either Owen (who was defending the Reformed faith through historic orthodoxy) or Baxter (whose Association movement was practicing contemporary reformation fruitfully). Alternately, Manton’s struggle may have exposed fundamental similarities underneath the superficial differences. J. I. Packer has demonstrated how Manton, Owen and Baxter in particular, argued with very different language on the nature of salvation by faith with works, and yet maintained ‘substantial agreement’ underneath the ‘verbal dissent’.75

Twenty articles were submitted to Parliament in December,76 set aside,77 and lost a month later when Cromwell disbanded Parliament.78 Baxter ends his account with the statement ‘all came to nothing, and that labor was lost’.79 In what is likely a Baxterian aside, Manton noted, ‘I think to state fundamentals is a matter of great difficulty’.80

Regardless of the failure of the exercise as a whole, for Manton personally, the New Confession talks proved a beginning in many ways. Here for the first time Manton debated official national policy, and particularly with ministers from other parts of the godly theological spectrum. It was Manton’s first serious engagement with Owen and Baxter and the Baptists Jessey and Dyke. It overlapped his first sermon to Parliament since the monarchy.81 Perhaps through this event, Manton established himself as a leading member of the moderate Presbyterians, and perhaps the leading member in his generation,

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76 CJ, VII (1651-1660), 399 (12 December 1654).
77 Whitlocke, Memorials, 591, entry for 14 December, 1654; Rutt, I, cxix; CJ, vol 7 (1651-1660), 401 (15 December 1654); S. R. Gardiner, History of the Commonwealth and Protectorate, 4 vols (London, New Ed., 1901), III, 62
78 CJ, VII (1651-1660), 421; Abbott, III, 579-93.
79 RB, I, pt. II, 205, §56.
80 CWTM, X, 332.
81 Weekly Intelligencer, 31st October – 7th November 1654, 112.
younger than the other delegates Cheynell, Vines and Marshall by 12, 20 and 25 years respectively. The publishers noticed as well; Manton published four prefaces in 1654 and four more in 1655 reflecting his increasing popularity and authority.82

More broadly, 1654 was a significant year in the debate for accommodation. The regime was moving for a national church settlement. In addition to the London Assembly’s *Jus Divinum Regimini Ecclesiastici* and *Jus Divinum Ministerii Evangelici*, Manton reprinted *Smectymnuus Redivivus*, claiming in his preface that ‘if the quarrell of Episcopacy were once cleared…we should not be so much in the dark in other parts of Discipline’.83 For Manton, *Smectymnuus* in 1654 was not a retreat from high Presbyterianism, but more likely a counter in the debate with Henry Hammond, who was arguing that the angels of the Asian churches in Revelation 2-3 were diocesan bishops.84 In *Languishing*, Manton (as in *Smectymnuus*) had argued that the ‘angels’ were the ministry in a given area, a synecdoche for the collective presbytery.85 Manton was playing his card as a Presbyterian, though modestly, in ‘hope that by the review of these matters we shall come to know more of the Lord’s counsell for the ordering of his house, or at least that by weighing what may be said on all sides, we shall learn more to truth it in love’.86

As we move into the later 1650s, we see Manton serving not only as a local minister but increasingly as a national diplomat. In April 1655, Manton was created BD (Oxon.).87 On 21 December 1656, the Earl of Bedford presented Manton to the living of St Paul’s chapel in Covent Garden, vacated by the aging

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82 For titles see Bibliography.
83 T. Manton, ‘To the Reader’ in *Smectymnuus Redivivus* (1654), A1r.
84 H. Hammond, *A vindication of the dissertations concerning episcopacie from the answers, or exceptions offered against them by the London ministers, in their Jus divinum ministerii evangelici* (London, 1654), 4, 9-15. My thanks to Elliot Vernon for highlighting this in personal correspondence.
85 *Languishing*, 4; *CWTM*, V, 417.
Obadiah Sedgwick. The Covent Garden congregation was recognized for its affluence and influence. *Mercurius Pragmaticus* had sardonically described the previous minister Obadiah Sedgwick as ‘edifying his Flock of faire Ladies every Sunday. Oh how good Obadiah stretches out his wings in the Pulpit, to gather all the pretty Chickens in Towne, under his saving protection’.89

Manton’s common cause with Cromwell in pursuing a unified national church is well illustrated in a comment Manton writes in his Preface to Richard Sibbes’ *Commentary* (1655) on II Corinthians 1: ‘We are apt to abuse the diversity of gifts to divisions and partialities, whereas God hath given them to maintain a communion; in the Church’s vestment there is variety but no rent, *varietas sit, scissora non sit*.’90 Manton would be called upon in the latter part of the 1650s, as a senior Presbyterian, to help the regime define who would be included in in that communion under the Regime’s saving wings, and how to relate to those who were not.

**The Godly and Korah, Isaac and Ishmael**

As the godly were working to mend the rents from within, what then of radical sects, or even Jews and Muslims? Included in the political chaos of the 1640’s was a maelstrom of debate on religious toleration in England, both civil and ecclesiastical. Ecclesiastical tolerance began with continental Protestant leaders such as the Dutch humanist Erasmus and others who conceded toleration as the lesser evil to war. Later voices emerged for full toleration of schismatics and heretics, such as the influential Polish Socinian John Crell (*Vindiciae pro religionis libertate*, 1637), read by Milton and Locke, and Dutch Remonstrants Johannes Uyttenbogaert and Simon Episcopius.91 However in England, this was a new front, unsettling the more than millennia-long assumptions of Augustinian magisterial coercion.

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88 Bodl, Russell MSS, box 8, vol. 3, f. 7.
89 *Mercurius Pragmaticus*, 4-11 April 1648, B₄r.
91 Coffey, *Persecution*, 52.
Manton was a *jure divino* Prebyterian who nonetheless supported toleration within the vestment of the Church (i.e. orthodox Protestants): ‘The door to men’s souls is more easily opened by a key than an iron bar, and men’s hearts sooner gained by the power of God then men’.  

Manton frames a distinctly Chadertonian version of Puritan moderation: ‘in things indifferent, Christian toleration and forbearance takes place...there is a due latitude of allowable differences’.  

However, Manton did not extend this toleration to either radical sectarians or papists who were beyond the pale: ‘Is it lawful for [magistrates] to intermeddle in matters of religion, and to use any compulsive power? I answer—Yes, verily; “they bear not the sword in vain”’. His position on the Jews and Muslims is not explicitly stated, though it seems he favored a rigorously conditional toleration with the aim of conversion: ‘Pagans are not to be compelled, but enlightened; taught, not destroyed...it is a favour that the magistrate will take care to bring them to the means of salvation’.  

Using war for peace was not new. As Ethan Shagan reminds us, ‘the early modern ideal of moderation...combined and subsumed the conditions of peace, equanimity and reasonableness with the coercion, exclusion or violence that produced them’.  

Though Manton would claim to support a middle way, he claimed it was the right way, and therefore preventing the ungodly from ‘scandalizing and blaspheming the true religion...is the least a magistrate can do for Christ’. Three episodes – the James Nayler case, the conversion of a Turk, and the readmission of the Jews to England – will be explored for the light they shed on Manton’s role in what Coffey terms the ‘central paradox of the Puritan Revolution...its bigotry and tolerance’.  

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92 *Languishing*, 13; *CWTM*, V, 423.  
94 *CWTM*, V, 237.  
96 *CWTM*, V, 237.  
James Nayler and the Quakers

Widespread anxiety surrounding the growth of the Quakers was focused and epitomized by the particular case of James Nayler. The whole episode remains important at several levels: it exposed ambiguities of religious toleration within the Instrument, it revealed the reticence of the Protector to chasten sincere professors of Christ (however unpalatable to society), it provided a platform for Manton to develop his anti-Quaker rhetoric, and yet demonstrated Cromwell’s sustained respect for Manton through an episode in which they fundamentally disagreed.

Manton was no friend to the Quakers, the greatest sectarian threat of the interregnum. In the decade of the 1650s, the Quakers swelled from George Fox to about 50,000 across England, nearly as large as the Catholic community.98 Manton feared the sectaries as the greater demon: ‘The Papists, I confess, are dangerous, but the great and next fear I think to be from Libertines and a yokeless generation of men’.99 And again, ‘From what sort of men will the danger arise? Not from the antichristian or Popish party, so much as from a libertine party, from Quakers…looking for new discoveries, holding nothing certain in religion’.100

The primary danger of the Quakers to conservative ministers like Manton, was that they seemed innovative libertines. They claimed direct revelation from God, undermining the authority of Scripture and the Church, and freeing them to follow the ‘inward light of Christ’. Clerical responses varied. Owen had two Quakers jailed in 1654 for improperly addressing a vice-chancellor (i.e. him) in the street.101 Baxter alarmingly recorded that ‘divers of them went Naked through divers chief Towns and Cities of the Land, as a Prophetical act’.102 While Manton never took legal action against Quakers, along with Baxter he directly confronted a variety of their practices in print. He chided them for ‘reproaches

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98 Coffey, Persecution, 151.
99 CWTM, V, 6-7.
100 CWTM, V, 270.
101 Cooper, Owen and Baxter, 120.
102 RB, I, pt. 1, 77, §123.
cast upon the officers of the church, who are the glory of Christ’ as in the infamous ‘rebellion of Korah, who rose up, not only against Moses but Aaron’. Ministers and church authority were most maligned by ‘those barking Shimeis the Quakers, and their foul-mouthed language, taught them by the father of lies’. According to Manton, the Quakers would ‘rashly belch out their reproaches and curses against superiors without any fear’ including ‘God’s most holy servants…in a cursing and blaspheming manner’. Not only the church but the state was at risk as well; Manton accuses the Quakers of despising ‘all authority, both in church and commonwealth’, casting off God’s yoke as well as the magistrate’s.

Parliament had passed a Blasphemy Act in August 1650 that targeted the worst of first and second table offences, such as either claiming ‘to be very God, or…to be equal, and the same with the true God’ or affirming ‘the acts of Uncleanness, Prophane Swearing, Drunkenness, and the like…are not unholy and forbidden in the Word of God’. While the Blasphemy Act called for punishing first offenders with jail for six months and second offenders with banishment, Manton opens the door for more. Unrepentant blasphemy, by those who profess Christianity, may be punishable as heretics (like Servetus) by death:

Blasphemy, idolatry, and gross heresy are to be put in the same rank with gross, vicious actions…Paul saith of the heretic that he is αὐτοκάτακριτος, after due admonitions, Titus 3:11. Therefore, in some cases, these may be punished with death, as Baal’s prophets were slain.

Manton argues here ‘an heretike’ is ‘condemned of himselfe’. So the state did not need to condemn – the heretic had done this already; the state merely confirmed and carried out God’s judgment, including death when needed. Though Paul had said simply ‘reject’, he had lacked the civil authority to judge

103 CWTM, V, 241.
104 CWTM, V, 231, 240.
105 ‘An Act against several Atheistical, Blasphemous and Execrable Opinions, Derogatory to the Honor of God, and Destructive to Humane Society’ in Firth and Rait, II, 410.
106 CWTM, V, 239.
107 Titus 3:10-11.
religious heresy. Perhaps Manton saw England as politically more directly related to the Old Testament model where a godly magistrate ruled by the light of godly prophets: it was for Elijah to expose the enemies of God, and for Ahab and his forces to execute the judgment of God.\(^{108}\) Even more was at stake: ‘if he let such blasphemies as these go unpunished, he beareth his sword in vain, and is...an incouragement of them in their sins’.\(^{109}\) Manton’s position was unequivocal: when ‘magistrates countenance and spread their skirt over obstinate and impure heretics...they do but nourish a snake in their own bosoms, and cherish a faction that in time will eat out their bowels’.\(^{110}\)

Accusations of blasphemy were difficult to prosecute because of the maddeningly abstract language Quakers used ‘woodenly and ambiguously’ to support their positions. Even Stephen Marshall had some difficulty procuring a confession from George Fox.\(^{111}\) Nonetheless, conservative MP’s were increasingly anxious at the explosive growth of the Quakers, drawing from and uniting Seekers, Ranters, Levellers and other disaffected groups under one banner.

In October of that year, Quaker leader James Nayler rode into Bristol on a horse, with followers laying down branches and singing ‘Holy, holy, holy, Hosanna, Lord God of Israel’. In Baxter’s idiom, Nayler ‘acted the part of Christ at Bristol, according to much of the History of the Gospel’.\(^{112}\) Nayler was arrested, tried (\textit{in absentia}) and ultimately convicted by Parliament of ‘horrid blasphemy’.\(^{113}\) Though spared the death penalty, Nayler was given the unusually harsh


\(^{109}\) Anon., \textit{The Devil turned Quaker...especially the divelish practices and accursed blasphemies and opinions of one James Neyler} (1656), A11.

\(^{110}\) \textit{CWTM}, V, 237.

\(^{111}\) F. Higginson, \textit{A brief relation of the irreligion of the northern Quakers} (1653), 2.

\(^{112}\) \textit{RB}, I, pt. 1, 77, §123.

punishment of being whipped, pilloried, branded with a ‘B’ and having his tongue bored with a hot iron – along with being whipped again in Bristol and serving an indefinite prison term there.\textsuperscript{114} Exposing the ambiguous constitutional boundaries which Parliament had self-assumed, on 25 December Cromwell wrote to parliament inquiring, ‘to know the grounds and reasons how you proceeded herein without our consent’.\textsuperscript{115} It is telling of the confusion of the times that though Parliament long debated how to answer Cromwell, in the end no answer was sent, nor did Cromwell press for one.\textsuperscript{116}

The fact that neither the crime nor the punishment could be clearly traced to established law was unsettling for many. A storm of protest ensued quickly, and on 20 December a petition was presented to the House to delay the remainder of Nayler’s sentence one week due to physical indisposition from the lashes.\textsuperscript{117} MPs George Downing and William Strickland suggested sending divines, ‘to work good upon him, if it be possible’.\textsuperscript{118} One news sheet reported, ‘the House also desired some reverend Ministers to go and confer with the said Nailer, to endeavor his conviction and reducing’.\textsuperscript{119} By order of Parliament, on 24 December, Manton, Reynolds, Caryl, Nye and Griffith (all experienced Triers except Reynolds – a Westminster divine) attended Nayler to ‘try to bring him to a recantation of his Errors’, but left after half an hour ‘not effecting any thing’.\textsuperscript{120}

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\textsuperscript{114} Rutt, I, 158; Levy, \textit{Blasphemy}, 201.
\textsuperscript{115} Rutt, I, 246; \textit{CJ}, VII (1651-1660), 475 (25 December 1656).
\textsuperscript{116} L. Damrosch, \textit{The Sorrows of the Quaker Jesus: James Nayler and the Puritan Crackdown on the Free Spirit} (Cambridge, MA, 1996), 221.
\textsuperscript{118} Rutt, I, 183; \textit{Mercurius Politicus}, 18-24 December 1656, 7461.
\textsuperscript{119} \textit{Mercurius Politicus}, 18-24 December 1656, 7461.
\textsuperscript{120} \textit{CJ}, VII (1651-1660), 471; Rutt, 183-4; \textit{Mercurius Politicus}, 24 December – 1 January 1656/7, 7477-8.
\end{flushright}
Illustration 3.1: A contemporary depiction of Nayler’s punishment.


In this episode, Cromwell and Manton shared the common ground that punishment was in order for Nayler.\(^{121}\) Beyond that, they would have disagreed sharply: Manton likely thought Nayler was treated too gently by a state countenancing a self-condemned blasphemer to the endangerment of others, while Cromwell likely thought mutilation over-sentencing when banishment would suffice, as with John Biddle. Even so, Cromwell’s support of Manton continued.

**Menasseh Ben Israel and The Jews**

The intensely adversarial relationship that the Puritans had with the Quakers did not apply in the cases of the Jews and the Muslims, who were viewed through a more conversionist than polemical lens. In the 1650s, the millennial conversion of both the Jews and the Turks to Christianity was understood as axiomatic and imminent. The continental Baconian triumvirate of Comenius, Hartlib and Dury in the 1630s had attracted an impressive array of English country patrons through the apocalyptic magnetism of ‘millenary calculations, messianic hopes,

[and] mystical philo-semitism’.\textsuperscript{122} Presbyterian Edmund Hall had written that ‘the Jews shall be converted to the Lord Jesus, and united into one body with the true Church of Gentile gospellers’ resulting in ‘An Hallelujah throughout the Gentile Churches’.\textsuperscript{123} In \textit{Meate}, Manton explained the prophecy of Zechariah, ‘in that day there shall be one Lord’, as the eschatological conversion of the followers of false lords to the one true Lord through Christ: ‘Hitherto there have been divers lords. The heathens had their several deities, the Turks their Mahomet, the Jews their imaginary Messiah, the Papists their lord the Pope. Many nations do not as yet call Christ Lord….But then Jesus Christ shall be the person acknowledged; he shall be acknowledged alone, he shall be acknowledged as Lord’.\textsuperscript{124}

In November 1655, the Amsterdam Rabbi Menasseh ben Israel appealed to Cromwell for formal readmission through his pamphlet \textit{Humble Addresses…in behalfe of the Jewish Nation}.\textsuperscript{125} Initially the idea appealed to Cromwell, not only in its millenarian potential for the end-times conversion of the Jews, but also in its financial (and therefore political) potential: the Jews were known for their business acumen and substantial resources of bullion, banking experience and international intelligence networks.\textsuperscript{126}

\textsuperscript{122} H Trevor-Roper, \textit{Religion, the Reformation and Social Change and Other Essays} (London, 1984), 248.
\textsuperscript{123} Edmund Hall, \textit{A Scriptural Discourse of the Apostasie and the Antichrist} (1653), 66-7.
\textsuperscript{124} \textit{Meate}, 7; \textit{CWTM}, V, 384
\textsuperscript{125} Menasseh ben Israel, \textit{To His Highnesse The Lord Protector... The Humble Addresses of Menasseh ben Israel...in behalfe of the Jewish Nation} (1655); see also \textit{CSPD}, 1655-1656, 15, 16. For the Jews’ readmission to England, see Lucien Wolf, \textit{Menasseh ben Israel’s Mission to Oliver Cromwell} (London, 1901); D Katz, \textit{Philo-semitism and the Readmission of the Jews to England 1603-1655} (Oxford, 1982), 158-231; B. Coulton, ‘Cromwell and the “Readmission” of the Jews in England, 1656’ in P. Gaunt (ed.), \textit{Cromwelliana} (2001), 21-38. The two main contemporary accounts come sympathetically from Henry Jessey, \textit{A Narrative of the Late Proceedings at Whitehall concerning the Jews} (1656) and antagonistically from James Heath, \textit{A Chronicle of the Late Intestine War...to the happy restitution of our sacred sovereign}, \textit{K Charles II} (1663), 700-1.
\textsuperscript{126} Abbott, IV, 35.
As early as 1647 Hugh Peter had argued for admission on both financial and religious grounds.\textsuperscript{127} Conversely, Royalist James Heath later spun the event as purely financial, listing three of these committee members supposedly in league with Cromwell: ‘Judges, as Steele, &c. and Ministers, as Jenkins, Manton, &c’.\textsuperscript{128}

Illustration 3.2: Ben Israel as depicted in 1636 by fellow Amsterdam resident Rembrandt (L), and then in 1642 by Salomo d’Italia, in English clerical dress (R).

Source: Lucien Wolf, \textit{Menasseh Ben Israel’s Mission to Cromwell} (London, 1901), 149.

On 16 November 1655 Manton was named to a commission of 28 men to discuss the proposal of ben Israel.\textsuperscript{129} Cromwell had in fact stacked the deck with moderates known for toleration, many having worked with the Protector for accommodation in recent years. Manton, the ‘mildest and most genial of Presbyterians’ and Westminster divines Anthony Tuckney and Matthew Newcomen were the lone Presbyterians; the two Baptists were Daniel Dyke and ‘Judeophil and friend of Menasseh’ Henry Jessey.\textsuperscript{130} The remainder of the committee included the usual suspects among Independents, led by Owen and Goodwin. A news sheet reported the committee meeting four times (December 4,

\begin{itemize}
\item \textsuperscript{127} Hugh Peters, \textit{A Word for the Armie. And Two Words to the Kingdome} (1647), 11.
\item \textsuperscript{128} Heath, \textit{Chronicle}, 701.
\item \textsuperscript{129} CSPD (1655-1656), 23.
\item \textsuperscript{130} Wolf, \textit{Menasseh}, xlviii.
\end{itemize}
7, 12, and 18), specifically listing Manton among a few leaders.\textsuperscript{131} While some of the clergy were against it, many were for a qualified entry.\textsuperscript{132} At the final meeting on 18 December, Nye and Goodwin pressed, ‘that due cautions warranted by Holy Scripture... it was a Duty to yield to their request’. Caryl agreed, arguing from a favorite of Manton, Theodore Beza, that ‘through \textit{sic} the Jews were now under hardness of Heart,...yet we had need beware not to occasion their further hardning, or of being Instruments in punishing them’. On the other hand, when one divine argued the unlikelihood of Christians denying Christ and embracing a Christ-less religion, Matthew Newcomen countered with the historical precedent of the Jews denying the law and embracing pagan child sacrifice to Molech. Newcomen drew the connection to the modern Quakers and Ranters (a sore point for Manton): ‘though not so taking to some, yet many others are carried away by them’.\textsuperscript{133} Cromwell attempted to contain the discussion to matters of legality and condition, and pressing the matter of the ‘promise of their conversion’.

In the end, the notion miscarried over Prynne’s pamphleteering and English merchants’ fears of such formidable competitors as continental Jews.\textsuperscript{134} Cromwell recognized the stalemate, ‘seeing these agreed not’, sent the matter to his council and dismissed the assembly.\textsuperscript{135}

Though we have no record on Manton, James Heath wrote that Manton and Jenkyn ‘being not satisfied with what appeared from the arguments of Manasseh

\textsuperscript{131} Public Intelligencer, 3-10 December 1655, 159-60.
\textsuperscript{135} Jessey, \textit{Narrative}, 9.
*Ben Israel...laid aside* the Jews’ entry.\(^{136}\) However, contrasting this with eyewitness accounts, it seems Heath was cherry-picking names and stating the conclusion with his own conjecture. It seems most likely Manton supported at least a conditional readmission of the Jews. Manton had preached the end times conversion of the Jews as promised by God:

There are promises...of the flying in of converts like 'doves to the windows,'....There are promises of special unity and sweet accord in the latter days, of one Lord and one King,...and that God will make Jew and Gentile, and all that fear him, to lie down together in peace and safety, and to be all called by one name.\(^{137}\)

Denying the Jews access to the gospel in England would hardly be a reasonable means to their conversion.\(^{138}\) On the other hand, in the context of the negative example of Rome’s indulgences, Manton voiced his opposition to religious decisions involving financial gain: ‘the antichristian state maketh a market of religion’.\(^{139}\) So if not on a financial level, at least on a spiritual level Manton would have been aligned with Cromwell’s eschatological vision of England as the new Zion, with all united under the divine king.

**Isuf the Turkish Chaous and the Muslims**

Though the Turks and the Jews were often mentioned together as co-infidels in denying Jesus as the Christ, the English Puritans could more plainly understand their irenic eschatological connection with the Jews than with the Muslims. If the Jews would simply convert to belief in Christ the Messiah, what then of the Muslim?

The image of the ‘bloody and cruell’ Ottomans of the late medieval period fed widespread prejudice and fears of the Turks. However, at the same time, competing sympathies were developing for the early modern Muslims who were fighting the Catholic Habsburgs while offering Protestants religious toleration

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\(^{136}\) James Heath, *Chronicle* (1663), 701.

\(^{137}\) *CWTM*, V, 387.

\(^{138}\) See *CWTM*, IV, 209; V, 24; XV, 468; XVIII, 237.

\(^{139}\) *CWTM*, III, 33.
denied in Catholic countries.\textsuperscript{140} Indeed, Comenius and Hartlib (and Dury to a lesser extent) had been personally displaced by the warring Habsburgs, and would expand their evangelistic horizons to include the Turks as subjects not only of God’s wrath but also of redemption. Surely the descendants of Ishmael were not meant for destruction, as ‘the first Country to which Saint \textit{Paul} after his conversion in \textit{Damascus} did carry the Gospell, was \textit{Arabia’}.\textsuperscript{141}

The bringing of both sons of Abraham back to the fold had broad ecclesiological and even political ramifications as evidenced by three high-profile conversions in the late 1650s. Because conversion was attributed to the working of divine Providence, then conversion within a particular context would represent the clear approbation of God, a most valuable commodity in garnering public support.

The first public conversion of a Turk to Christianity was that of Dandulo, presided over by royalist episcopalian Peter Gunning and Thomas Warmstry on 8 November 1657.\textsuperscript{142} Warmstry, who wrote up the account, was keen to point out that God was ‘pleased of his great goodness to give a blessing unto the poor endeavors’ used to convert ‘a Soul from the errors and delusions of the Mahumetan Infidelity’ even using ‘the afflicted Church of England; notwithstanding all the discouragements that are upon such designs in these evil times’.\textsuperscript{143} Warmstry mentions ‘divine providence’ repeatedly: ‘This happy Convert...was the subject of Divine Providence in many notable passages of his

\textsuperscript{141} John Despagne, \textit{The Joyfull Convert...Sermon Preached at the baptizing of a Turke} (1658), 9.
\textsuperscript{142} Though Nabil Matar notes Dr. John Gauden is ‘mentioned in the text’ of \textit{Joyfull Convert}, Gauden had only one brief encounter with Dandulo, which was ‘much disadvantaged for want of language’ (\textit{Joyfull Convert}, second p. 95 because of mispagination). The appearance of Gauden in the text does not so much associate him with Dandulo as it does with Warmstry and Gunning; see N. Matar, \textit{Islam in Britain, 1558-1685} (Cambridge, 1998), 144.
\textsuperscript{143} Thomas Warmstry, \textit{The Baptized Turk, or, A Narrative of the Happy Conversion of Signior Rigep Dandulo...Unto the Christian Religion} (1658), 1.
life hitherto, through which the Lord hath at last brought him to this happy period of his wandrings,...into the bosom of the persecuted English Church’. So, the fact that the dissenting episcopalian demonstrated the blessing of God in the Providential conversion of a Turk became a challenge to the Cromwellian Church to produce like evidence, lest they be proven the worshippers of a false and powerless god.

The second conversion followed only six months later. On 2 May 1658, the unnamed ‘Convert’ was baptized by the French Reformed minister John Despagne, who not have the name recognition to balance out the more impressive duo of Warmstry and Gunning. A third and final public conversion followed on 30 January 1659, when John Dury baptized ‘Isuf the Turkish Chaous’ at St Paul’s Covent Garden alongside Manton.

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144 Warmstry, Dandulo, 5.
145 Despagne, Joyfull Convert, 24.
Illustration 3.3: Cover of *A True Relation* (1659), on which Manton is noted.

In his *Preface*, Dury explained his ‘admiration and adoration of the free grace and work of the spirit of God’ as ‘a clear example of this way of God’s dealing’. 147 Emphasizing God’s grace to the Protectorate, the working of divine providence is invoked ten times in the account by Dury and White. White sets it up: ‘Doubtless, this providence is not to be gazed upon, but to be improved’. Dury makes it plain:

*Cornelius* was an Alien from the Church of God; So was the *Turk* to be Baptized. *Cornelius* was by a special Providence directed to *Peter* to be received into the Church and Communion of Saints; So was the *Turk* by a

147 Thomas White, *A True Relation of the Conversion and Baptism of Isuf the Turkish Chaous, Named Richard Christophilus In the presence of a full congregation, Jan. 30. 1658. in Covent-Garden, where Mr. Manton is Minister* (1659), A2-A3.
special Providence directed hither without his own contrivance, to be received into the Church.\textsuperscript{148}

The (not so subtle) message was that the current regime, represented by Richard, Dury and Manton, was serving in the role of Peter, building the Church of England on the rock of the good confession. The timing was likely not incidental – Manton had prayed at Richard Cromwell’s installation just three days prior, and if the English were reticent about rallying to Richard’s banner, perhaps they would rally to God. And if the Church of England could locate God’s banner somewhere near Richard (and itself in Covent Garden) then all the better. All would plainly see the Church of England was not so ‘afflicted’ after all, but robustly moving the world toward the godly rule not of human magistrates but of Christ himself.

**Religious Settlement in Scotland**

One of the most significant rents Manton would work to mend would be the rift between the Scottish Remonstrants and Resolutioners, which peaked in the debates of February 1657.

Following the Protesters’ break with the Resolutioners at the December 1650 General Assembly, each continued in rival assemblies jostling for control of the kirk over the next several years.\textsuperscript{149} In the autumn of 1656, the Resolutioners sent St Andrews professor James Sharp to London; the Protesters sent Guthrie, Gillespie, Greenhead, Simpson and Wariston.\textsuperscript{150} Lilburne and Monck favoured the Protesters as ‘better to bee trusted than the other partie’. Broghill favoured the Resolutioners as: ‘the honnester of the two’, referring to the Protesters as ‘fierce men’ and ‘fifth monarch Presbyterians’.\textsuperscript{151}

\textsuperscript{149} For a few examples of the conflicts, see Holfelder, ‘Factionalism’ 148-96; F. Dow, *Cromwellian Scotland 1651-1660* (Edinburgh, 1979), 99-114.  
\textsuperscript{150} *Register of the Consultations of the Ministers of Edinburgh and Some Other Brethren in the Ministry*, ed. W. Stephen, 2 vols (Edinburgh, 1921, 1930), I, xxii; this was James Simpson, minister at Airth, Stirling; see Thomas Murray, *The Life of Samuel Rutherford* (Edinburgh, 1838), 288-9; Thurloe, *State Papers*, V, 656.  
\textsuperscript{151} C. H. Firth, *Scotland and the Protectorate* (Edinburgh, 1899), 345; ‘Lord Broghill to Secretary Thurloe’ in Thurloe, *State Papers*, V, 656; 26 November
(eventually) show sympathy to both, Manton would side clearly with – and genuinely help – the Resolutioners.

It remains an irony of Scottish settlement, that while rigid north of the border, the Protesters sought out the Independents for a support base in London, while the engaging Resolutioners were countenanced by the displaced London Presbyterians, including Manton. In late January 1657, Manton received a detailed letter signed by Edinburgh Resolutioners Dickson, Douglas, Hamilton, Robertson, Hutcheson, Smyth and Law, to vindicate themselves from a ‘letter written by a Brother of the ministrie in Scotland’ (Samuel Rutherford) to Calamy and Ash, casting ‘aspersions upon us and the generality of the ministrie of this Kirk’. This letter, which is our first glimpse of Manton’s involvement in the whole affair, offers several important clues as to why the Resolutioners targeted Manton for help, as well as why he chose to come to their aid. First, in spite of the fact that Rutherford’s smear letter was written to Calamy and Ash, the Resolutioners wrote to Manton, recognizing both his connection with Presbyterian statesmen and his influence as an authoritative Presbyterian voice in national debates. During the same week in December, Manton had been selected by Parliament for the high-profile Nayler case, and he had been called by the Earl of Bedford to follow the eminent Obadiah Sedgwick as the rector of St. Paul’s Covent Garden. James (1651) was due out in its third edition that year, as well as the first edition of Jude (1657).

Secondly, it gives us a clue as to the origin of Manton’s connection with the Scots, which may partially explain his later Resolutioner allegiances. Of the seven signatories, four of them (Douglas, Hamilton, Law and Smith) along with Sharp himself had been captured by Monck at Alyth on 28 August 1651, and

152 Consultations, I, 276-80. For Samuel Rutherford, see Coffey, Politics, 59.
153 E. C. Vernon, ‘Thomas Manton (bap. 1620, d. 1677)’, ODNB.
154 The Resolutioner authors refer to Manton’s James as ‘so satisfactory... both for the matter and manner of handling’, leading them to ‘earnestly beseech’ Manton to publish Jude; see Consultations, I, 279-80.
imprisoned in the Tower of London. Their sufferings were memorialized in Manton’s funeral sermon for Jane Blackwell (1656): ‘When the Scotch ministers and others were under restraint in the Tower, she was not ashamed of their chain, but diligently sought them out as soon as she heard of them, and was all the time of their long confinement a great support and comfort to them’. Manton does not let this go with a passing comment, but emphasizes the sufferings of the godly Scots (which could be an indirect criticism of Cromwell who detained them): Blackwell ‘was affected, deeply affected, with the sins and abominations of the times...the heartbreaking miseries of poor Scotland broke her heart’. One can sense Manton’s own sympathy between the lines of his description of Blackwell’s, and imagine that his later efforts on behalf of this Resolutioner core were influenced by their sufferings through the Revolution.

Along these lines, their letter indicates Manton’s present and explicit sympathy with their position, acknowledging that Sharp ‘hath had kind and encouraging acceptance with you’ in addition to Manton’s ‘kind respects to some of ourselves...which we do in a thankfull manner acknowledge’. Thirdly, while avoiding the term, the Resolutioner authors go so far as to charge the Protesters as being schismatic, which Manton abhorred: ‘Their principles have carried some of their way to avowed separation from the Kirk of Scotland, and to deny the constitution and government therof...They doe what they please, and will not submit to judiciaal censures, whereby they have...blunted the edge of discipline’.

Though there is no recorded response from Manton to these Resolutioners, Ash writes to Rutherford that his ‘tartenesse in language did not a little trouble mee’, particularly 'because your dissenting Brethren expresse themselves with much love and sweetness of spirit towards yourself and others with whom they seek to

156 *CWTM*, II, 474.
157 *Consultations*, I, 276.
158 *Consultations*, I, 277-8.
continue their former accord’.\textsuperscript{159} As a moderate Presbyterian pursuing unity and peace in England, it is likely that same pursuit in Scotland would endear Manton to the Resolutioners. In fact, Sharpe mentions in a letter to Robert Douglas that Manton informed him that ‘our protesters here are not sparing in their censoriousness, and passing their judgment upon all the godly Presbyterian ministers as carnall formall men’.\textsuperscript{160} This was an aspersion Manton would have found particularly egregious.

But it was not merely his standing among Presbyterians that got the attention of the Scottish divines. Manton had preached at the September fast day near the beginning of the second Protectorate Parliament alongside Presbyterian colleague William Jenkyn and Independent Philip Nye; he was given notice by Major-General Edward Whalley, an Independent in Thomas Goodwin’s congregation, and in very high esteem with Cromwell.\textsuperscript{161} In fact, Manton had recently been the sole preacher selected for the elite audience of the Protector and his council on 3 September, in thanksgiving for (perhaps ironically) victories at Dunbar and Worcester.\textsuperscript{162} In this sermon on II Chronicles 32:25, Manton played the role of Isaiah as the national prophet, openly warning the Protector with the negative example of Hezekiah, who ‘was looked upon as one highly in favour with God, honoured by men, courted on every side with costly and precious presents, and so grew full of treasure and wealth. When such strong winds fill the sails, it is hard to steer straight’. Even while celebrating Cromwell’s and England’s victories, Manton had the standing to challenge him to ‘meditate upon the changes of providence’, particularly with respect to the future of England: ‘Hezekiah is delivered and then falls sick; he is delivered again, and

\textsuperscript{159} Consultations, I, 289.
\textsuperscript{160} Consultations, I, 349.
\textsuperscript{161} CJ, VII (1651-1660), 424, 427. On 18 September the House invited Manton, and Independents Nye and Caryl, but on the 19\textsuperscript{th}, they moved to replace Caryl with Jenkyn because of Caryl’s ‘indisposition of Body’, explaining why Manton, Nye and Jenkyn were thanked on the 25\textsuperscript{th}. CJ, VII (1651-1660), 425, 7. See Rutt, I, clxxix.
\textsuperscript{162} Mercurius Politicus, Aug 28-Sept 4 1656, 7222; Whitelocke, Memorials (1682), 639. M. Stace (ed.), Cromwelliana: A Chronological Detail of Events in which Oliver Cromwell was Engaged (Westminster, 1810), 158.
then grows proud; and then came wrath upon him, and upon all Judah and Jerusalem'.

The Debates Before Cromwell

On 9 February Cromwell convened the debates, calling Owen, Lockier, Caryl and Manton as witnesses – three Independents and Manton. This mirrored the Scottish delegations with only James Sharp representing the Resolutioners, while Wariston, Guthrie, Gillespie, Simpson and Greenhead represented the Protesters. In the event, according to K. D. Holfelder, ‘the Protesters laboured to portray the Resolutioners as royalist malignants, who had corrupted the national kirk’. Conversely, prepared by Broghill and Philip Jones, Sharp painted the Resolutioners as a ‘faithful, reformed church, which was being troubled by a small party of malcontents’. The tediousness was agonizing even for Cromwell, who repeatedly urged them back to the ‘main business which ought to be driven at present’, deciding whether ‘there should be an extraordinary remedy made use of’. At one point when Sharp suggested more historical context to ‘the rise and progresse...of our differences’, Cromwell responded, ‘That will be a tedious business, and wherefore goe to that’? Cromwell ended the first debate with, ‘Gentlemen, it is tyme we had some refreshment’. Cromwell became (understandably) distracted with other business after lunch, and talks were ‘putt off to a uncertain daye’.

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163 T. Manton, *Fourth Volume of Sermons* (1693), 694; *CWTM*, XVII, 383, 93-4. Though the sermon was neither dated nor published contemporaneously, in the *Works* it is entitled ‘Sermon Preached on a Day of Public Thanksgiving’. I have dated it based on internal evidence.


165 *Consultations*, I, 351, 52, 58.


167 *Consultations*, I, 354, 360.

Throughout, Manton was clearly Sharp’s confidante and informer. In correspondence, Sharp repeatedly refers to side conversations with Manton.\(^{169}\) Sharp invokes Manton’s interpretation of events to support his case, noting that ‘Warriestoun,...desired to speak, which he did in such an impetuous confused way as the Protector, to Manton’s sense, was troubled to hear him’.\(^{170}\)

While Sharp’s affinity for Manton is natural in one sense, it was not entirely altruistic; Manton was a key ally whose sympathies could be vital to favourable settlement, particularly in a battle where allies influential with Cromwell were thin. We see a bit of Sharp’s cunning in this way in his follow-up letter to Douglas, in which he defends Manton not only in his character but also for his potential political capital: ‘Stumble not at Mr. Manton’s employing Gillespie once to preach. He hath much apologized to me for it...He is much free and kind to me, and I must resolve to keep him, for he may do us good’.\(^{171}\)

On 24 February, the Protector recalled them all to Whitehall for a second round, equally frustrating and unfruitful.\(^{172}\) Following three hours of debate, again ‘the Protector sayed he wished this bussiness wer putt to some issue’. It was not. Cromwell (and the others) may have been distracted, as this second debate was the day after Christopher Packe had stirred the House by introducing the *Humble Advice and Remonstrance*, suggesting an overhaul in government including a clause to make Cromwell king.\(^{173}\)

**How the Scots debates ‘End’**

On 14 July the matter of settling the Scottish kirk was referred to a committee including the Independents Owen, Caryl, Carter and Griffith as well as the Presbyterians Manton, Cooper and Balmford.\(^{174}\) Sharp reported that the

\(^{169}\) *Consultations*, I, 357, 363, 364.

\(^{170}\) *Consultations*, II, 12.

\(^{171}\) *Consultations*, I, 368, 9.

\(^{172}\) *Consultations*, I, 5; Warriston, *Diary*, III, 65, 6.

\(^{173}\) Abbott, IV, 412.

\(^{174}\) CSPD, 1657/8, 28; Baillie, *Letters*, III, 354, 5; *Consultations*, II, 49; Wariston, III, 92; this was Samuel Balmford or Bamford of the staunchly Presbyterian parish of St Alban, Wood Street.
committee met twice a week, and ‘in the space Owen was speaking to the prejudice of our cause, and dealing with M. Manton to bring him over to his way in it. Gillespie and he are great billies...to raise the godly party, i.e. these of their own stamp, to bear sway’.\textsuperscript{175} In the end, on a day when only Owen, Caryl, Manton and Edward Whaley attended, the committee passed proposals for recommendation to the Council containing a kirk settlement heavily favouring the Protesters; Manton dissented, and bid Sharp ‘say so in his name’ in reporting to Douglas.\textsuperscript{176}

When it seemed that Owen and the Independents would close for Gillespie and the Protesters, Sharp wrote Douglas that ‘Mr Godfrey, hath resolved with Mr Manton and Mr Cowper to give in their dissent with their reasons to the Protector, which will be more advantageous to our cause then if the report should be dashed’\textsuperscript{177}. On 27 August, Manton, Godfrey and Cooper submitted their dissent, concluding that ‘these proposals show a design to set up a domination by that party of the other, who cannot in conscience join with such exotic powers imposed on the church, so that we fear the breach would be rather widened than healed’.\textsuperscript{178} Apparently Cromwell agreed, as Wariston reported Cromwell’s telling him in private conference that ‘he thought the course taken not indifferent nor healing but widening differences’.\textsuperscript{179} In Sharp’s words, Manton’s dissent ‘came verie seasonably... by persons of the Presbyterian judgment, of as great esteem as any in England’. A better-attended committee rejected the Protesters’ proposals and conceded deadlock, and Cromwell sent the matter back to the Scottish Council of State.\textsuperscript{180}

\textsuperscript{175} \textit{Consultations}, II, 66.
\textsuperscript{176} \textit{Consultations}, II, 74.
\textsuperscript{177} \textit{Consultations}, II, 98, 105. Balmford, ‘who was there the last day to have owned our cause’ died 27 August; \textit{Consultations}, II, 105.
\textsuperscript{178} \textit{CSPD}, 1654, 386, 7; \textit{Consultations}, II, 108-113. Their letter of dissent, copied in Consultations, II, 108-13, is misdated in \textit{CSPD} as Oct [?] 1654, though it is clearly from 27 August 1657.
\textsuperscript{179} Wariston, \textit{Diary}, III, 99, from 25\textsuperscript{th} September 1657.
\textsuperscript{180} \textit{Consultations}, II, 107.
The Protester-Resolutioner episode exposed the decline of the Independents, and conversely the Presbyterians’ and Manton’s strength. Sharp noted that Owen was ‘under a cloud at Court’, while Cromwell related to him privately ‘he knew that the Presbyterians were the most serious significant solid party of the three nations’.\footnote{Consultations, II, 88, 128.} In August, Sharp wrote to Douglas that he had been ‘credibly informed that the Presbyterians encrease much in England every where, and the Independents have much of late declined, and are daylie upon the falling hand’. Sharp further reported that Manton’s dissent, ‘against [the Protesters’] way... in opposition to the Independents owning of them...will be much taken notice of heir to the prejudice of the Protesters’ way’.\footnote{Consultations, II, 99, 107, 108; letters dated 15 and 27 August 1657.}

**From Protectorate to Monarchy**

From his appointment at Covent Garden until the Restoration, Thomas Manton was the leading Presbyterian voice in English politics, sarcastically labelled by James Heath as ‘Prelate of the Protectorship’.\footnote{Heath, Chronicle (1663), 738. Wood, Athenae, II, 446. Rutt, III, viii, n. 14; Richard Newcourt, Repertorium Ecclesiasticum Parochiale Londinense (London, 1708), V, 707. John Prestwich, Prestwich’s Respublica (London, 1787), 204, 5. The designation is not in Bates (1678), Calamy (1702, 1713, 1727), Harris (1725), Palmer (1775) or Ryle (1870). Prince (1716) does include Wood’s reference to Manton as ‘peculiar chaplain to that dignity’ (Richard) but does not mention the ‘prelate’ designation, which had immediately followed in Wood’s text.} However scornful, the designation was well-earned, as Manton appeared, at virtually every major turn through the final years of the Protectorate, as the symbolic clerical head to offer the support and blessing of the body Christ in England. On 27 February 1657 Manton preached and prayed at the House fast regarding the proposal of Cromwell’s kingship. Among the five preachers invited – Manton, Caryl, Nye, Owen and Gillespie – Manton was the sole English Presbyterian.\footnote{CJ, VII (1651-1660), 497; Rutt, I, 379; Mercurius Politicus, 26 Feb – 5 Mar, 7631; Wariston, Diary, III, 67.}
When Cromwell declined the kingship, on 27 June 1657 Manton prayed at the
reinstallation of Oliver as Protector.\textsuperscript{185} Whitelocke reported that, 'Mr Manton by
Prayer recommended his Highness, the Parliament, the Council, the Forces by
Land and Sea, and the whole Government and People of the three Nations to the
blessing and protection of God'.\textsuperscript{186} Manton represented not only Presbyterians
but symbolically all of the Church in England, one historian calling his prayer the
‘equivalent of the archbishop of Canterbury’s coronation benediction’.\textsuperscript{187} Just as
significant was the converse message – the Protector was showing support for
the Presbyterians, and the message was not likely lost on the London observers.

Continuing as ‘Prelate’, on 3 September 1658, Manton prayed with Oliver on the
day he died.\textsuperscript{188} On 27 January 1659 he prayed at Richard’s inauguration.\textsuperscript{189} The
following week Manton preached in Parliament with Reynolds, Calamy and
Owen.\textsuperscript{190} Manton’s text was Deuteronomy 33:4-5; while the sermon is not extant,
Harris tantalizingly reports only that the sermon was offensive, and ‘some in the
House talked of sending him to the Tower, but [Manton] never flinched, and their
heat abated’.\textsuperscript{191} Apparently so, as the next month Manton was appointed by act

\textsuperscript{185} Mercurius Politicus, June 25-July 2 1657, 7883; Public Intelligencer, 22-29 June
1657, 1455; Rutt, II, 514; Whitelocke, Memorials, 661; Heath, Chronicles, 735;
Anon., A Further narrative of the passages of these times in the Common-wealth of
England...An exact relation of the manner of the Solemn Investiture, or happy
Inauguration of His Highness the Lord Protector at Westminster, June 26, 1657
(London, 1658), 34; S. Carrington, The History of the Life and Death of His Most
Serene Highness, Oliver (London, 1659), 203. Combining Harris’ account of the
1653 inauguration with the universal witness that Manton prayed on this 1657
occasion, reconciles the two accounts.

\textsuperscript{186} Whitelocke, Memorials, 661.

\textsuperscript{187} Roy Sherwood, Oliver Cromwell: King in all but name 1653-1658 (Stroud,
1997), 99. See also Wood, Athenae, II, 446.

\textsuperscript{188} ‘Newsletter from London’, in Frances Henderson (ed.), The Clarke Papers V
(Camden Society, 4th ser., 27, 2005), 272.

\textsuperscript{189} Wood, Athenae, II, 446; James Heath, A Chronicle of the Late Intestine War
(1676), 410; John Prestwich, Prestwich’s Respublica (London, 1787), 204-5; Rutt,
III, viii.

\textsuperscript{190} Mercurius Politicus, 3-10 February 1659, 215; CJ, VII (1651-1660), 599; Rutt,
III, 67.

\textsuperscript{191} Memoirs, xi.
of Parliament to the committee for approbation of lecturers and beneficed ministers.192

At the end of the 1650s Manton and Baxter were working together not so much for Stuart restoration as for godly Reformation. On the same day of Richard’s inauguration, Manton wrote Baxter about the possibility of another assembly of divines.193 Baxter answered with a conditional yes and a long list of stipulations – an investment indicating both wariness and hope; it would not be realized before the end of the Protectorate less than three months later.

Another incident on Monck’s arrival in London in February 1660 illustrates Manton and Baxter working together for reformation. Baxter was accused of approaching Monck to forbid the restoration of Charles Stuart on the fear of a general loss of godliness across the nation, since ‘Prophanness is so inseparable from the Royal Party’. Baxter denied the charge, clarifying that ‘Dr. Manton…went once with me to General Monk…with this request, That he would take care, that Debauchery and Contempt of Religion might not be let loose, upon any mens pretence of being for the King, as it already began with some to be’.194

Though the Commons Journal ends on 18 February with the unremarkable, ‘The House adjourned till Monday Morning, Eight of Clock’, what followed was an overnight change in government. On the morning of 21 February 1660, General Monck abruptly ended the Rump by reinstating the secluded members of the Long Parliament.195 There is no Monday Commons Journal entry, and the Tuesday entry opens with the one word ‘PRAYERS’.196 Though unnamed, Manton delivered these prayers, to the new Presbyterian majority Parliament, presumably having been called by Monck or other senior MPs, such as Alexander

192 Firth and Rait, II, 1459; 14 March 1659.
196 CJ, VII (1651-1660), 846 (22 February 1660).
Popham or Colonel Leigh. 197 1660 was a year of great promise for the Puritan interest, and Manton’s prominence at court throughout the year supported moderate Presbyterians’ hopes. Continuing momentum from the later 1650s, Manton’s voice would be strongest under the restored Rump, but begin to fade under the Convention Parliament, and was finally officially silenced under the Cavalier Parliament.

**Conclusion**

Following a six-year hiatus, in 1654 Manton re-emerges onto the national stage as a Trier and a committee member charged to clarify the *Instrument* with a *New Confession of Faith*. In these deliberations we see clearly both sides of Manton – the learned preacher and moderate Dissenter. With Baxter and Owen locking ideological horns, Manton was caught in the middle. On the one hand, he would have sympathized with Baxter, who argued for less wording and more sense in getting to purity by means of unity. On the other hand, Manton would have sympathized with Owen, who argued less for sense and more for clear wording on fundamentals in getting to unity by means of purity. In a sermon on John 17, Manton stated that, ‘fundamentals in Scripture are clear and certain’. 198 In the same series, Manton acknowledged that they are ‘a matter of great difficulty’. In a longer passage Manton clarifies his position on fundamentals, differences and unity:

> let therefore all parties that, in the judgment of a regular charity, may be presumed to have owned Christ,…reserving their private differences to themselves, come under some common rule,…I think to state fundamentals is a matter of great difficulty… If we were…mutually abstaining from magisterial decisions and enforcements, and obtruding opinions upon one another by violence…limiting religion to our own party…commending one another’s prosperity to God by mutual prayers, this were a healing course. 199


198 *CWTM*, X, 147.

199 *CWTM*, X, 331-2.
With the Presbyterian parliament and Independent Army distracted with intramural battles, the sectaries had found space to flourish, exacerbated by the lack of a settled national church. Though a bona fide Presbyterian, Manton actively pursued the unity of the godly over party interest. He served both Cromwells as chaplain, was appointed a Westminster Abbey lecturer, preached several times in Parliament, and prayed publicly at both Cromwells’ inaugurations and privately at Oliver’s deathbed. Manton’s willing partnership with the Independents during the Interregnum was so natural that Wood assumed that ‘when the Independents ruled, he closed with them’, and Echard claimed Manton was ‘once of the Presbyterian, and then of the Independent Sect, and a Chief amongst Both’. While untrue, this appearance nonetheless points to Manton’s support of the regime and vice versa.

However perceived by others, Manton remained both Presbyterian and through the Interregnum. He remained an active member of the eighth classis at Stoke Newington and the eleventh classis at Covent Garden. Manton’s preface headed the second edition of the Westminster *Confession of Faith* (1658). When the time came, Manton would attend Charles at Breda, and become a royal chaplain, and remain an influential Presbyterian voice first for settlement and later for accommodation in the Church of England.

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Chapter 4

The Restoration Settlement and the Great Ejection

When there is a happy union among the people of God...it is God alone...that unites the spirits of men to one another.¹

It is the nature of man to confine all religion to their own party, and enclose the common salvation. As here in England, our divisions have tempted us to unchurch, unminister, unchristianise one another; we make no scruple to cast one another out of God's favour; but God's approbation doth not go by our vote and suffrage.²

Introduction

When the Stuart monarchy was restored in May 1660, Charles II began not in the first but the twelfth year of his reign, and that without conditions.³ The question remained, then, which church would be restored? Would it be the Elizabethan settlement, including the reversal of Laudian innovations?⁴ Or the high Presbyterianism of 1645, including the legal use of the Directory of Public Worship and governance by elders?⁵ Or the Assembly-approved Presbyterianism presented by Holles at Newport in 1648?

This chapter will demonstrate that Manton's trajectory toward the ecclesiopolitical centre in the later 1650s placed him in the middle of Restoration settlement debates. Through divisive interregnum times, Manton managed to retain many allies and make few enemies. This may have been partly due to his unusually large coterie of powerful auditors, and therefore wide appreciation among elites. In his eulogy for Manton, the poet Robert Wild noted that,

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¹ CWTM, X, 334.
² CWTM, XVIII, 409-10.
³ A Proclamation of both Houses of Parliament for proclaiming of His Majesty King of England, Scotland, France, and Ireland, Defender of the Faith, &c, in LJ, XI (1660-1666), 18 (8 May 1660); CJ, VIII (1660-1667), 16-17 (8 May 1660).
⁴ LJ, IV (1629-42), 174. CJ, II (1640-3), 279; for example, see the Bill on Church reform, read in the House of Lords 1 and 3 July, 1641 in S. R. Gardiner, Constitutional Documents of the Puritan Revolution 1625-1660 (Oxford, 1906), 167-79.
⁵ CJ, IV (1644-1646), 9; LJ, VII (1644), 544-5.
Black Envy look’d asquint, gnash’d, swell’d and swore,
To see so many Coaches Throng his Door.
His sentences to many a Noble Ear,
Were richer than the Jewels they did wear.⁶

Manton’s influence was reflected in print, as he continued to publish up through 1662, most notably printing *Smectymnuus Redivivus* twice (1660, 1661).⁷ The Presbyterianism of *Smectymnuus* was somewhat inchoate, and therefore suitable for promoting in the early 1660s, when Manton and other moderate Presbyterians were angling for a system of presidential bishops with moderated episcopacy in light of the impracticality of pushing a hard line, *jure divino* Presbyterian settlement.

This chapter will trace Manton’s energetic though ultimately unsuccessful efforts for an inclusive Restoration settlement, demonstrating his commitment to a single national church and his influence with elite patrons as well as Charles Stuart. In spite of royal overtures, the Presbyterian legislation of the Convention would basically be ignored. The Prayer Book began to reappear in churches along with altars and rails, the press promoted bishops as linked to monarchy and order, and ultimately the Cavalier Parliament passed an uncompromising settlement resulting in Manton’s ejection from the Church of England.

**The Restored Long Parliament**

On 28 February 1660, Manton and Calamy were selected to preach on the first day of Thanksgiving for the restored Parliament in Margaret's Westminster, while the moderate Episcopalian John Gauden and Sion College President Edward Reynolds preached to General Monk, the Lord Mayor and City Council.⁸ Though ‘the restoration of the king remained but one of several options; and it

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⁷ A second edition of *Jude* was also printed in 1662.

was not an unambiguous one’, Manton and the other preachers hinted at it.\(^9\) Though heretofore unidentified, Manton preached on Zechariah 14:6-7, as evidenced from a few lines in the sermon text in which Manton urges patience through transition and gratitude for the recent restoration of Parliament: ‘God is making a step onward in England’s mercies. Many strange providences there are to bring us to this....And now the union of the parliament with their brethren is a step further; we hope we are growing towards the glorious evening....God is at work; tarry till he bring it forth to perfection’.\(^10\)

What was the ‘glorious evening’ and ‘perfection’? In his closing paragraph, Manton hints at both a restored monarchy and a unified national church by referencing King David and the building of the temple: ‘Encourage yourselves by the sure promises that you have to build upon: “The sure mercies of David,” Isa. lv. 3’.\(^11\) Manton does not explain the allusion, but the implications are profound: he is claiming that God’s ‘sure promises’ to king David regarding monarchy and national worship are the model and foundation for contemporary England. Specifically, those promises are spoken by God to King David through the prophet Nathan in II Samuel 7: ‘And when thy dayes be fulfilled, and thou shalt sleepe with thy fathers, I will set vp thy seede after thee, which shall procede out of thy bowels, and I will establish his kingdome. Hee shall build an house for my Name, and I will stablish the throne of his kingdome for euer’.\(^12\) In other words, the son of the true king will have his kingdom established, and he will build a temple where all the servants in covenant relationship to YHWH may worship together. To confirm this meaning, though talking of heaven, Manton continues, ‘Wherefore we receiving a kingdom which cannot be moved, let us have grace whereby we may serve God acceptably, with reverence and godly fear’.\(^13\) Yes, the kingdom of heaven, and yes, may thy kingdom come, particularly in England, with a godly magistrate over a sanctified people – a coat with many colours and no rent.

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\(^10\) *CWTM*, XV, 424.
\(^11\) *CWTM*, XV, 426.
\(^12\) II Samuel 7:12, 16.
\(^13\) *CWTM*, XV, 426.
The other preachers were no less reticent. Reynolds hinted at a Stuart restoration as well in the closing line of his sermon, stating that God ‘will perfect what he hath begun; And as he hath laid the Foundation, will so consummate the whole structure of our Settlement, that we shall at last bring forth the Head-Stone thereof, with Shouting and Acclamations, Crying, Grace, Grace unto it’!14

John Gauden, the future bishop of Exeter, was perhaps the most direct of the three extant sermons from that day, openly declaring for monarchy and church unity – and specifically primitive episcopacy that comprehended Presbyterians and Independents. Gauden goes on to argue that the correcting of ‘distempers, and reducing all to a due constitution of health’ would be through ‘the fatherly gravity, prudence, and Eminence of godly and Reverend Bishops; by the brotherly assistance, and son-like subordination of sober and orderly Presbyters....I confess that I own and ever shall do Primitive Episcopacy with Presbytery’.15 He would not need to for long.

Manton and Calamy were heartily thanked for their pains in ‘carrying on the Work of Thanksgiving for the Union of the Parliament, and restoring the Members of Parliament to the Discharge of their Trust’.16 Perhaps it was indicative of the times that while all four preachers were invited to publish, only Gauden and Reynolds, two future bishops, did; the only work published in 1660 by either Calamy or Manton, two future ejectees, was Smectymnuus Redivivus.17 This would prove to be Manton’s final Parliamentary sermon.

14 E. Reynolds, The Wall and Glory of Jerusalem (28 February 1660), 31; Thomason E.1017[6].
15 J. Gauden, Kakourgoi, Sive Medicasti Slight Healings of Publique Hurts (28 February 1660), 78-9; see also Kakourgoi, 105-6 where Gauden listed the Independents as a third party to include in the reconciliation process.
16 CJ, VII (1651-1660), 855 (29 February, 1660).
17 In addition to Smectymnuus Redivivus, Manton and Calamy did have one sermon each printed in Bates’ Morning Exercises (1660), a collection of lectures delivered in May 1659 at St Giles in the Fields.
The Restored Long Parliament was now one week old, and had only two more weeks to go before it would dissolve itself on 16 March to prepare for the Convention. The Presbyterian MPs appeared to have the upper hand, passing sweeping legislation. On 2 March, the House appointed a committee to review the 1646 edition of the Westminster *Confession of Faith*, and three days later ratified it by the House, ‘declaring and owning this to be the Publick Confession of Faith of the Church of England’.

Further, the Solemn League and Covenant was revived and ordered to be placed and read in all churches – a way to reintroduce monarchy along with Presbytery. On the same day, the House invited three of the previous Thanksgiving day preachers, Manton, Reynolds and Calamy to ‘examine the [Confession] at the Press; and also to examine the Scriptures for Proof of every Article, and insert the same in the Margin of the Book’.

The triumvirate was further confirmed on 14 March as the first three (of thirty-one) names re-appointed as Triers, a list populated with more Presbyterians and fewer Baptists than the 1654 Cromwellian version. That same day the House ‘Enacted, that all ministers having Parochial charge, do read the Scriptures, Preach, Administer the Sacrament of Baptisme and the Lords Supper, Catechize and perform all other Duties according to the Directory for the Publick Worship of God, established by Ordinance of Parliament the third of January, 1644’. The House further noted that the business of dividing the nation into Classical Presbyteries ‘was not put into Execution accordingly’ and ordered the justices of the peace, ministers and heads of universities to do so by 29 September. Tithes were also confirmed. The Presbyterianism of the 1640’s was being legislated back into England at lightning speed. But the restored Long Parliament’s Presbyterianism was about to be swept away by the Cavalier Parliament.

**Bishops and Presbyters**


19 *CJ*, VII (1651-60), 862; see also Kennett, *Register*, 77.

20 Firth and Rait, II, 1459, 1462, 1467.
In the spring of 1660, there was a general and growing euphoria over a potential restoration of the Stuart monarchy. Following the death of Oliver and the deposing of Richard Cromwell, the nation was weary of a world turned upside-down, and turned its hopeful eyes to Charles II. Though political exigencies overshadowed the discussion on religious settlement, discussion there was. Calls for union between moderate Presbyterians and Episcopalians were widespread. In March, Hyde sent George Morley, future bishop of Winchester, as a royal agent to open talks with moderate Presbyterians including Manton and his Resolutioner ally James Sharp. Baxter later wrote that he had ‘heard that Dr. Morley was a Moderate Orthodox Man, and had often Meetings with Dr. Manton and others, whom he encouraged with Pacifactory Professions’.

In Morley’s own account, these were politically calculated: ‘by a friendly and familiar manner of conversing with them...[I] endeavor to gain upon them, and get an interest in them’. Baxter arrived in London on April 13 to join the effort of the ‘Reconcilers’, working alongside Manton toward a union of orthodox godly ministers in a national church settlement.

As the days progressed, it became evident that a return to monarchy would include a return to episcopacy. In spite of the recent spate of Presbyterian bills, the Restored Long Parliament was now dissolved (16 March 1660), and the Presbyterians were scrambling for a church settlement that would comprehend

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21 For example, see Anon, Expedients for Publique Peace. Shewing the Necessity of a National Union (1660); Abernathy, ‘London Presbyterians’, 45.


23 RB, III, 218, §81.


Manton was not idle. He continued public preaching, invited by Sion College on 2 April to ‘preach the Latine sermon’.26  

Illustration 4.1: 2 April 1660, ‘Ordered For Mr. Manton be desired to preach the Latin Sermon’

Source: LMA CLC/198/SICA/008/MS33445/00, Sion College Court of Governors’ Minutes [Court Registers] A, 1631-1716; with gratitude to Elliot Vernon.

He continued public diplomacy, evidenced through an episode involving himself, Baxter, Gauden and Bernard. On 30 April Baxter made a stir by declaring in a sermon to the newly gathered Convention Parliament that he and Ussher had agreed ‘(in less than half an hours debate) to five or six Propositions which I offered him, as sufficient for the Concord of the moderate Episcopall and Presbyterians, without forsaking the Principles of their Parties’.27 Apparently when Baxter explained the terms, ‘many moderate Episcopal Divines…all professed their great desires and hopes of Concord upon such termes; Dr. Gauden desired a meeting to that end of the several parties, but none came at the day appointed but he and Dr. Bernard, and Dr. Manton and I’.28 In other words, aside from the hosting Bernard (Ussher’s former chaplain), Gauden was the only episcopalian who valued union with the Presbyterians enough to meet and discuss it. In fact, though on 25 April Gauden had been selected easily to preach

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26 LMA Sion College Court Minutes, f. 203, 2 April 1660; for the Sion College Latin sermons see E. H. Pearce, *Sion College and Library* (Cambridge, 1913), ch. 9.
27 R. Baxter, *A Sermon of Repentance* (1660), 42. The terms of the meeting from 1654 are related in RB, II, 206, § 61-4.
on the 30th, there were ‘above 60 voices’ who protested Calamy and Baxter.\textsuperscript{29} The Presbyterian position was tenuous.

\textbf{Breda}

On 1 May, Charles’ \textit{Declaration of Breda} was read in the House.\textsuperscript{30} Though many Presbyterians including Manton genuinely welcomed the restoration of the monarchy, this by no means secured their freedom from an ‘Anglican’ royalist backlash. Unsettled by the vagueness of both the \textit{Declaration} and Morley,\textsuperscript{31} the London ministers met on 7 May at Sion College to compose an address to the king.\textsuperscript{32} The following day the Lords appointed, and on the next the Commons confirmed, Manton, Reynolds, Calamy, Spurstow, Hall and Case to deliver the address to Charles in Breda.\textsuperscript{33}

Reports of their meetings with Charles vary. According to one broadside, the Presbyterian delegates ‘received much satisfaction from his Majesty, who discours’d with him two by two’ on multiple occasions. The happy report further described talks between the Presbyterian delegates and the royal chaplains: ‘his Majesties chaplains and they have given several visits to one another, and do very friendly comply together’.\textsuperscript{34} According to Hyde, the purpose for the multiple audiences with the king, however, was not to further agreement but to press on areas of disagreement. The divines knew Charles’ affection for episcopacy, and led by declaring themselves ‘no Enemies to moderate Episcopacy’ and ‘only desired that such things might not be pressed upon them’ which they deemed ‘matters indifferent’.\textsuperscript{35} While the king indeed ‘spoke very kindly to them’, Charles

\textsuperscript{30} CJ, VIII (1660-67), 1, 4-6 (1 May 1660).
\textsuperscript{31} Bosher, \textit{Restoration Settlement}, 127.
\textsuperscript{32} LMA Sion College Court Minutes, f. 204, 7 May 1660.
\textsuperscript{33} LJ, XI (1660-1666), 18 (8 May 1660); CJ, VIII (1660-67), 20 (9 May 1660); Calamy, \textit{Abridgment} (1702), 73.
\textsuperscript{34} Mercurius Politicus, 24-31 May 1660, 341.
\textsuperscript{35} There is a question of ambiguity, i.e. what exactly did the delegates mean by ‘moderate Episcopacy’? Did they mean simply a system which allowed for presbytery alongside prelacy, or was it the Ussher/Baxter model of reduced episcopacy, which is radically decentralized and reduced?
was clear that though he had no intention to impose ‘hard conditions’ on tender consciences, he would refer the settling of religion to Parliament. This did not satisfy the divines, who pressed Charles in private audience to maintain certain Puritan interregnum reforms. In spite of their protests, Charles remained adamant that he intended his chaplains to use both the prayer book and the surplice in his private chapel. His obstinacy toward Presbyterianism was understandable: Charles has been in a similar position in 1650-51 when he negotiated with the Scots Covenanters. Though the English Presbyterian clergy were not the same as the Scots, his experience in Scotland was not one he wished to repeat. He did not need to concede religious terms because he did not need their political leverage. According to Hyde, the Presbyterian delegation left ‘very much unsatisfied’.

Though the Presbyterians had vague assurances of freedom for tender consciences, the momentum was on the side of the episcopalian. While the scope of this study is too limited to explore the evidences for this, one factor is telling: the episcopalian ingeniously used the press to interweave joy over the restoring of the ancient monarchy with joy over the restoring of the (at least century-plus) ancient church. One newsbook ambiguously conflated political and ecclesiastical restoration, reporting on 10 May that ‘Both Houses of Parliament went this day (according to former order) to return thanks unto the Lord, who had so strangely delivered the Nation from that oppression it lately groaned under. The Lords met at Westminster Abbey, where... divine service was performed by Mr Marston in his formalities, according to the *common-prayer-book*. Another newsbook reported on 14 May that ‘Yesterday Dr Gauden preached at Westminster Abbey, and after Sermon delivered the Sacrament to severall of the House of Lords, who received it kneeling, according to the ancient

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36 Kennett, *Register*, 152.
38 For a summary of the evidences of this, see Abernathy, ‘English Presbyterians’, 52-60.
39 *Parliamentary Intelligencer*, 7-14 May 1660, 318.
Reverence used by the Church of England.\textsuperscript{40} In spite of the fact that Manton supported the Restoration of Charles Stuart, Roger L’Estrange (according to Walter Wilson ‘then the mouth of the fiery party’\textsuperscript{41}) would specifically name Manton’s November 1660 printing of \textit{Smectymnuus} as an example of the ‘Treasonous, Seditious, and Schismatical Pieces’ published against ‘the Church, and the King’s Cause, and his Authority’.\textsuperscript{42}

Manton’s own congregation at Covent Garden offered little respite. Harris relates that Manton ‘was sometimes in danger from the churchwardens’, so Bedford himself, ‘having the choice of one, took care to have him a friend to the doctor’.\textsuperscript{43} The congregation was diverse, including Presbyterian leaders such as Bedford, Sir Edward Harley,\textsuperscript{44} William Brereton\textsuperscript{45} and Sir Francis Dacre (member of the bedchamber of Charles II),\textsuperscript{46} moderates such as Oliver St John\textsuperscript{47} and Sir William Fleetwood, and others such as Aubrey de Vere, twentieth Earl of Oxford,\textsuperscript{48} Sir John Baber,\textsuperscript{49} diarist Thomas Rugg,\textsuperscript{50} shipbuilder Sir Anthony Deane,\textsuperscript{51} miniature painter (and likely recusant) Samuel Cooper,\textsuperscript{52} Philip Viscount Strangford,\textsuperscript{53} royalist Captain Sir Thomas Ogle,\textsuperscript{54} Sir Thomas Culpeper (the younger)\textsuperscript{55} and MP

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\item \textsuperscript{40} \textit{Mercurius Publicus}, 10-17 May 1660, 317.
\item \textsuperscript{41} Walter Wilson, \textit{The History and Antiquities of Dissenting Churches and Meeting Houses, in London, Westminster, and Southwark}, 4 vols (1810), III, 131.
\item \textsuperscript{42} Roger L’Estrange, \textit{Truth and Loyalty Vindicated} (1662), 58.
\item \textsuperscript{43} \textit{CWTM}, I, xviii.
\item \textsuperscript{44} William Hunt (ed.), \textit{The Registers of St. Paul’s Church, Covent Garden, London}, 4 vols (London, 1906), I, 16.
\item \textsuperscript{45} Hunt (ed.), \textit{Registers}, I, 17.
\item \textsuperscript{46} Hunt (ed.), \textit{Registers}, I, 9; J. T. Peacey, ‘Francis Lennard, fourteenth Baron Dacre (1619-1662)’, \textit{ODNB}.
\item \textsuperscript{47} Hunt (ed.), \textit{Registers}, I, 11.
\item \textsuperscript{48} Victor Stater, ‘Vere, Aubrey de, twentieth earl of Oxford (1627-1703)’, \textit{ODNB}.
\item \textsuperscript{49} Hunt (ed.), \textit{Registers}, I, 9.
\item \textsuperscript{50} Hunt (ed.), \textit{Registers}, I, 12.
\item \textsuperscript{51} Hunt (ed.), \textit{Registers}, I, 12.
\item \textsuperscript{52} Westminster City Archives, St. Paul’s Covent Garden Parish Records, Poor Rates, 1663.
\item \textsuperscript{53} Hunt (ed.), \textit{Registers}, I, 14.
\item \textsuperscript{54} Hunt (ed.), \textit{Registers}, III, 44; for Ogle’s drunken exposing of himself publicly in Covent Garden which had passed into folklore, see Samuel Johnson, \textit{Lives of the Poets}, ed. Roger Lonsdale, 4 vols (Oxford, 2006), II, 61. As the story goes, Lord Buckhurst, Sir Charles Sedley and Sir Thomas Ogle ‘got drunk...and going into the balcony exposed themselves to the populace in very indecent postures’. The
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Sir William Hartopp. Sir Robert Bowles, baronet, was on the Grand Jury for trying the regicides in 1660, and ‘a great encourager of the arts’. The religious spectrum of this lively and challenging group was perhaps best summarized by Manton’s assistant Abraham Pinchebecke in a letter to Baxter: ‘...we have a people of divers modes the greatest part for the old ceremonies & profanenesse another part who are good but too schismaticall & very few good Christians sober’.58

Covent Garden was an elite crowd, accustomed to publicity – and to power. When a faction appealed directly to Bishop Sheldon to force Manton to use the Common Prayer, the petition was published in several news-books. By the time this petition was published, apparently Manton had consented and begun to use the Liturgy. The same news-book concluded the petition with the following editorial snipe, indirectly identifying use of the Common Prayer with social order and stability: ‘and if all his Brethren would do the like, we should have more Devotion and less News’.60 Even so, not all were so inclined; when Thomas Rugg recorded the episode, he concluded with a rare and unenthusiastic personal aside: ‘So much for Covent Garden, where I have lived about 14 years’.61 Rugg’s near silence on Manton at first seems remarkable, as Rugg was an episcopal high churchman who greatly admired one of Manton’s bolder critics and fellow Covent Garden residents, Roger L’Estrange.62 On the other hand – Manton got crowd response is noteworthy: rather than jeering, ‘the publick indignation was awakened’ and they forced the men off with stones.

59 Kingdomes Intelligencer, February 25, 1661 – March 4, 1661, 134; Mercurius Publicus, 21-28 February 1661, 127-8.
60 Ibid, 128.
quite a bit of press relatively speaking – six mentions in the *Diurnal*, to Calamy’s three, Owen’s one, and none for Bates and Baxter.

Worcester House

Charles II stepped foot on English soil at Dover on 25 May 1660 as the king of England, Scotland and Ireland. Shortly thereafter, ten Presbyterian divines, including Manton, Reynolds, Baxter, Ash, Bates and Case, were sworn royal chaplains by Manchester.63 In the process of discussing chaplaincy, Baxter explained to Broghill and Manchester his ideas for a union of moderates, resulting in the king inviting the Presbyterians including Baxter, Manton, Calamy, Spurstowe, Reynolds, and Ashe to several private audiences. At one of these in late June, at the lodgings of Manchester (Lord Chamberlain), the king heard them declare their abhorrence of Cromwell’s usurping, and that they ‘longed after Concord, and were truly Loyal to him, and desired no more than to live under him a quiet and peaceable Life in all godliness and honesty’.64 The king offered ‘as gracious an Answer as we could expect’, indicating he was committed to seeing a ‘meeting in the Midway...brought to pass’. The joy of God’s favourable Providence was too much to contain, and ‘old Mr. Ash burst out into Tears’.65

About that time, Charles requested that the Presbyterians ‘offer him such Proposals as we thought meet, in order to Agreement about Church Government; for that was the main Difference’.66 These were submitted on 10 July and based on Ussher’s scheme of reduced episcopacy including parish discipline under presbyteries, diocesan and provincial synods, and a national assembly, as well as

63 Memoirs, xiv; Baxter (*RB*, II, 229, § 88, 89) in a marginal note dates his chaplaincy from 25 June 1660 and reprinted his certificate of admittance by Manchester from the 26th, followed by ‘and then...Dr Manton’. Wodrow (*Sufferings*, I, 42) records a letter from Sharp to Douglas on June 14 indicating the opposite, that Manton, Calamy and Reynolds ‘are sworn chaplains; some say Mr. Baxter is to be admitted likewise’. Rugg (*Diurnal*, 92) simply indicates the Presbyterians were sworn in the first half of June.
64 RB, 230 § 90, 92; both Kennett (*Register*, 181-3, 187) and Wodrow (*Sufferings*, I, 45-6) indicate there were multiple meetings between the King and the Presbyterian divines.
65 RB, 231 § 91.
66 RB, 231, § 92.
‘an amended liturgy, and abolition of the canonical prescription of the surplice, the cross in baptism, and kneeling at the Lord’s supper’.67 The bishops rejected virtually every point by essentially claiming the ancient ground: that prelacy was essential to the health of the church in the same way that rule by a single monarch is healthy for order in the state; submission to this ecclesiastical structure, was the only path to peace.68 Episcopacy was gaining momentum, and the Presbyterians perceived it. Already on 26 June 1660 Sharp had written to Douglas that ‘Petitions come up from the counties for Episcopacy and Liturgy….the generality of the people are doting after prelacy and the service-book’.69 On 11 August Sharp wrote again that ‘the episcopal party here are still increasing in number, as well as confidence’.70 The day before, Manton, Calamy and Ashe had written to the ministers of Edinburgh the warning that the general stream and current is for the old prelacy in all its pomp and height, and therefore it cannot be hoped for, that the presbyterial government should be owned as the public, establishment of this nation, while the tide runneth so strongly that way; .... therefore no course seemeth likely to us to secure religion and the interests of Christ Jesus our Lord, but by making presbytery a part of the public establishment; which will not be effected but by moderating and reducing episcopacy to the form of synodical government, and a mutual condescendency of both parties in some lesser things, which fully come within the latitude of allowable differences in the church. This is all we can for the present hope for; and if we could obtain it, we should account it a mercy.71

On 4 September, the king issued his own preliminary draft of a declaration. When neither side was satisfied, Hyde scheduled a conference for both sides to meet on 22 October at his residence, Worcester House.72 The seven Presbyterians were Manton, Baxter, Reynolds, Calamy, Ashe, Wallis and

67 Abernathy, ‘English Presbyterians’, 67; James Ussher, The Reduction of Episcopacie Unto the Form of Synodical Government Received in the Ancient Church (1656).
69 Wodrow, Sufferings, I, 44.
70 Wodrow, Sufferings, I, 53.
72 RB, I, pt. 2, 274. See also Spurr, Restoration Church, 34-8.
Spurstowe; the Episcopalians were represented by Morley, Gauden, Sheldon, Henchman, Cosin, Barwick, Hacket and Gunning.\textsuperscript{73}

Before this conference, four of the Presbyterian delegates had been offered preferment: the see of Norwich to Reynolds, Hereford to Baxter, Coventry and Lichfield to Calamy, and the deanery of Rochester to Manton.\textsuperscript{74} Notably, these were offered in September concurrent with episcopalian offers, showing they were not the ‘leftovers’, and that the Presbyterians took the offers seriously as none of them had yet declined and Reynolds had accepted.\textsuperscript{75} Manton kept his offer ‘some time in suspense, being willing to see whether the king’s declaration could be got to pass into a law’.\textsuperscript{76} According to the younger Calamy, Manton was not passive in this, but was ‘very Earnest in his Endeavours to get the Declaration for Ecclesiastical Affairs pass’d into a Law: And had it been compass’d, would have accepted the Deanry that was offer’d him’.\textsuperscript{77} In a sardonic pamphlet aimed primarily at Owen, George Vernon indulged in an aside attacking Manton, suggesting he had planned to conform: ‘at last all the tumbling and jumbling of his thoughts united in this conclusion, that a good Deanery was a sufficient Potion to make him Vomit up the Covenant, or in one word to conform’.\textsuperscript{78}

\textsuperscript{73} Abernathy, ‘English Presbyterians’, 75.
\textsuperscript{74} In addition, Bates was offered the deanery of Lichfield, and Bowles that of York.
\textsuperscript{75} RB, 281, 283, § 118, 127; I. M. Green, The Re-establishment of the Church of England, 1660-1663 (Oxford, 1978), 71, 83-6. Baxter did not decline until November 1, and when Calamy declined Coventry and Lichfield, it was kept vacant until November 1661 in hopes that either Calamy or even Baxter might accept it. See Wood, Athenae, II, 1147; Green, Re-establishment, 88, fn. 34. According to Prince (‘Worthies’, 4), Manton refused his Deanery only after Savoy.\textsuperscript{76} Memoirs, xv. Simon Patrick corroborates this, though he attributes the Dissenters declining preferment not on account of ‘conscience and their Covenant... but of interest and policy...not to lose the affections of their own party’; see Patrick, Friendly Debate (1668), 111; also in Simon Patrick, The Works of Symon Patrick, D.D., ed. Alexander Taylor, 9 vols (Oxford, 1858), V, 348.
\textsuperscript{77} Calamy, Abridgement, 209.
\textsuperscript{78} George Vernon, A Letter to a Friend (1670), 37. Wood cites this passage in Athenae, II, 446, though only as hearsay, prefaced with ‘as ‘tis said…’
The Worcester conference gained gravitas if not urgency from an impressive gallery of court auditors – Monck, Ormonde, Manchester, Annesley, Holles – and of course Charles himself, with Hyde moderating. Though it was not meant to be a dispute, Baxter and Calamy engaged in heated debates with Morley and Gunning, mainly over ordination and the authority of bishops. Further complicating the discussion, near the end, Hyde interjected a request for indulgence from the Independents and Anabaptists. This was (after a brief silence) attacked by Baxter as a door to the Papists and Socinians; his comments would later prove to be a decisive wedge between the Presbyterians and Independents. The day ended with the trenches even deeper; so the king put it to Morley, Henchman, Calamy and Reynolds to revise the Declaration, with Holles and Annesley to settle disputes.79

When the London ministers met to discuss the terms,80 hard-liners such as Arthur Jackson and Zachary Crofton refused to sign any thanks to the king because it admitted episcopacy (of any sort), while sixteen ministers did sign, including Gouge, Cooper, Jacombe, Poole and Bates. Ironically, though arguing for the Declaration, neither Baxter nor Manton nor any of the seven Presbyterian delegates from Worcester House subscribed the thanks to the king.81

The post-Worcester divisions were predictable. Beforehand, the Presbyterian meetings at Sion College to draw up the proposals were open to all, ‘that none might say they were excluded’. However, this effort at unity produced the opposite effect from ‘the great inconvenience of too many Actors.... For that which seemed the most convenient Expression to one, seemed inconvenient to another, and that we that all agreed in Matter, had much ado to agree in Words’. When the moderates wanted to include Ussher’s Model word for word on church government, one faction sarcastically tarred ‘this offer...by the name of the

80 RB, I, pt. 2, 284, § 128; Charles II, His Maiesties declaration to all his loving subjects...concerning ecclesiastical affairs (1660); for a summary of the terms see Abernathy, ‘English Presbyterians’, 76; Bosher, Restoration Settlement, 188, 9.
81 Anon., To The Kings Most Excellent Maiesty. The humble and grateful acknowledgement (1660).
Presbyterians impudent Expectations'. Though written in 1641 to unite, nineteen years later Ussher’s model had lost none of its power to divide.

This should have been the moment of union and settlement. The parties had met and ostensibly agreed, the king had spoken favourably, the Presbyterian ministers were nominated to sees, and the Restored Long Parliament had written Presbyterianism back into the books. Samuel Pepys described a visit ‘to the Hercules Pillars to drink, where we did read over the King’s declaration in matters of religion, which is come out to-day, which is very well penned, I think to the satisfaction of most people’. Pepys confirmed this perspective, recording that the following Sabbath the minister at his church ‘did begin to nibble at the Common Prayer…. This declaration of the King’s do give the Presbyterians some satisfaction, and a pretence to read the Common Prayer, which they would not do before because of their former preaching against it’. Perhaps the sides had in fact met ‘in the Midway’.

When the Convention Parliament convened on 6 November 1660, thanks was voted to the King for the ‘Declaration Concerning Ecclesiastical Affairs’ and a motion made to pass it into law. It was precisely this month that Manton reprinted Smectymnuus Redivivus, perhaps (while holding an invitation to preferment) hoping to strengthen legitimacy for the position of accommodation. The motion was referred to a committee, and a Bill came to a first reading on 28 November. Broderick, Finch, and Maynard along with Secretary of State William Morrice argued for putting the bill aside, as the King had already announced the 20 December dissolution of Parliament. Prynne and the Presbyterians argued vehemently that the King had spoken and the thanks

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82 RB, I, 232, § 95-6.
83 Samuel Pepys, 30 October, 1660, in Latham and Matthews (eds.), Pepys, I, 278.
84 Samuel Pepys, 4 November 1660, in Latham and Matthews (eds.), Pepys, I, 282, 3.
85 Kennett, Register, 318, 9.
86 CJ, VIII (1660-67), 176, 194. The committee members included such diverse members on one side as Stephens, Hollis, Annesly and on the other as Finch, Maynard and Turner.
87 CJ, VIII (1660-668), 188 (28 November 1660); Bosher, Restoration Settlement, 196; Abernathy, 'English Presbyterians', 78.
for the declaration must be put into law. When a second reading was put to a vote, the Independents (still vexed by being left out of the Presbyterians’ scheme for comprehension, namely by Baxter) unexpectedly sided with the Episcopalians. The Bill was defeated by 26 votes, 183-157.88 Charles’ pacificatory tone struck at Breda and Worcester became legally moot, and the following day Andrew Marvell lamented, ‘there is an end of that bill and for those excellent things therein [sic] We must henceforth rely onely upon his Majestyes goodnesse who I must needs say hath hitherto been more ready to give then we to receiue’.89 Later Marvell would pen the memorable lines:

Next Bishops must revive, and all unfix
With discontents, for contents twenty six90

Ironically, Roger L’Estrange later sardonically tarred this 1660 reprint of *Smectymnuus Redivivus* as Manton’s ‘Presbyterian gratitude for His Majesties Declaration from Breda’, when in fact it was not the Presbyterians but the episcopalians who had shown their thanks by legally blocking ‘His Majesties Declaration’.91 This tipped the scale for Manton; one of his Covent Garden parishioners, Sir Ralph Verney, recorded matter-of-factly in a letter of 17 January 1661 that, ‘Dr. Bate and Dr. Manton have refused theire Deaneries’.92

1660 had been a year of contradictions for the Presbyterians. The declarations of Breda and Worcester House had been promising, yet when Parliament dissolved on 29 December, the only legal cover Presbyterians had was Prynne’s modest September bill for Establishing Ministers Settled in Ecclesiastical Livings.93 On 19 November, Manton had been created Doctor of Divinity (Oxon.) ‘by vertue of his Majesties Letters...among several royalists’, yet nine days later Parliament

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90 Andrew Marvell, *The Second and Third Advice to a Painter* (1667), 25.
93 *Cf*. VIII (1660-1667), 149; N. H. Keeble, *The Literary Culture of Nonconformity* (Leicester, 1987), 26; see also Abernathy, ‘English Presbyterians’, 78; Bosher, *Restoration Settlement*, 171-9. Prynne’s bill essentially protected Presbyterians whilst outing Baptists, as their inclusion in the national church was one of the more remarkable features of the Cromwellian church.
defeated a bill for his accommodation.94 On 29 December St Paul’s Covent Garden was declared Parochial by Parliament95 (replacing the now illegal Ordinance of 7 January 164696) and two weeks later Manton was officially, in Kennett’s words, ‘episcopally instituted to the Church in Covent Garden’ by Bishop Sheldon himself under the patronage of the Earl of Bedford.97 Yet a month later, Manton’s own congregation appealed to Sheldon in defiance of their lately installed minister for the use of the prayer book, which it got - eventually.98 In June Manton was sworn a royal chaplain, and all autumn Manton remained in possession of an invitation to a deanery. He was told by Sir John Baber that in addition to Hyde’s respect, ‘that the king held a singular respect for him’.99 Yet by the dissolution of Parliament on 29 December 1660, nearly seven hundred ministers had been ejected from their livings.100 One of these ministers appealed to Manton directly, demonstrating Manton’s standing both among nonconformists as well as at court with Clarendon. Harris relates the story of a Mr James of Berkshire, who facing ejection, travelled to London where he was advised to appeal to Manton. They took a carriage to York House, where

94 Wood, Athenae, Il, 446; Kennett, Register, 778; A Catalogue of Graduats in Divinity, Law, and Physick...in the University of Oxford (1705), 98. Manton was created DD at Wadham under his former Wadham classmate Walter Blandford, who replaced John Wilkins as Warden in 1659 and was also created DD at Wadham in 1660; see Catalogue, 16.

95 Act 12 Car. II c. 36, the very last (#20) in a bundle of ‘Private Acts’, in J. Raithby (ed.), Statutes of the Realm, 11 vols (1819), V, 303. The parish was carved from within St. Martin-in-the-fields to accommodate the fourth Earl of Bedford’s new square. Manton’s parishioner MP Richard Knightley was instrumental on this committee; see Basil Duke Henning, The House of Commons 1660-1690, 3 vols (London, 1983), I, 700; Knightley, who had married a daughter of the fiercely Presbyterian John Hampden, favoured modified episcopacy, the Worcester House Declaration, and comprehension.

96 Firth and Rait, I, 814–7, 827–8; Raithby (ed.), Statutes, V, 33-41.

97 Kennett, Register, 358.

98 For the appeal, see Kingdomes Intelligencer, 25 February-4 March 1661, 134. Manton purchased the prayer book only on 23 May; Westminster City Archives, Accession 426/136, Covent Garden Parish Records, Churchwardens’ Accounts, 1661. Bates and Jacome also were pressured by their congregations and Sheldon to use the prayer book; Bates consented, but Jacome adamantly refused; see Bosher, pp. 207-8.

99 Memoirs, xv.

100 Cf, VIII (1660-1667), 237; Abernathy, ‘English Presbyterians’, 78; Coffey, Persecution, 167.
Clarendon ‘spying the doctor in the crowd... called to him to know what business he had there at that time of night... Upon hearing further of the matter, [Clarendon] bid the doctor not trouble himself, his friend should not be molested’.101 Harris’ story, if reliable, underlines Manton’s clout in 1660, or at least the recognition from Anglican royalists that they could not afford to alienate moderate Presbyterian leaders. Royal favour continued: by March 1661, Manton (along with Calamy, Spurstowe and Baxter) was further sworn Chaplain in Waiting.102

**Savoy**

Though the Bill for accommodation had been defeated, the Worcester House Declaration contained a clause calling for a National Synod containing an ‘equal number of Learned Divines of both persuasions’ to review the liturgy in the book of common prayer, and ‘to make such alterations as shall be thought most necessary’.103 Charles indeed issued an invitation on 25 March 1661, specifically naming twelve commissioners who were bishops and twelve Presbyterians including Manton, who were to meet at Savoy over several months.104 On 1 April, Edward Reynolds wrote to Manton that the ‘Bishop of London sent me the commission about revising the liturgy under the great seal’, requesting Manton bring Bates and Jacombe to meet with him and Calamy the next morning ‘to advise together’.105

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102 BL Add MSS 36781, f. 11 (1661), ‘Lists of Privy Counsellors, the King’s Household’.
103 Charles II, *His Maiesties Declaration...* (1660), 7.
105 *Memoirs*, xv; Harris specifies ‘the original letter is now in my hands’.
Though it seemed yet another opportunity for accommodation, several factors doomed the synod from the outset. First, in January 1661 the radical Fifth Monarchist Thomas Venner led an uprising of about fifty ‘discontented schismatics’ in which about 20 people were killed on each side.\textsuperscript{106} The bloody affair lasted about two weeks, and worked heavily against nonconformity as anecdotal evidence that all Puritans were potential radicals.\textsuperscript{107} Secondly, when the Cavalier Parliament sat on 8 May, the political Presbyterian members were reduced to fewer than fifty members.\textsuperscript{108} This Parliament would not dither. On 25 June the Commons, ignoring the Savoy conference, appointed a committee ‘to view the several Laws for confirming the Liturgy of the Church of England… and to provide for an effectual Conformity to the Liturgy of the Church’.\textsuperscript{109} On 3 July, a Bill for Religious Uniformity was introduced in the House. Thus at Savoy, ‘it was submission that was offered, not compromise’.\textsuperscript{110}

Practically, as the Savoy meetings wore on, whatever slight gains made toward compromise were demolished as the bishops became increasingly exasperated with Baxter’s tiresome wrangling.\textsuperscript{111} In Baxter’s account, the only reference to Manton during the talks came from Hyde, who ‘at our first entrance…merily told us, that if [Baxter] were as fat as Dr Manton, we should all do well’.\textsuperscript{112} The conference fizzled inconclusively in August, both sides agreeing to submit a summary letter and petition to the king. The Presbyterian delegation included Reynolds, Manton, Bates and Baxter. Manton was selected to deliver the letter, asking to read a part out which the king granted. When the king asked Manton a simple clarification question of judging differences, Baxter jumped in with a

\textsuperscript{107} Keeble, \textit{Literary Culture}, 28; Greaves, ‘Venner’, \textit{ODNB}.  
\textsuperscript{108} Keeble, \textit{Literary Culture}, 29.  
\textsuperscript{109} \textit{CJ\textsuperscript{2}}, VIII (1660-1668), 279.  
\textsuperscript{110} H. O. Wakeman, \textit{The Church and the Puritans, 1570-1660} (London, 1887), 196.  
\textsuperscript{112} \textit{RB\textsuperscript{1}}, I, pt. 2, 364, § 236, 7.
philosophical delineation of ‘Private Judgement called *Discretionis*’ as opposed to ‘Publick Judgment’ which is ‘Ecclesiasical or Civil…. And this was the end of these affairs’.\textsuperscript{113} Indeed it was.

**The Clarendon Code**

Between the peaks of Savoy and the Act of Uniformity, Manton seems to return to the fields of parish ministry and the usual causes. On 3 September 1661 Manton was fighting popery, writing to Robert Douglas, informing him that Jesuit priests are soliciting the tailor William Broun as a landlord.\textsuperscript{114} Later that month Manton was commending the Psalms, writing a preface to *Samuelis Primitae*.\textsuperscript{115}

![Illustration 4.2: Manton’s signature in his letter to Douglas.](source)

Even so, the broader ecclesiastical conflict made its way into the Covent Garden chapel. In the latter half of 1661, of 26 christenings recorded, two particularly show this divide. On 6 December 1661, Manton baptized Robert Harley, son of Presbyterian MP Sir Edward Harley, a Parliamentarian officer who supported...

\textsuperscript{113} *RB*, 365, § 238.

\textsuperscript{114} National Library of Scotland, Wodrow Folio MSS, Vol. 26, fol. 71.

\textsuperscript{115} Samuel Leigh, *Samuelis Primitae: or, an Essay Towards a Metrical Version of the Whole Book of Psalms Composed* (1661); Kennett, *Register*, 543.
accommodation and called the Clarendon Code a ‘national sin’.\(^{116}\) On 7 November is the entry for Vere Gerard, daughter of ‘Charles Gerard gent. and Mrs Frances his wife’, who was the daughter of John Cosin, Bishop of Durham, who had debated Manton at Savoy. Of all the christenings in July to December 1661, Vere’s is the only explicitly not performed by Manton, but rather, ‘according to the forme p’scribed in the Church of England by M’ George Davenport Recto’ of S’ Peter West Cheape London’ – a sign of things to come.\(^{117}\) Vere was named after her uncle and godfather Aubrey de Vere, the riotous Earl of Oxford, who also attended Manton’s church. One of the Godmothers was Lady Mary Gerard, a second daughter of John Cosin’s in Manton’s congregation and the wife of Sir Gilbert Gerard II, who sat on the committee for the uniformity bill as well as committees opposing conventicles.\(^{118}\)

In the end, the various attempts at compromise endeavoured by Charles, the Presbyterians and the Episcopalians were ignored and overtaken by a Cavalier Parliament, ‘busy framing their measures to extirpate Puritanism’.\(^{119}\) In March 1660 the Convention had voted to have the Solemn League and Covenant read in every church as well as set up in the House; just over one year later, while the Savoy meetings were still young, the Cavalier Parliament ordered the Covenant be publicly burned.\(^{120}\) Paul Seaward noted with the restoring of bishops to the House of Lords in November 1661 and ‘the Commons dominated by a clique of well-organized Anglican royalists, the chances for securing concessions for the Presbyterians were minimal’.\(^{121}\)

Still, not all were uncompromising high churchmen. The Privy Council was full of moderates like Monck who would have welcomed a broad accommodation for

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\(^{118}\) Henning, *Commons*, II, 390-1.  
\(^{119}\) Green, *Re-establishment*, 143; Coffey, *Persecution*, ch 7.  
\(^{120}\) *CJ*, VII (1651-1660), 862; *CJ*, VIII (1660-1667), 254, 6.  
both Presbyterians and Episcopalians; others like Anthony Ashley Cooper would likely have supported toleration for gathered churches.122 There were even some moderate bishops such as Reynolds, Gauden, Sanderson, Henchman, Frewen, Hackett, and (seemingly at the time) Morley. In spite of this, accommodation failed. In the end, it was Parliament which took the decisive initiative, passing a set of five acts, which later became collectively known as the ‘Clarendon Code’123 after Edward Hyde, Earl of Clarendon, who ironically neither framed the Acts nor presented them to Parliament, and historians remain divided on his stance.124

**Black Bartholomew’s Day**

In December 1661, Parliament passed the Corporation Act to purge Puritans from public office by requiring them to swear oaths of allegiance and supremacy, to abjure the Solemn League and Covenant, and to take communion in the Church of England. In 1662 the Quaker Act declared that any refusing legally tendered oaths, or meeting with five or more Quakers would be fined, imprisoned, or on a third offense, transported. The third and most significant act for the clergy was the 1662 Act of Uniformity, requiring all ministers to abjure the Solemn League and Covenant, to give ‘unfeigned assent and consent’ to all in

123 The so-called ‘Clarendon Code’ generally refers to five Acts of Parliament passed 1661-5: the Corporation Act or 13 Car. II Stat. 2. c. 1 (1661), the Quaker Act or 14 Car. II. c. 1 (1662), the Act of Uniformity or 14 Car. II c. 4 (1662), the Conventicle Act or 16 Car. II. c. 4 (1664), and the Five Mile Act or 17 Car. II. c. 2 (1665). See Raithby (ed.), *Statutes* (1819), V, 322-3, 350-1, 364-70, 516-20, 575; Roger Morrice, *The Entring Book of Roger Morrice*, ed. Mark Goldie, 6 Vols (Woodbridge, 2007), VI, 248.
124 For example, Mark Goldie argues that Hyde ‘would probably have taken a more moderate stance’ (*Entring Book*, VI, 248); whereas Southcombe implies the opposite, since it was only ‘following Clarendon’s fall in 1667 that schemes for comprehension and toleration were once again debated’ (*Dissent and the Restoration Church of England* in Grant Tapsell (ed.), *The Later Stuart Church, 1660-1714* (Manchester, 2012), 199). In his *Memoirs*, Harris twice mentions Clarendon positively; *Memoirs*, xiv, xvi. In the most recent treatment of Hyde, Paul Seaward makes a strong case for a pragmatic, Erastian Hyde, whose concern was not driven by determining what aspects of the liturgy were ‘immutable religious fundamentals’ but rather ‘the extent to which such practices were conducive to peace’; see Paul Seaward, ‘Circumstantial Temporary Concessions: Clarendon, Comprehension, and Uniformity’ in Keeble, *Settling the Peace*, ch. 2, especially pp. 65-6.
the Prayer book, and to be episcopally ordained. This act broke ‘decisively with England’s history since the reformation’ being even more strict than the 1559 Act of Uniformity in the Elizabethan church settlement. In spite of attempts by the king and Hyde to mitigate its severity, the Act went into force on 24 August 1662. Though some of Manton’s colleagues such as Reynolds and John Wilkins conformed, the majority of Puritan ministers could not in good conscience approve all three measures. On Bartholomew’s Day, Manton and over 1000 Puritan ministers from England and Wales were ejected from their livings, bringing the total since 1660 to an estimated 2,029, mostly Presbyterians along with 194 Independents and 19 Baptists.

On 17 August 1662, Manton preached his final sermon at St Paul’s Covent Garden. Preaching a farewell sermon was an accepted if not expected practice in early modern pulpits, and that sermon would be considered more weighty as the rhetorical ‘dying’ words of a shepherd to his flock. In the published version Manton made no specific comments or even reference to the Act of Uniformity or its ramifications, as did some others including William Bates, Simeon Ash and Matthew Newcomen.

Though seemingly innocuous, a closer look at Manton’s farewell sermon reveals a clear message to his auditors. The sermon text was Hebrews 12:1, ‘Wherefore, seeing we are encompassed about with so great a cloud of witnesses, let us lay aside every weight, and the sin which doth so easily beset us, and let us run with

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125 Coffey, Persecution, 168; Green, Re-establishment, 144. Keeble, Literary Culture, 31.
126 Keeble, Literary Culture, 31; the Elizabethan Act of Uniformity (8 May 1559) had been repealed by the rump on 27 September 1650; see CJ, VI (1648-1651), 474; H. Gee and W. J. Hardy (eds.), Documents Illustrative of English Church History (London, 1896), 458-67.
127 Coffey, Persecution, 168; see A. G. Matthews, Calamy Revised: being a revision of Edmund Calamy’s Account of the ministers and others ejected and silenced, 1660-2 (Oxford, 1934), xii-xiv; Keeble, Literary Culture, 31. Baxter himself had accurately estimated 1800-2000 ministers ‘were Silenced and Cast out,’ RB, I, pt. 2, 385, § 279.
128 William Bates, The Peace-Maker (1662), Wing B1117, 32; A Collection of Farewell-Sermons Preached (1662), Wing C5145A; DWL I.h.35, f. 5r, quoted in Appleby, Black Bartholomew’s Day, 151.
patience the race that is set before us’. Manton was not the only Bartholomean to employ the rhetoric of Hebrews. William Jenkyn preached on the ‘triumph of faith, or Victory against all difficulty’ from this ‘little book of Martyrs’. William Bates also preached a message of warning of persecutions, and so with Paul, ‘to encourage them to perseverance’ and ‘to represent the vanity and infectiveness of all the Ceremonial Law, and to express and prove the vertue and efficacy of the Lord Jesus’.\footnote{William Jenkyn, \textit{The Burning Yet Un-consumed Bush} (1662), 1; Bates, \textit{Peace-Maker}, 2.}

In this sermon, Manton implied that his ejection was evidence of his faithfulness to Christ: ‘But now, if we, either by our sinful walking or by our drooping discouragements, discredit Christ and his profession, then we are witnesses against him; we deny that religion which we would seem to profess and cry up’. Manton plays on the ambiguity of persecution of Christians in general versus Bartholomeans in particular: ‘We are often discouraged with the paucity of professors, and are apt to think ourselves to be alone… but let us remember there is a cloud of witnesses’. Towards the end, Manton asked the more pointed question, ‘What is then required of us’? Manton answers, playing on words from the Act of Uniformity itself. While the law required the minister to declare ‘publiquely before the congregation…his unfeigned assent and consent unto and approbation of the said [Prayer] Booke and to the use of all the Prayers rites’, Manton rather exhorted his congregation to ‘promise to God to yield to him unfeigned obedience’.\footnote{Raithby (ed.), \textit{Statutes}, V, 364-70; \textit{CWTM}, II, 418.} And what of the Covenant? Note the juxtaposition of ‘solemn’ and ‘covenant’ as Manton continues, clarifying this promise of obedience: ‘Especially should we make this promise in the use of those solemn rites by which the covenant between God and us is confirmed… Ps. Cxix. 106, “I have sworn, and I will perform it, that I will keep thy righteous judgments”’.\footnote{\textit{CWTM}, II, 412-13, 18.} Bates used similar even more obvious language in his valediction, stating, ‘There is a League (as the Scripture speaks) between God and the Creature. It is a Covenant of Trade’.\footnote{Bates, \textit{Peace-Maker}, 9-10.}
God was on the side of the Covenant, and so Manton would side with God and keep it, retaining a place in the faithful cloud of witnesses. After all, 'God hath called us to this course; and if we run not in this race, we are undone forever'. Perhaps reflecting on conformity, Manton would later write, 'It is an argument that God is little valued, or the covenant and testimony of the Lord, when you can part with them for a mess of pottage'. Manton closes his valediction with a charge to faithfulness under duress, warning that 'the spectators will be ready to discourage us...they will be ready to deride, scorn, and oppose us for our zeal to God,...therefore “Let us run with patience the race that is set before us”'. Little could Manton have suspected at that time how long that race would be; these would prove Manton's final public words as a minister in the Church of England.

These subtleties were not lost on his hearers. Considering the laws passed by Parliament, the sermon could have been understood as attacking the now legally settled Church of England and therefore be potentially disruptive of social tranquility if not seditious. Perhaps for that reason, Manton later disclaimed his published farewell sermon in vehement terms. It had appeared in an unauthorized volume hastily assembled and published in September, with valedictions from other Bartholomeans. Manton's disclaimer followed a published invitation from Roger L'Estrange to the London ejectees 'to undeceive the Multitude Themselves by a Publique disclaiming of the Contrivance, as a seditious Practice, or so suffer Me to do it'. In that same publication L'Estrange mentions the concern of William Bates over his printed farewell sermon, 'whose Name (as I hear) was us’d in it against his Will'. Bates’ sermon first appeared as a pamphlet in the fall of 1662, and then alongside Manton’s in a collection entitled The Farewell Sermons of the Late London Ministers (1662).
Taken as genuine, Manton’s disclaimer in all likelihood refers to a spoiled editorial process, which twisted his meaning into something more radical than he intended, and perhaps proved an embarrassment to Bedford. As the text was submitted without his assent, it was possibly not produced by an entirely sympathetic hand, and publishers were not beyond poetic license to generate sales. Baxter later lamented the ‘covetous Booksellers’ who ‘got Copies of the last Sermons...from the Scribes that took them from their Mouths....Some of them were taken word by word...but some of us were much abused by it’. Baxter claimed his valediction was ‘mangled so both Matter and Style, that I could not own it’. In addition to the offense of misrepresentation, Baxter adds that the sermons were printed ‘to the offence of Governours’. For Presbyterians such as Manton, Baxter and Bates who were seeking accommodation, this would not have been welcome publicity.

**Conclusion**

In the end, the Cavalier Parliament succeeded in instituting prelacy along with monarchy, tarring Presbyterianism as a back door for political sedition. While the Presbyterians cried up the tyranny of bishops, the bishops cried up the chaos of presbytery. Both were polemical positions – claiming moderation and peace for their own side, while accusing the other of severity and schism. Ethan Shagan summarized the ‘conformist vision of coercion as moderation’, as the position that ‘conformity must be enforced with the sword, because even toleration limited to *adiaphora* tended ultimately to anarchy’. Manton and the Presbyterians used ‘Christian liberty’ as their euphemism for this same ‘coercion as moderation’, which included toleration for *adiaphora* but persecution for heresy and schism. From the Anglican perspective, Bishop Joseph Hall’s *Fanatrick Moderation* (168–?) decries the negative effects of this ‘Christian liberty’ in the 1640’s.

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140 *RB*, II, 303, § 168; Appleby, *Black*, 149.
Despite the popular clamour around these positions, Manton shows us a sober Presbyterianism, committed to a Church of England encompassing ‘all parties that, in the judgment of a regular charity, may be presumed to have owned Christ’.\footnote{CWTM, X, 332.} As early as 	extit{James}, Manton was preaching moderation: ‘And so a truly wise Christian is moderate – (1.) In his censures…(2.) In his opinions, not urging them beyond their weight’.\footnote{CWTM, IV, 318.} Manton lamented the pushing the opinions of one’s ‘adversaries beyond their intention to odious consequences which they disclaim, a fault which hath much disturbed the peace of Christendom’. At this point Manton’s marginal note refers to Joseph Hall’s \textit{Christian Moderation} (1640), in which Hall says, ‘What is it, that distracts the Reformed Churches of Christendome, but this injurious conceit of inconsequent inferences?…Away with these rigid illations, when wee have to doe with brethren’.\footnote{Joseph Hall, \textit{Christian Moderation in Two Books} (1640), II, 97.} Manton would make this very case, both before – and after – Bartholomew’s Day.
Chapter 5
Persecution, Comprehension, Indulgence, 1662-1677

‘But still remember, that all Attempts to get any Comprehension (as it was then called) or abatement of the Rigour of the Laws, or Legal Liberty and Union, were most effectually made void’.1

Introduction

This chapter will demonstrate, as debates on the identity of the Church of England continued following the great ejection, that Manton remained influential in representing Dissent from his residence in Covent Garden. Manton’s Restoration activity focused on working with Baxter, Calamy, Bates, Jacombe and Reynolds to unify the Presbyterian platform for accommodation in the national church. Manton held multiple audiences, not only with bishops, but also with the King over a twelve-year period from Breda to the indulgence of 1672. Though ejected in 1662, Manton remained in residence2 and continued preaching at a chapel ‘erected for the use of the celebrated Dr. Manton’ located ‘in White-Hart Yard, leading into Bridges’ street’, under the protection of the Earl of Bedford till his death in October 1677.3

The turbulence of the times was reflected in Manton’s publishing: from 1662-1669, for the first time since 1647, Manton skipped more than one year, publishing nothing. He broke that silence with a modest five prefaces stretched across 1669-1675. Manton was briefly entangled in the Quaker controversy of 1675, and then subscribed Baxter’s Judgment in 1676.4 Manton finished his works by printing a few sermons from the morning exercises at Cripplegate. Manton’s silence in the years 1663-9 mirrored a decrease in Puritan publishing

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1 *RB*, III, 88, §192.
2 Manton’s continued residence can be traced through his consent to the marriage allegations of his daughters Dorothy Manton (4 December 1667, in G. Armytage (ed.), *Allegations for Marriage Licenses...1543 to 1689* (London, 1886), 100, 1), and Anne Manton (7 Dec 1670, in G. Armytage (ed.), *Allegations for Marriage Licenses...1669 to 1679* (London, 1892), 46). See also *RB*, III, 19.
across the board. The prolific Baxter published only nine items in the years 1663-8, and Owen only seven. Though Baxter was writing both *Christian Directory* and *Reliquiæ* in those years, he published neither at the time. This may indicate uncertainty (or perhaps strong suspicion) among the Nonconformist clergy about what was acceptable, as well as uncertainty among the printers as to what was desirable, marketable, or even legal.5

The Restoration Settlement (1660-5), while re-creating a legally uniform Church of England did not succeed in eradicating dissent.6 Lax enforcement, the protection of patrons, and the sympathy of moderate conformists shielded many Dissenters from Sheldon’s full arsenal. Manton himself maintained an open conventicle in his Covent Garden home; in the 1666 Hearth Tax record both Manton and Simon Patrick living in Covent Garden, both with a generous ten hearths.7 Even the king’s lenient stance continued, in a system where ‘Dissenters allied with kings against bishops’.8 At this critical juncture, national events would give momentum to a growing dissenting identity in both Church and Corporation. With the fall of Clarendon, the city (and indeed the nation) found itself increasingly under the political influence of the more tolerant.9 Gary De

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8 Rose, *Godly Kingship*, 165.
Krey observed, 'The narrow Anglican regime that assumed power in the city in 1662-3 proved incapable of dealing successfully with the strains produced by plague, fire, and the Anglo-Dutch War of 1665-7'. Further, the dissenting clergy serving in London through the crises found renewed popular support, 'functioning as an alternate priestly tribe to that enjoined by law'. As zealous as Sheldon was to protect the hegemony of the Anglican Church by every means including persecution, there remained calls for either an accommodation within the national church or even a general toleration of orthodox, reformed Protestants with tender consciences.

Thus the primary fork faced by the Church of England at the Restoration was not between accommodation or toleration of dissent, but rather between coercion or toleration. If a course of toleration had been chosen, then the secondary question would have been whether to accommodate dissent within a single national church or to tolerate dissent by the legal indulgence (however wide or narrow) of parallel and competing religious structures within the same parishes. The theological argument embraced the Augustinian model of magisterial coercion (in his case against schismatic Donatists), so that 'when the saving gifts of the Catholic Church are in question, then coercive discipline is a charity'. Though the English Parliament chose coercion and persecution, efforts at both accommodation and toleration continued. While Charles remained open to an accommodation of tender consciences within the Church of England, the Cavalier Parliament became increasingly intolerant until the Exclusion Parliaments.

The Immediate Aftermath, 1662-1665

There was a flurry of activity immediately following Bartholomew's Day 1662 in an effort to mitigate the effects of the Act of Uniformity. On 20 August, Clarendon and Albermarle, under orders from Charles II, secretly invited Manton, Calamy

and Bates to present a petition for individual indulgence. On 27 August, they presented a brief petition directly to Charles II, requesting he would ‘take some effectual Course whereby we may be continued in the Exercise of our Ministry, to teach your People Obedience to God and your Majesty’. The next day the king took the matter to his council, supporting the view that he had in mind some indulgence. Bishop Sheldon stood firm, arguing that having ejected some, ‘should the Sacred Authority of this Law be now suspended, it would render the Legislature ridiculous and contemptible’. Though Hyde argued bitterly with Sheldon, in the end it seemed the lesser of evils to Charles to accept the law and whatever disturbance it caused as opposed to modifying Parliament’s acts. The petition was dropped, but Sheldon was not finished, as he was not satisfied with private victory. As a warning, unusually the council debate was published in the popular press, naming Manton and the ‘London ministers (for so they call themselves)’ and exposing their failure to public view, ‘there being no room for the pretended Dispensations’. Sheldon’s opposition was prophetic. In December the king issued a Declaration of Indulgence encompassing both Protestant Dissenters and Catholics; but the bishops’ opposition in the spring Parliamentary session caused the measure to be dropped.

The Act of Uniformity did not end the battle against dissent. In London in fact, rather than bringing settlement, ‘the Anglican royalist church agenda unsettled the city’. Though Manton was officially ejected, he continued to meet with gathered churches. It was reported that on 29 January 1664, Manton along with

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14 The entire petition and much of the episode was conspicuously printed in Mercurius Publicus, 28 August-4 September 1662, 579-82.
15 Kennett, Register, 753.
16 P. Seaward, Cavalier Parliament, 180;
17 Mercurius Publicus, 28 August-4 September, 1662, 579, 582.
Bates and Matthew Poole had held a fast, ‘praying or preaching’ at the Whitefriars residence of fellow ejectee Arthur Jackson; ‘three rooms were filled’ with such noble lay hearers as the Countess of Exeter, William Waller, Lord Wharton, ‘and others present’.20 An entry from 1664 reports on ‘conventicals, fasts, and meetings held by the Presbyterians’, claiming intelligence that ‘Hampden, Baxter, and Dr. Manton often meet to confer at a lord’s house 17 miles from London, towards Oxford’.21

As for Covent Garden, the choice of Simon Patrick to succeed Manton is a curious one. Patrick himself was ‘amazed at the offer’ of the benefice of St Paul’s from the Earl of Bedford (on 4 September), as he ‘had never seen the earl, nor any of his family’.22 Patrick had a Puritan pedigree; he was raised by parents of Puritan leanings, and studied at Queen’s College, Oxford under Master Herbert Palmer, who supported the Presbyterian settlement of the Westminster Assembly. Samuel Jacombe, Thomas’ younger brother, had encouraged him in his ministry.23 Under the Commonwealth, Patrick received Presbyterian ordination in 1653; however, following further study, was reordained episcopally in 1654 by the ejected Bishop Hall at his Norfolk home. As a fellow at Queens he earned the reputation as an Arminian by teaching from Henry Hammond’s *Practical Catechism*. Nonetheless, Patrick was passed in 1658 by Presbyterian Triers, and personally approved for the vicarage of St Mary’s Battersea by a former incumbent, the decidedly Reformed (and Congregationalist) Joseph Caryl.24 Even so, he became antagonistic to nonconformity following the Restoration. Out of nine volumes of collected works and dozens of manuscript letters, Patrick refers to Manton only once, and that merely in passing to explain how the benefice of

20 CSPD, Charles II (1663-4), 484; Thomas Jacombe served as chaplain to the Countess of Exeter and preached at conventicles around London; see Richard L. Greaves, *Enemies Under His Feet: Radicals and Nonconformists in Brittain, 1664-1677* (Stanford, 1990), 128.
21 CSPD, Charles II, (1664-5), 143; this was ostensibly near Uxbridge.
22 Cambridge University Library, Department of Manuscripts and University Archives, Samuel Knight: *Collections for a life of Simon Patrick, bishop of Ely*, MS Add. 20, f. 25; CWSP, IX, 438.
23 CUL MS Add. 20, ff. 20-1.
24 CWSP, IX, 428-9; Jon Parkin, ‘Simon Patrick (1626-1707)’, ODNB.
Covent Garden became vacant. However, according to Harris, Patrick came full circle, himself recognising ‘that he had been known to write against the dissenters with some warmth in his younger years; but that he had lived long enough to see reason to alter his opinion of that people and that way of writing’.26

Following his ejection, Manton initially continued to attend St Paul’s Covent Garden. However, according to Harris, at some point Patrick received a ‘scurrilous letter from an unknown person, full of reflections upon himself’ and started the rumor that Manton knew the author and the business, implying tacit approval. ‘This occasioned his not attending any more his preaching’.27 It also occasioned a strongly worded response from Manton, who ‘could not have any rest in my selfe, till I had signifiyed any utter abhorrence of such base practices’ or ‘being so much as suspect of any concurrence to or approbation of so vile an artifice as the way of libeling, especially wherein any thing that the called Minister should bee abused’. Manton closed by saying he could only ‘bewaile it and detest it as one of the…effects of our sad divisions, which will not bee healed by…infamous and abusive libell’.28

25 CWSP, IX, 438.
26 Memoirs, xvii.
27 Memoirs, xvii.
28 Bodl., MS Tanner 33, f. 38, Thomas Manton to Simon Patrick, 166-?.
Like Manton, many Bartholomeans continued to attend their parish churches as laymen and to maintain a dissenting conventicle. So in 1664 the Conventicle Act was passed, aimed at both the clergy and the laity, prohibiting any meeting of worship of more than five people outside the household conducted without using the *Book of Common Prayer*.\(^{29}\) Again this Act conflated loyalty to the church with that to the state, claiming to be a remedy ‘against the growing and dangerous Practices of Seditious Sectaries and other disloyall persons who under pretence of Tender Consciences doe at their meetings contrive

Insurrections'. Manton and the Dissenters would have come under the category of ‘other disloyall persons’, ironically, since the reason they were ejected was for loyalty to their previously taken oaths as ministers in the Church of England. When the Conventicle Act lapsed in 1669, Andrew Marvell famously described the renewed version of 1670 as a ‘terrible bill against conventicles’ and the ‘quintessence of arbitrary malice’.31

The Conventicle Act failed to stem the strength of Dissent as not only were offenders creative in evading authorities but many magistrates were sympathetic to Dissent.32 This precipitated the Five Mile Act (1665), forbidding any minister from coming within five miles of a parish from which he had been ejected unless he agreed to take the Oxford Oath. Most Presbyterians understood this oath as repudiating the Solemn League and Covenant.33 As with the Conventicle Act, so also the Five Mile Act tarred Dissenters as seditious, stating that they had taken ‘an opportunity to distill the poysounous Principles of Schisme and Rebellion into the hearts of His Majestyes Subjects to the great danger of [the] Church and Kingdome’.34 Simon Patrick took this line in his Friendly Debate (with a non-conformist) indirectly accusing Manton, who remained resident in the parish, of ‘being disobedient to his sovereign, whom Christ bids him to obey’. After all, ‘the Law of the Land forbids him to live in this place, or within such a distance. And yet notwithstanding he lives here in defiance of that Law...and therefore he is not a good Subject, and consequently not a good Christian’.35 Manton did not engage in this debate, though he

30 16 Car. II. C.4, Raithby (ed.), Statutes, V, 516.
31 A. Marvell, in Margoliouth (ed), Andrew Marvell, II, 314; Keeble, Literary Culture, 47; R. Ashcraft, Revolutionary Politics and Locke’s Two Treatises of Government (Princeton, 1986), 27.
32 Greaves, Enemies, 129-134.
34 17 Car. II. C.2., in Raithby (ed.), Statutes, V, 575.
addressed the issue in a conventicle sermon while discussing ‘the private differences among the professors of the reformed Protestant religion’. Manton made his reasons for not retaliating clear, that ‘if others shall prove peevish, and if angry brethren shall call us bastards, and disclaim us as not belonging to the same father, we ought not to reject them, but still call them brethren…for the iniquity of their carriage doth not take away our obligation to them…. God forbid we should omit any part of our duty to them, for uncharitable brethren are brethren still’.36

Though not opposed to oaths in principle, Manton not only refused the Oxford Oath, but was a known opponent of it. Thomas Gouge (fifteen years Manton’s senior) came up to London ‘with a design to take it; but calling upon Dr. Manton to know his opinion of it…was so well satisfied…and never took it afterwards’.37 In his (almost certainly Restoration) sermon entitled Morals Before Rituals, Manton contextualizes his political rhetoric, accusing king Saul of imposing ‘a rash and sinful oath’ – even though he was the anointed king. Manton does not name Charles, but leaves little to the imagination in the application: ‘I have brought this story to show you how zealous men are for their own impositions on themselves and others, and how easily they can dispense with God’s laws to comply with their own; and how drunkenness, whoredom, and fornication do not seem such odious crimes as violating man’s customs and institutions and private rules of their own’.38 This echoes the complaint of William Penn and other nonconformists that Restoration magistrates were intolerant of godly dissent and tolerant of vice, exacerbated by the blasphemy of breaking oaths made before God.39 Baxter, always keen on sense rather than the letter, shared Manton’s opposition to the oath. William Bates however, was satisfied with the Lord Keeper Bridgeman’s explanation that ‘only lawful endeavor’ was meant, and proceeded to satisfy others such as Poole, Clarke, Bastwick, Hooker, Jacombe and Howe, who all subsequently took the oath.40 The breadth of responses and

36 CWTM, VI, 301.
37 Memoirs, xviii.
38 CWTM, II, 18.
39 Coffey, Toleration, 171.
40 RB, III, 13, § 21; see also Vallance, Revolutionary England, 192.
keenness to comply with the magistrate reinforces the notion that many dissenters were not happy with a fractured church, and struggling for means by which to justify inclusion in the national church settlement.

**Angling for Accommodation**

Parliament rebuffed efforts at accommodation in 1660, 1661, 1667, 1668, 1674 and 1675; royal indulgences were proffered in 1662, 1668 and 1672. While Manton was involved in all of these efforts in varying degrees, his greatest and perhaps most promising attempt came in the early months of 1668. The previous year had seen Clarendon disgraced and replaced with the Cabal, and the great seal given to the royalist judge Sir Orlando Bridgeman. Further, tolerationist works were appearing, with more to follow into the early 1670s.

In the fall of 1667 Sir Robert Atkyns, along with Anglican cleric (and later bishop of Lincoln) Thomas Barlow, prepared a comprehension bill for the fall session of Parliament. While the bill lacked broad support, it signalled the beginning of a new season. In November John Corbet initiated a high-profile pamphlet war (with Richard Perrinchief) with *Discourse of the Religion of England*, arguing that accommodating Dissenters would ‘promote the Peace, Wealth, and Honour of the

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42 The CABAL ministry refers to the five members of the king’s Privy Council members Clifford, Arlington, Buckingham, Ashley and Lauderdale. Bridgeman served under the Cabal also as a Privy Councillor, taking Clarendon’s duties.

43 For example, John Owen, *Indulgence and Toleration Considered* (1667); Anon., *A Modest and Peacable Letter Concerning Comprehension* (1668). By 1673 Locke, Marvell, Penn and Milton would all write on this; see Coffey, *Toleration*, 171.

Civil State’. Indeed following the divine judgments of a comet, fire, plague and war, society was in search of a scapegoat, leaving the incumbent prelates vulnerable. By December, Pepys could comment that ‘the Nonconformists are mighty high, and their meetings frequented and connived at; and they do expect to have their day now soon, for my Lord of Buckingham is a declared friend to them’. Conversely, ‘the Archbishop of Canterbury is called no more to the Cabal’, and negative press on the bishops was ‘as bad...against them as ever in the year 1640’. The efforts in the early months of 1668 would be the high water mark for legal accommodation of dissent in the Restoration.

1668

Late in 1667, Lord Keeper Bridgman approached the ‘latitudinarian’ John Wilkins to assist in developing a proposal for comprehension and toleration, backed by Sir Matthew Hale, the Earl of Manchester, the Duke of Buckingham and Charles Stuart. On 4 January, Wilkins met with bishops Nicholson, Fuller, Croft, Reynolds and Blandford who offered support; six days later he met with the king, closeted for two hours. Wilkins and Bridgeman’s chaplain Hezekiah Burton were selected to represent the court, and Manton, Baxter and Bates the Presbyterians in composing a bill for the spring Parliamentary session. While they decided to focus solely on comprehension, the Presbyterians in turn recruited John Owen to develop a proposal for toleration. The key tenets of the

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45 John Corbet, A Discourse of the Religion of England Asserting, That Reformed Christianity Settled in its Due Latitude, is the Stability and Advancement of this Kingdom (1667), 38.
46 Pepys, 21 December 1667, in Latham and Matthews (eds.), Pepys, VIII, 584, 5.
49 RB, III, 24-35.
comprehension proposal included a laying on of hands to impart ‘legal authority’ but not full reordination for those with Presbyterian orders; deeming as adiaphora kneeling at the sacrament, the sign of the cross and surplice; and finally allowing certain alterations to the liturgy.\textsuperscript{50} The bill was in the works in January as Pepys discussed it with Colonel Thomas Birch, who confidently asserted that, ‘the King is for Toleration, though the Bishops be against it: and that he do not doubt but it will be carried in Parliament’. Nearly a week later, on the eve of the Parliamentary session, in talking with Pepys, the Cambridge Platonist Henry More was just as positive.\textsuperscript{51}

While the bill had broad support, in the event, the whole design miscarried on a fluke. In order to garner more support for the initiative, Wilkins privately acquainted his Wadham College and Royal Society colleague Seth Ward with the complete text of the proposals ahead of the Parliamentary session. Ward was a bridge figure, both a long time friend to Wilkins and recently consecrated bishop of Salisbury, a preferment he owed to Sheldon. It proved an overreach. Ward alerted Sheldon, who mounted a pre-emptive strike through print and politicking. Within a week a pamphlet penned by Herbert Thorndike attacked the proposal line by line, arming the MP’s for any discussion. Not only was the measure defeated before it started, but the Anglican Cavaliers in the House went on the offensive, imploring the king to encourage full execution of the Act of Uniformity.\textsuperscript{52} The bill, which had remarkably broad support at the start, miscarried so completely, Baxter claimed that Bridgeman, who had started it all, ‘himself turned that way, and talk’d after, as if he understood us not’.\textsuperscript{53}

Pepys took the bill’s defeat as a strange turn, ‘a great blow either given to the King or Presbyters, or… to the House itself, by denying a thing desired by the

\textsuperscript{50} Spurr, ‘Comprehension’, 934; Parker (ed.), \textit{Thorndike}, V, 304-6.
\textsuperscript{51} Pepys, 31 January 1668 and 5 February 1668 in Latham and Matthews (eds.), \textit{Pepys}, IX, 45, 51.
\textsuperscript{52} \textit{CJ}, IX (1667-1687), 44;
\textsuperscript{53} \textit{RB}, III, 36, §81.
King, and so much desired by much the greater part of the nation’.54 In fact, in his closing speech to both houses of Parliament on the same day, the king again expressed his desire that they ‘would seriously think of some Course to beget a better Union and Composure in the Minds of My Protestant Subjects in Matters of Religion’.55 On 8 April, the House made one effort at discussing Charles’ call for unity by allowing the king to invite individuals to submit proposals; it failed by 176 votes to 70, and was followed immediately by discussion of the suppression of conventicles.56 Apparently Pepys thought Charles was genuine, commenting that ‘if the King be a man of any stomach and heat, all do believe that he will resent this vote’.57

The issue did not rest long. In the fall of 1669 the king resurrected it, inviting Manton once again through John Baber to present a ‘thankful Acknowledgment of the Clemency of his Majesty’s Government’.58 Manton was the clear statesman among the Presbyterians now, Reynolds having conformed, Calamy having died two years prior, and Baxter neither a trusted statesman nor a London minister. The fact that Manton had credibility with and remained well-connected among the London Puritan gentry made him an obvious target for Charles to court. On 9 December 1669, Manton brought Bates, Jacombe and James Innes to meet with Charles at Lord Arlington’s lodgings.59

Though Manton’s address is not extant, his follow up letter to Baxter detailing his conversation with the king was reprinted in Reliquiae.60 Charles reiterated his hope they might be ‘comprehended within the public establishment’, but that ‘this was a work of difficulty and time’ and therefore they ‘must wait till Businesses could be ripened’. At the same time, Charles took the opportunity to

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54 Pepys, Diary, 10 February 1668, in Latham and Matthews (eds.), Diary, IX, 60, 1 (10 February 1668).
55 LJ, XII (1666-1675), 181.
56 CJ, IX (1667-1687), 77.
57 Pepys, Diary, 10 February 1668, in Latham and Matthews (eds.), Diary, IX, 61.
58 RB, III, 36, §85; Calamy, Abridgment (1713), I, 322; Echard, History, III, 238.
60 RB, III, 37.
chide the ministers that their meetings were ‘too numerous, and so...gave occasion to many clamorous People to come with complaints to him’. So far the script was predictable, but perhaps more surprisingly, Manton goes on to explain a fissure, ‘that nonconformists were not all of a piece’. Manton gently pushed back on Charles, explaining that ‘people of unsober principles in Religion’ were preaching, and therefore they themselves needed to preach as well, and consequently almost certainly violate the Conventicle Act. Whereas Charles had intended to vilify Manton and the Presbyterians as the lawbreakers and disturbers of the peace, now in fact Manton was arguing that Charles was the guilty party, by virtue of his signing laws restricting the people’s access to truth.

Charles, perhaps sensing his (divinely ordained) royal prerogative was being questioned, responded with a thinly veiled warning, that the ‘riffle raffle’ were ‘apt to run after every new teacher; but people of Quality might be intreated to forbear to meet’. If not, the ‘public Scandal taken...might obstruct His Intentions and Designes for our good’. Not phased, Manton fired back with a warning of his own, pointing out to Charles that it was in those very meetings (which Charles had suggested they forbear) that peace was preserved: ‘I suggested that our Sobriety of Doctrine,...and remembrance of Him in our prayers, with respect, preserved an esteem of his Person and Government in the Hearts of his people, and that possibly people of another humour might season them with worse Infusions’. So Manton was suggesting that their conventicles were not a source of sedition, but rather a cure for it; at this point ‘Arlington pluck’d [Charles] by the Coat, as desiring him to note it’.61

This episode demonstrates that though a royalist, Manton was not a rex lex subject. In a sermon on Leviticus 19:17, Manton states: ‘princes and magistrates, who are subject to errors and miscarriages, may with humility and wisdom be admonished’. Further, given Manton’s examples (in the same sermon) of Daniel to Nebuchadnezzar and Paul to Archippus, it would seem he considered this part of his providential calling.62

61 RB, III, 37
62 CWTM, XIX, 116.
Dons and Ducklings

The failed bills of 1667 and 1668, and renewed Conventicle Act (1670) rounded off a full decade in which accommodation had been promised and never seen. The traditional divide between the Presbyterians seeking accommodation and the Independents and others seeking indulgence began to shift, with many Presbyterians drifting toward Congregationalism out of sympathy for a more general toleration. In 1661 following Worcester house, the division in Presbyterianism had been between moderates and ultra-conservatives such as Jackson and Crofton; now the division was between moderates and separatists. The pendulum had swung.

Arlington's assistant, Sir Joseph Williamson, named these groups the 'Dons and Ducklings', noting that 'all the Presbyterians are growing to Independents'. Baxter also noted the 'drift towards effective Congregationalism among some of his Presbyterian colleagues'. The Dons were the older generation such as Manton, Bates and Baxter, favouring accommodation and a single national church. The Duckings, led by Annesley, Vincent and Watson, were younger and not afraid of the separatist waters. This division had been growing in the 1660s along with the restlessness of unemployed clergy, and would not reconcile. Manton’s position of moderate Dissent, working for accommodation within a national established church was a shrinking middle ground between intolerant prelatists of the old guard on the left flank and the independent nonconformists of every stripe – including Presbyterian – on the right.

Imprisonment

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63 T. Cooper, John Owen, Richard Baxter and the Formation of Nonconformity (Ashgate, 2011), 269-70; see also Harris, London Crowds, 69.
64 CSPD, Charles II (1671), 496; CSPD Charles II (1671-2), 28.
65 Cooper, Owen and Baxter, 293.
66 Keeble, Literary Culture, 58; Thomas, ‘Comprehension and Indulgence’, 208-9; DeKrey, London, 120-1.
Perhaps emboldened by the unofficial royal clemency, in 1669 Manton broke a seven-year publishing silence with a modest preface.\footnote{T. Manton, ‘To the Reader’ in John Oliver, \textit{A Present to be Given to Teeming Women} (1669).} Further, in the Episcopal returns of that year, he was listed as keeping a conventicle of 100 at his house.\footnote{G. L. Turner, \textit{Original Records of Early Nonconformity Under Persecution and Indulgence}, 3 vols (London, 1911-1913), II, 968 and III, 56.} He was cited in June for violating the Five Mile Act, though without apparent consequence.\footnote{‘Middlesex Sessions Rolls: 1669’ in \textit{Middlesex County Records}, 4 vols (London, 1892), IV, 15.} In February 1670 Manton wrote Baxter again about schemes of comprehension and requested Baxter’s notes on the event; Baxter replied he could not get involved, but sent Manton a narrative of the events from 1668.\footnote{CCRB, II, 84, 5.} Further, when the 1664 conventicle act lapsed in March 1670, it was followed with a rush of dissenting activity, and the judges received instructions to press the Five Mile Act, still in force. In the spring of 1670, one agent bemoaned that the many conventicles resulted from a report that Bridgman had been instructed by the king not to enforce the Conventicle Act. This same agent claimed to have ‘communicated with the chiefs of several of the parties, such as Manton, Owen, Goodwin, Harrison, and Toomes, and find that they intend to continue their assemblies, and to submit to the penalties of the Act, if taken’.\footnote{LJ, XII (1666-1675), 324; ‘Letter from Sir Edward Harley to Lady Harley’, 26 March 1670 in HMC, \textit{The Manuscripts of His Grace the Duke of Portland}, Fourteenth Report, Appendix Part II, 10 vols (London, 1894), III, 313. See also Turner, \textit{Original Records}, III, 56. Stoughton, \textit{History}, III, 389; RB, III, 74, § 167.} Baxter listed Manton first in a list of London divines perceived as agitators, ‘by preaching more openly than the rest, and to greater Numbers’.\footnote{John Starkey Newsletters, BL Add MSS 36916, f. 173.}

On 24 March 1670, the same day in which the renewed Bill against conventicles was discussed in the Lords, Manton was arrested at a conventicle and committed to the gatehouse under the Five Mile Act.\footnote{CSPD, Charles II (1670), 243.} Two days later bookseller John Starkey reported that Wharton, Hampden, and ‘many others of quality’ were recorded as present.\footnote{RB, iii, 95, §205.} This was unexpected considering the king’s previous
moderation as well as assurances of amnesty from the nobles including Buckingham.\textsuperscript{75} John Prince confirmed that Manton was confident at the expiration of the first Conventicle Act: ‘When the act against conventicles was removed, Dr Manton…had mighty promises of favour’. Even so, following Baxter, Prince notes the irony that Manton ‘was sent prisoner to the gate house in the parish where he had been formerly minister’.\textsuperscript{76}

Perhaps the point had been made. Manton’s six-month imprisonment was not harsh, particularly by contemporary standards.\textsuperscript{77} When it ended Manton returned to his Covent Garden home, according to the marriage allegation of 7 December 1670, for his daughter ‘Anne Manton, of St. Paul’s, Covent Garden’.\textsuperscript{78} Baxter was also arrested and jailed for six months about the same time and similarly was ‘no great Suffering’ to him.\textsuperscript{79} So, although the Puritans had friends at court, they had enemies in Parliament, and it was difficult to tell which side Charles was on. This was complicated by the fact that in May, Charles and Louis XIV of France signed the secret treaty of Dover, committing Charles to support the French against the Dutch as well as to declare himself a Catholic (at some propitious future time) in return for the annual subsidy of £230,000.\textsuperscript{80}

\textbf{Indulgence}

For the rest of Manton’s life, Charles (as a paid client of the French crown) would be quietly manoeuvring for the emancipation of Catholics. But, since Charles’ motives were more financial and political, the arguments for ‘tender consciences’ were for Charles more a means to an end rather than an end in itself. Charles began to make more noise about toleration in 1671, and in the fall Manton and

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\textsuperscript{76} John Prince, ‘Thomas Manton’ in MS ‘Worthies of Devon’, 15; see also \textit{RB}, III, 74, §167; later Calamy in \textit{Abridgment} (1713), I, 328 uses nearly identical language: ‘great Friends and mighty Promises of Favour’.
\textsuperscript{77} \textit{Memoirs}, xix.
\textsuperscript{78} Lambeth Palace Library, MS VM I/7, Marriage Allegations, December 1670.
\textsuperscript{79} \textit{RB}, III, 48-60; Calamy, \textit{Abridgment} (1713), I, 325-6.
others met with Charles again to press the case and thank him for his clemency.\textsuperscript{81} Following meetings driven by Clifford and the Committee for Foreign Affairs, on 15 March 1672, Charles issued his \textit{Declaration of Indulgence}. This allowed Nonconformist worship in their own licensed meeting houses, and further included for the first time since the Elizabethan settlement, freedom for Catholics to worship in private houses.\textsuperscript{82} In an effort to present a united front, a group of London merchants established the Ancient Merchants’ Lecture better known for the venue Pinners’ Hall; Manton was one of the original six lecturers, preaching the inaugural sermon.\textsuperscript{83}

On 28 March the king welcomed the Independents (Owen, Griffith, Palmer) in the morning and the Presbyterians (Manton, Bates, Jacombe and Seaman) in the afternoon to thank him for the Indulgence.\textsuperscript{84} Again division muddled the response of the Presbyterians. Seaman and Jenkyn were for a thanksgiving in ‘high applauding terms, as [such that] Dr. Manton, and almost all the rest dissented from’.\textsuperscript{85} Manton was reticent for two reasons: 1) the toleration was only indirectly for them, while directly for the papists, leaving their interest insecure in the arrangement, and 2) because it led to and in fact institutionalized that familiar demon schism, a sore point recently hammered home by Simon Patrick.\textsuperscript{86} When the Presbyterians could not agree on which tack to take in response to the king’s invitation, Arlington pushed the group to a ‘verbal Extemporate Thanksgiving’, which Manton delivered – however reluctantly.\textsuperscript{87} This would prove his last meeting with the king.

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\textsuperscript{81} \textit{RB}, III, 87, § 191; \textit{CSPD}, Charles II (1671), 562; Bate, \textit{Declaration}, 74.  \\
\textsuperscript{83} Wilson, \textit{History and Antiquities}, II, 250; cf. Toon, \textit{God’s Statesman}, 140. The other lecturers were Bates, Baxter, Jenkyn, Owen and John Collins.  \\
\textsuperscript{84} \textit{CSPD}, Charles II (1671-2), 609; text of Independents’ thanks first published in \textit{Gentleman’s Magazine}, 31 (1761), 253; Bate, \textit{Declaration}, 92, 3.   \\
\textsuperscript{85} \textit{RB}, III, 99, §214.  \\
\textsuperscript{86} Patrick, \textit{Continuation of a Friendly Debate}, 145-7; see also Winship, ‘Defining Puritanism’, 698.  \\
\textsuperscript{87} \textit{RB}, III, 99, § 214.
\end{flushright}
Manton took out a license to preach as a Presbyterian in his own home on 2 April 1672.88 This indulgence lasted eleven months, and to end the backlash Charles himself broke its seal on 7 March 1673. The next two years were murky legal waters, as new licenses were not issued but the old ones were not formally revoked until 1675. Renewal of persecution depended largely on the local magistrates, who on the one hand could enforce Parliamentary legislation against Dissent, but on the other could incur Charles’ wrath for doing so.89 Another scheme for comprehension sprung up in 1674, initiated by bishops Morley and Ward, plus Dean of Canterbury John Tillotson and then canon of Canterbury (and later Bishop of Worcester) Edward Stillingfleet with Baxter, Manton, Bates and Poole.90 Only Baxter agreed to the meeting, while Manton et al. approved their joint draft. Tillotson did not get far, and in a letter to Baxter killed the measure as lacking broad support.91 Baxter later suspected a ruse on behalf of the latter two bishops to draw in the Dissenters, which possibly explains Manton and others’ reticence to get involved.92 Mark Goldie noted that Roger Morrice considered Morley’s participation as ‘no more than cynical manoeuvre’.93 Along with Shaftesbury, the Duke of York had been ejected from the Council by the recent Test Act, and it is possible the bishops’ scheme was aimed not only at exposing the divisions within Dissent but also weakening the Duke’s support base as he courted Dissenters. By involving only the Dons, the bishops had played them against a growing faction of Ducklings to their mutual defeat.94

**Final Years**

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89 Bate, *Declaration*, 136; Spurr, *Restoration Church*, 67.
90 *RB*, III, 156-65 (mispaginated in the original as going from 163 to 564, which is really 164); *Memoirs*, xx, xxi.
91 Calamy, *Abridgment* (1702), 605; see also Collier, *Ecclesiastical History*, VIII, 477.
92 *RB*, III, 158, §288, and 565 (should be 165), §289.
Manton’s final years saw a renewed persecution. Backed by Sheldon and the bishops, on 3 February 1675, the king issued a decree that all laws against conventicles should be enforced and officially made null all dissenting licenses.95 With Shaftesbury replaced by the Earl of Danby and Charles now associated with the Anglican-royalist party,96 the Presbyterians were even worse off than in 1662. On 3 March 1675, several justices and an armed company burst into one of Manton’s conventicles, but having been warned of the design, Manton absented himself.97 James Bedford, an ejectee having taken the Oxford Oath, had taken the pulpit.98 In attendance were Lord Wharton, and the Countesses Bedford, Manchester and Clare. The acting minister was fined £20, while the place was fined £40, which Wharton and the nobles paid.99 The following Sunday, ‘Dr. Manton’s was violently broken up by Sir Matthew Wren and another justice with redcoats’. However, the nonconformists were not only victims on the defensive, as Wharton filed ‘distresses of 30,000l...against the justices...in respect of some irregularity’.100

Manton continued to live and preach in Covent Garden, being listed as a rate-paying occupant of King Street in 1676-7.101 In 1675 he was caught up briefly as a signatory in a pamphlet war against the Quakers, involving Caleb Pusey, William Penn and John Faldo.102 Further, Manton continued in preaching at conventicles and the Pinners Hall lecture, which he had inaugurated under the indulgence of 1672. After a brief illness, which took a sharp and surprising turn

95 Bate, Declaration, 140, 1;
96 Rose, Godly Kingship, 183.
98 Matthews, Calamy Revised, 43-4.
99 Memiors, xx.
100 Lady Harley to Sir Edward Harley, in HMC, Portland, III, 350.
102 John Faldo, Quakerism No Christianity (1673); William Penn, A Just Rebuke to One & Twenty Learned and Reverend Divines (1674); Caleb Pusey, A Serious and Seasonable Warning (1675); John, Faldo, XXI Divines...cleared of the unjust criminations of Will. Pen in his pretended just rebuke (London, 1675).
for the worse, Thomas Manton died on 18 October 1677. Five days later, William Bates and Thomas Case preached Manton’s funeral service at Stoke Newington, where Manton was buried. Though Case’s sermon was not published, Harris tells us he lamented that God was cutting England short.103 Diarist Ralph Thoresby was in attendance (as well as Pepys), and related several details of ‘the eminent Dr. Manton’s funeral, who, deservedly being styled the King of Preachers, was attended with the vastest number of ministers of all persuasions, &c. that I ever saw together in my life’.104 The ministers walked in pairs – a nonconformist with a conformist.105 If he could not unite the Church of England in his life, Manton would unite the church in England in his death.

Manton’s death was noticed not only among Dissenters; in a letter to Sir Roger Hill of 26 October, Nathaniel Resbury, chaplain to the Earl of Anglesey mentioned Manton’s death and the illness of the Archbishop of Canterbury in the same sentence.106 Manton’s Last Sayings were hastily compiled and published before the end of the year. Bates would publish Twenty Sermons by Manton in 1678, and thus began Manton’s posthumous career, as a preacher not only to London, but to the world.

Conclusion

As the Restoration progressed, Manton emerged the ecclesiastical statesman among the Presbyterians, if not all Dissenters, in the late 1660s: Owen was marginalized, Reynolds had conformed, Baxter was too polarizing (and not yet a London minister), and Calamy was dead.

103 Memoirs, pp. xxii-xxiii.
Though his printed output was minimal in the last fifteen years of his life, this forced retirement from the daily rigors of formal parish ministry made space for Manton to create his real legacy – not ultimately through debates or committees, but in sermons. The bulk of his twenty-two volumes of collected works was presumably penned during these years. Manton’s folio of 190 sermons on Psalm 119 were written in the late 1660s. He was reputed to preach three or four times per week till the end of his life.

Politically the Restoration was a wholesale disaster for Manton and the Presbyterians, and the Puritans more broadly; but politics was not everything. The Puritans established a legacy not through the established church but through their ideas and writings, which lived on to continue shaping both the old world and the new.

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107 See Appendix B.
108 See Chapter 6 on preaching frequency.
Chapter 6
Preaching and Sermons

[Thomas Manton] Dy'd October the 18th 1677, leaving behind him the General Reputation of as excellent a Preacher, as this City or Nation hath produc'd.¹

Dr. Manton...is a Man of great Learning, Judgment, and Integrity, and an excellent, most laborious, unwearied Preacher.²

Few have come near him, but none have excelled him.³

Introduction

On 27 October 1678, one year following Manton’s death, Samuel Slater referenced him in a line-up of greats:

Those whom you are to remember, are the Ministers of the Gospel, the Ambassadors of the glorious King of Saints, the Pastors and Angels of the Churches, in whom, though poor earthen vessels, God hath laid up heavenly treasure for the inriching of many....never let a Paul, a Calvin, an Vsher, a Caryl, a Manton, a Vincent be forgotten;... let them live, they do so in Gods sight, let them do so in your remembrance and esteem.⁴

Though history has not remembered the latter three as broadly as the former, Manton has a surprisingly prolific posthumous print history. In addition to multiple individual titles and his original five-folio set, his modern 22-volume Complete Works was printed in the 19th, 20th and 21st centuries.⁵ As the Manton corpus has had a life of its own, it is critical to understand not only the content of the sermons but the theological framework behind them. This will clear the way

¹ Edmund Calamy, An Abridgment of Mr. Baxter’s History of His Life and Times (1702), 210.
² RB, III, 95, § 205.
³ William Taylor, 'The Epistle Dedicatory' in T. Manton, A Fourth Volume of Sermons (1693), iii.
⁴ Samuel Slater, Vincentius Redivivus (1679), 4.
⁵ Manton's original five-volume folio set (comprising 17 of 22 volumes from the later Complete Works) was advertised for sale as a Works already in 1702 in London and by 1730 in Edinburgh. The modern Complete Works was published 1870-5 (London), 197?-? (Worthington, PA) and 2008 (Birmingham, AL).
to analyse the preparation, content, delivery, publishing and later reception of his sermons, his primary legacy.

This chapter will explore both Manton’s orality (preaching) and print (sermons). As for Manton’s preaching, it will argue that Manton utilized the English Reformed preaching form, in which preaching functioned as an ordinance not only to inform but more importantly to transform. This chapter will explore the theological framework that underpins the English Reformed style of preaching, and then trace the application of that model in practice. It will demonstrate how Manton’s frequency in preaching, method of preparation, intensity of delivery and selection of Biblical texts were all linked back to his Reformed theology.

As for the sermons, this chapter will explore Manton’s corpus, its enduring appeal, and its reception by both contemporary and later readers. It will demonstrate that, although Manton’s Complete Works is a magnificent 6.5 million words spanning twenty-two volumes, this represents only a portion of his preaching. It will trace several primary themes in Manton’s preaching such as the tension between comfort and duty, mourning and joy, and faith and reason. This chapter will argue that the enduring appeal of Manton’s sermons resulted from their variety, consistency, judiciousness, learnedness and plainness. To demonstrate these traits, the chapter will trace evidence from the sermons themselves compared with readers’ perceptions. Particular attention will be given to exploring the judiciousness of his sermons, based on Manton’s values of the preacher as ambassador of Christ, and of unity as a witness to the Gospel. Finally, it will demonstrate the later usage of Manton’s writings focused less on his theological arguments and more on his practical piety.

Sermon studies have recently experienced a renewed life. Up to the end of the twentieth century, early modern preaching was a neglected field, ‘around which there hung an air of dusty antiquarianism’. More recently, however, a new wave

6 Arnold Hunt, The Art of Hearing: English Preachers and Their Audiences, 1590-1640 (Cambridge, 2010), 1. That dusty air is found, for example, in G. Owst,
of literature has emerged, breathing fresh air into the historical analysis of the sermon genre. This is well-timed for studying Manton, whose enduring contribution was not his role as an ecclesiastical statesman, but rather in his preaching.

**Orality: English Reformed**

Manton’s preaching style was what Mary Morrissey describes as ‘English Reformed’. Moving beyond the Puritan ‘plain style’ versus Laudian ‘metaphysical style’ dichotomy observed by Fraser Mitchell and Perry Miller, Morrissey roots the English Reformed theory of preaching in the Reformed doctrine of Scripture: that ‘God has chosen the “foolishness of preaching” (I Cor. 1:21) to make the Word operative in the Church. Preaching is, therefore, one of the primary means appointed by God (along with the sacraments) for the receipt of grace’. Arnold Hunt further explains the Reformed doctrine of preaching as founded both on Scripture, namely Paul’s outlining of the ‘inseparable link between preaching, hearing and faith’ in Romans 10:14-17, and on ‘Aristotelian theories of perception, which held that...hearing contributed most to the acquisition of knowledge’. In his exposition on *James*, Manton owned the Reformed position of *fides ex auditu*: “‘Faith cometh by hearing, and hearing by the word of God,” Rom. 10:17. Without grace I cannot be saved, without the word I cannot have...

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grace;...It is true, the divine grace doth all, he begetteth us; but remember, it is by the word of truth’. Manton clarifies that the ‘word of truth’ is not the bare Scripture, but involves human co-agency: ‘The influences of the heavens make fruitful seasons, but yet ploughing is necessary. It is one of the sophisms of this age to urge the Spirit’s efficacy as a plea for the neglect of the means’.\footnote{CWTM, IV, 119.} Manton is following the line Samuel Hieron, who codified the Elizabethan Puritan response to the Hookerian challenge (reinforced later by Laud), arguing that ‘it is no wrong done unto the grace of God, to limit it to those means, which God in his wisedome hath set apart for the conveyance thereof unto us’.\footnote{Samuel Hieron, The Preachers Plea (1604), 84; Hooker had argued in Of the Lawes of Ecclesiasticall Politie (1593), V, 39, 40, that not only preaching but reading too was effectual ‘to convert, to edifie, to save soules’. See Richard Hooker in John E. Booty (ed.), Of the Laws of Ecclesiastical Policy: Attack and Response, vol. 4, in Folger Library Edition of the Works of Richard Hooker, 6 vols (Cambridge, Mass, 1982), 88.} Manton makes a sweeping claim for the connection of hearing to holiness: ‘a frame of truth preserveth the awe of God in the soul, and a right belief maketh the manners orthodox: all sins are rooted in wrong thoughts of God’.\footnote{CWTM, V, 233.}

Preaching for seventeenth century Puritans was a means of grace in which Christ was present, and therefore had \textit{de facto} quasi-sacramental status. Manton confirmed preaching as a means of grace beyond mere information: ‘So some are apt to say, We had better read at home, than wait upon such plain preaching; but remember, it is God’s ordinance, and that puts a value upon it’.\footnote{CWTM, III, 224.} By implication of course, the hearers denied themselves access to the grace of God when they absented themselves from preaching. Manton, in the Puritan mould, held two beliefs in tension, which demonstrate the very high value placed on preaching. On the one hand he argued that the Bible was sufficient for godliness: ‘It is a full and sufficient rule, because it containeth all things which are necessary for men to believe and do in order to eternal life’.\footnote{CWTM, III, 132.} Manton emphasized this view in his
sermons against popery, arguing against the use of traditions. Conversely Manton argued that the Bible was insufficient for godliness: ‘The Bible is not enough for your edification without this institution [of preaching]; the same Christ that instituted apostles to write scripture, instituted pastors and teachers to open and apply scripture’. Conversely Manton argued that the Bible was insufficient for godliness: ‘The Bible is not enough for your edification without this institution [of preaching]; the same Christ that instituted apostles to write scripture, instituted pastors and teachers to open and apply scripture’.16

On the Reformed theological basis of the Scripture having been given not only to inform but to transform, the English Reformed theory of preaching developed into a tripartite format: text, doctrine, and use. The Scriptural text was followed by a didactic element (doctrine) and a hortatory element (use). This method was codified and popularized in the widely-known pattern of William Perkins of ‘Text...doctrine...apply...in a simple and plaine speech’.18 John Wilkins, who referenced Perkins in his handbook on preaching Ecclesiastes (1646), similarly wrote that the ‘principal scope of the divine Orator’ was to ‘Teach clearly. Convince strongly. Persuade powerfully’. Wilkins concludes then, ‘the chief parts of a Sermon’ are ‘Explication. Confirmation. Application’. Manton followed this pattern of text, doctrine and use throughout all his works from the very beginning, including his exposition of Isaiah 53 and Meate. According to Manton, God’s Word was penned to compensate for the fallen state of the human mind: ‘The apostles being to leave the world, did know the slipperiness of man’s memory, and the danger of corrupting Christian doctrine, if there were not a sure authentic record left; therefore they wrote’. Therefore, one aim if not responsibility of the preacher must be to explain the Scriptures so that the slippery minds of God’s people can retain it for their protection and comfort: ‘We have understanding and memory sanctified and planted with a stock of divine knowledge, and can retain things on the conscience, which if we do not, we are

16 CWTM, X, 478.
19 John Wilkins, Ecclesiastes (1647), 5.
20 CWTM, V, 494.
highly culpable before God’. This is needed because ‘our memories are as a bag with holes, or as a grate or sink, that retaineth the mud, and lets the running water go’.

What is surprising about this dilemma is that Manton proposed hearing sermons was only half the solution; the other half was subsequent meditation on this truth. Baxter noted that, ‘professors can run from sermon to sermon, and are never weary of hearing or reading, and yet have such languishing, starved souls, I know no truer or greater cause than their ignorance and unconscionable neglect of meditation’. If, as Manton argued, ‘A constant light is a great friend to memory, and sermons meditated on are remembered long after they are delivered’, then the preacher must present the sermons so they may be readily retained, reflected on and repeated in company. Manton explained that this was the preaching model of Christ himself, who ‘taught by parables and similitudes taken from ordinary functions and offices among men, that in every trade and calling we might be employed in our worldly business with an heavenly mind, that, whether in the shop, or at the loom, or in the field, we might still think of Christ and heaven’. Meditation was not a mystical option for the over-zealous, but standard spiritual fare: ‘Faith is lean and ready to starve unless it be fed by continual meditation on the promises…Thoughts are the caterers of the soul, that purvey for faith, and fetch in food and refresh it with the comfort of the promises’. In his sermons Manton pursued these memory aids through use of Ramist binary trees and clear headings, which he would repeat in the prayer at the end of the sermon. In life Manton practiced what he preached: on Sunday evenings Manton would take a walk with his family, repeating the heads of both

21 CWTM, II, 393.
22 CWTM, X, 404.
25 CWTM, VI, 139.
26 CWTM, XVII, 270.
27 Memoirs, xxxi. For an example of Ramism in Manton, see Appendix G.
his sermons.\textsuperscript{28} This demonstrates that Manton did not consider preaching an end but a means to conversion in faith and manners: ‘You will say An excellent sermon! But what do you gain by it? The hearer’s life is the preacher’s best commendation’.\textsuperscript{29}

**Frequency and Process**

Manton’s frequency in the pulpit was well known. By 1651, Manton claims to have been ‘humbled with the constant burthen of four times a week preaching’.\textsuperscript{30} In 1681 Bates explained that Manton preached his sermons on Psalm 119 ‘in his usual course of three times a week’,\textsuperscript{31} though three years later he (along with Collinges and Howe) claimed Manton, ‘laboured more than most preachers, his constant course of preaching being for many years five times, and, till near his end, three times a week’.\textsuperscript{32} Perhaps as a result of the required quantity of output as well as the significance attributed to it, Manton’s manner of sermon preparation was not an event but a continual process. Harris offers us a glimpse of how Manton

\begin{quote}
generally writ the Heads and principal Branches first, and often writ them over twice afterwards;...When his sermon did not please him...he would lay it aside for that time tho it were Saturday-night; and sit up all night to prepare a Sermon upon an easier Subject, and more to his satisfaction. If a good Thought came into his Mind in the Night, he would light his Candle, and put on his Gown, and write sometimes for an Hour together at a Table by his Bedside.\textsuperscript{33}
\end{quote}

**Text Selection**

Manton preached from the full range of Biblical literature: history, prophecy, poetry, Gospel, epistles and even apocalyptic (i.e. Revelation, actually considered ‘propheticall historie’).\textsuperscript{34} Manton’s usual pattern, consistent with the continental

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\begin{itemize}
\item \textsuperscript{28} Memoirs, xxxi.
\item \textsuperscript{29} CWTM, IV, 153.
\item \textsuperscript{30} T. Manton, James (1651), A4; CWTM, IV, 6.
\item \textsuperscript{31} W. Bates, ‘To the Reader’ in CWTM, VI, 2 and Psalm 119 (1681), A.
\item \textsuperscript{32} W. Bates, J. Collinges, J. Howe, ‘To the Reader’ in T Manton, A Second Volume of Sermons (1684), A; CWTM IX, 317.
\item \textsuperscript{33} Memoirs, p. xxx.
\item \textsuperscript{34} See Perkins, Prophecying, p. 15
\end{itemize}
Reformed tradition of *lectio continua*, was to preach through a Scripture book (*James, Jude*) or chapter (e.g. Psalm 119, Matthew 25, Hebrews 11) one verse per sermon, one sermon per hour.\(^{35}\) However, some verses required multiple sermons. Manton preached 45 sermons on the 26 verses of John 17, including three sermons on verse six, four sermons on verse seventeen, and six sermons on verse eleven.\(^{36}\)

Manton used both overarching and occasional methods for selecting Scripture texts. His overarching method of text selection was ‘preaching of the gospel’ referring not to the four evangelists in particular but to the Greek word εὐαγγέλιον (‘good news’). The word ‘gospel’ occurs over four thousand times in the *Works*, being defined as divine revelation inspiring human conversion.\(^{37}\) Manton explains that the gospel is good divine news and warrants an affectionate human response, ‘It is good news to a poor hungry conscience to hear of a pardoning God….The gospel is not only true, but good; therefore to be received with the dearest affection’.\(^{38}\)

With regard to the priority of preaching the gospel, Manton averred that, ‘Though the Spirit may be received by the preaching of any part of canonical scripture, yet most usually by the preaching of the gospel’. The Old Testament Law remained Scripture – and profitable as divine prophecy – but not on equal par with the New Testament fulfilment in Christ, as it had a different role: ‘The work of the law is preparation, but that which hath a special and direct influence upon sanctification is the gospel… Moses brought them to the borders, but Joshua brought them into the land of Canaan’.\(^{39}\) Therefore, Manton understood that ‘the great duty of the ministers of the gospel is to sprinkle the hearts of the


\(^{36}\) *CWTM*, X, 109-490; XI, 3-149.

\(^{37}\) *CWTM*, II, 192.

\(^{38}\) *CWTM*, XV, 386.

\(^{39}\) *CWTM*, X, 420-1.
people with the blood of Christ, by the preaching of the new covenant’.\textsuperscript{40} And so he did: out of 19 published chapters with extended expositions, 17 chapters were from the New Testament.\textsuperscript{41} Out of the two Old Testament chapters, he chose Isaiah 53 as ‘it may rather be called the gospel than the prophecy of Isaiah. It contains so ample and clear a discovery of Jesus Christ, that one would rather account it historical than prophetical’.\textsuperscript{42}

His occasional method of text selection was to observe the times, needs, heresies and ills of the day, and respond to those with the appropriate Biblical text. In Jude, Manton rhetorically asks, ‘In a country audience, what profit is it to dispute against Socinians, when there are drunkards, and practical atheists and libertines, that need other kind of doctrine?’\textsuperscript{43} In 1655, Manton preached nine sermons on Titus 2:12: ‘Teaching us that, denying ungodliness and worldly lusts, we might live soberly, righteously, and godly in this present world’.\textsuperscript{44} This verse articulated Manton’s and the Puritan clergy’s concerns in the Protectorate over the proliferation of sects and particularly the spread of antinomianism. Manton’s later colleague from Savoy, Benjamin Woodbridge, had recently published on justification in answer to the antinomians.\textsuperscript{45} Also in 1655, Baxter was publishing on the moral obligations begged by justification, while shoring up justification itself in answer to the Socinians.\textsuperscript{46} Anthony Burgess was also writing on justification.\textsuperscript{47} Neither the Socinians nor Baxter could escape Owen’s notice, who immediately answered both in a single treatise.\textsuperscript{48} In further answer to the

\begin{itemize}
\item[40] CWTM, XX, 55.
\item[41] See Appendix D. The other Old Testament chapter was Psalm 119.
\item[42] CWTM, III, 191.
\item[43] Jude (1657), 142-3; CWTM, V, 103.
\item[44] CWTM, XVI, 68-172.
\item[45] B. Woodbridge, Justification By Faith, or, A Confutation of that Antinomian Error, that Justification is Before Faith (1653).
\item[46] R. Baxter, Rich: Baxter’s Confession [sic] of His Faith, Especially Concerning the Interest of Repentance and Sincere Obedience to Christ, in our Justification & Salvation (1655) and Aphorismes of Justification, with Their Explication Annexed (1655).
\item[47] A. Burgess, The True Doctrine of Justification in Two Parts (1655).
\item[48] J. Owen, Vindiciae Evangelicae or The Mystery of the Gospell Vindicated, and Socinianisme Examined... Also an Appendix, in Vindication of Some Things
\end{itemize}
Socinians, Manton re-preached *Jude* and finally had it published in 1657, as ‘the spirit and drift of this epistle is carried out mainly against this fanatical and libertine party’.\(^49\)

In his Preface for *James*, Manton explains his purpose for writing the *Isaiah 53* commentary was to demonstrate the comforts of the gospel, while *James* was to balance those comforts with the corresponding duties:

> I have rather chosen this scripture, that it may be an allay to those comforts which in another exercise I have endeavoured to draw out of Isaiah 53. I would...show you your duties together with your encouragements....We are all apt to divorce comfort from duty,...But in Christ there are no dead and sapless branches; faith is not an idle grace; wherever it is, it fructifieth in good works. To evince all this to you, I have chosen to explain this epistle.\(^50\)

Manton would return to this theme of gospel comforts balanced with personal duties throughout his career. In his Preface to *Twenty Sermons* (1678), William Bates framed Manton’s occasional expositions in exactly these terms:

> The main design of them is to represent the inseparable connection between Christian duties and privileges.... The gospel is not a naked, unconditionate offer of pardon and eternal life.... The promises are attended with commands to repent, believe, and persevere in the uniform practice of obedience.\(^51\)

Manton took cues from his colleagues as well. Manton’s second parliamentary sermon text was Revelation 3:2 and entitled *England’s Spiritual Languishing With the Causes and Cure* (1648). Compare that with Obadiah Sedgwick’s 1640 sermon on Revelation 3:2, entitled *Christ’s Counsell to His Languishing Church of Sardis...With the Means and Helps of His Recovery*. Even within the text, Manton observes that 'Religion hath received wounds in the *house of her friends*' echoing

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\(^{49}\) *CWTM*, V, 7.  
\(^{50}\) *CWTM*, IV, 8-9.  
\(^{51}\) *CWTM*, II, 175-6.
Sedgwick's lament over the 'wounds which my friends gave me'.\textsuperscript{52} Richard Turnbull in the late 16\textsuperscript{th} century and William Jenkyn in the early 1650s had both published commentaries on \textit{Jude}. Turnbull’s commentary on \textit{James} was reprinted in 1629, and Perkins produced expositions on \textit{The Lord's Prayer} (1609) and \textit{Hebrews 11} (1622). Manton’s first Parliamentary sermon \textit{Meate} (1647) was on the text Zechariah 14:9 emphasizing the need for unity in worship; in 1656 Manton (along with Rowe and Griffith) published William Strong’s \textit{XXXI Select Sermons} (later sold with Manton’s library), including sermons on Zechariah 14:9 and Jude 4.\textsuperscript{53} Manton wrote 45 sermons on Christ’s final prayer in John 17, ‘his dying blaze’ in which Christ ‘would now open up to us the bottom of his heart’; Anthony Burgess’ 145 sermons on \textit{John 17} and Thomas Hooker’s quart volume of sermons on \textit{John 17} were both published in 1656 and both later sold with Manton’s library.\textsuperscript{54} In the 1650s, both Manton and Baxter wrote a \textit{Treatise on Self-Denial}; both Thomas Hooker’s \textit{Treatise on Self-Denial} (1646) and Edward Reynolds’ sermon before the Westminster Assembly \textit{Self-Denial} (1645) were in Manton’s library. Apparently in the mid 1650s there was still a need to promote unity among Christians (Zechariah), to fight heresies (\textit{Jude}), to practice prayer (\textit{John 17}) and to deny worldly pleasures (\textit{Self-Denial}). And so, it seems Manton surveyed his audience and his times, as well as the work of his colleagues, selecting texts that would most adequately fight theological and moral decay, while promoting the cure of the gospel and godliness.

\textbf{Style of Delivery}

Manton’s preaching was not a staid event of quiet dignity, but rather an energetic oral and physical expression, intended to communicate the esteemed value of holy writ, as well as to stir both his auditors and himself. In \textit{James}, Manton noted that, ‘Love is a notable pleader and urger: 2 Cor 5:14, “The love of Christ

\textsuperscript{52} \textit{Languishing}, 24; O. Sedgwick, \textit{Christ’s Counsell} (1640), 260.

\textsuperscript{53} William Strong, \textit{XXXI Select Sermons Preached on Special Occasions} (1656), 187, 465.

\textsuperscript{54} Anthony Burgess, \textit{CXLV Expository Sermons on the Whole 17\textsuperscript{th} Chapter of the Gospel According to St. John} (1656); Thomas Hooker, \textit{A Comment upon Christ’s Last Prayer} (1656).
constraineth us”.\footnote{CWTM, IV, 86.} And if love urges and pleads by constraint, then God does; and if God does, then so should his ministers. William Bates described Manton’s delivery as a zealous incarnation of divine truth approaching physical exercise: ‘His fervour and earnestness in preaching was such as might soften and make pliant the most stubborn, obdurate spirits. I am not speaking of one whose talent was only in voice, that labours in the pulpit as if the end of preaching were for the exercise of the body ... but this man of God was inflamed with an holy zeal, and from thence such ardent expressions broke forth as were capable to procure the attention and consent of his hearers’.\footnote{CWTM, XXII, 145.} Manton himself exhorted fellow ministers, as ambassadors of God and dispensers of divine grace, ‘to rouse up themselves ... Preach with life, and diligence, and authority. God’s words should not be delivered in a faint and languid manner and way. Thou art casting abroad thy immortal seed that is to beget souls to Christ, and shall we do it in a drowsy fashion?’\footnote{CWTM, XXI, 334-5.}

Not only the honour of his God but the conversion of his auditors pressed the urgency of Manton’s delivery: ‘Surely this should be the temper of every minister when he hath to do with sinners, that his ministry may not be a sleepy ministry’.\footnote{CWTM, VII, 63.} For Manton, the significance of the matter demanded a passionate manner. One can sense the intensity and urgency of expression as Manton challenges both ministers and auditors on the stakes of hearing and obeying divine truths: ‘Minister! art thou sensible of the danger of souls? Are thy words as burning coals? Do they fret through the heart of a sinner? Christian! art thou sensible of the danger of thy carnal neighbours? they are burning in their beds, and thou wilt not cry, Fire! fire! they are besotted with lust and error, and wilt thou let them alone? Oh, unkind!’\footnote{CWTM, V, 361-2.}

Harris writes that Manton was particularly ‘noted for a lively and affectionate manner of administering the Lord’s Supper’. This comports with Manton’s high
view of the ordinances as a means of God’s grace to strengthen the believer. One can hear the pastoral echo of gospel comforts and practical duties in Manton’s description of this ordinance: ‘The Lord’s Supper, why was it appointed?...that we might sensibly exercise our faith upon Christ, that we might be more sensible of our obligations to him, that we might be the more excited in the diligent pursuit of things to come’.60 Thus one can sense Manton’s delight and urgency when administering the Lord’s Supper: ‘He would often utter, with great fervor those words, “Who is a God like unto thee”...and illustrate in an affecting manner the glory of divine mercy... and pathetically represent the danger of those who neglect and slight their baptismal covenant’.61

This ‘lively and affectionate’ delivery was not merely a performance to inspire others – it was further a discipline to inspire himself. In his sermon vindicating lively congregational singing, Manton argues the contagious enthusiasm of lively voices: ‘The inward part must not exclude the outward; the lively voice doth not only give vent to affections, but increaseth them....Besides all this, the benefit we may convey to others by loud singing; one bird sets all the flock achirping’.62 Manton’s lively delivery was designed not only to engage and inspire his auditory but also himself, with the intention of creating an atmosphere of contagious enthusiasm for the conversion of faith and manners: ‘The great business of the ministers of the gospel is to persuade men to reconciliation with God’.63

While the emotional energy in Puritan preaching was widely recognized,64 not all received it positively. In Behemoth (1679), Thomas Hobbes specifically called out the Presbyterian clergy: ‘for the manner of their preaching...no Tragedian in the world could have acted the part of a right godly man better than these did’. According to Hobbes, ‘a man unacquainted with such Art, could never

60 CWTM, VI, 397.
61 Memoirs, xxxi.
62 CWTM, IV, 443, 4
63 CWTM, XIII, 295.
suspect...that the vehemence of their Voice...and the forcedness of their Gesture and Looks, could arise from anything but zeal to the service of God’. 65 Another writer described the ‘great diligence and industry of Dissenters in making Proselytes, and drawing Disciples after them...by affected Tones, mimical Actions and Gestures, &c., which, you know, have a mighty force to draw the multitude’. The subtitle of the work likely summarizes the Conformist view of expressive Nonconformist preaching: ‘Wherein is made appear, That nothing but the Subtilty and Cunning of their Teachers, doth now hinder the People from Conformity’. 66

Print: Manuscripts

As for Manton’s writing, sadly there are no extant sermon manuscripts in his hand, and only six known letters outside the published works. 67 All of the sermons in the modern Collected Works were printed by 1703, and conversely all of Manton’s works published by 1703 are included in the later Complete Works, with the exception of one sermon. 68

In his lifetime, Manton published very little comparatively to what he preached – two commentaries and eight sermons, or about ten per cent of his later printed Works.69 This is not surprising considering his borderline cynical comments both about the volume of print and the imperfections in the work. 70 On the other hand, this may have been convention; Arnold Hunt points out that early modern preachers were ‘often extremely apologetic’ about the printing of their sermons. 71 Perhaps this was either a modesty trope or a tactic to pre-empt the potential controversy a work might stir up, also a deterrent to publishing. Manton mentions in his preface to Nicoll’s Life of Jurdain (1654): ‘living Saints

66 A. B., The Mystery of Phanaticism, or, the Artifices of Dissenters to Support Their Schism (1698), title page, 11.
67 See Introduction for the six letters.
68 The excepted sermon was Manton’s final sermon; see William Bates’, A funeral sermon...to which is now added The Last Publick Sermon Dr. Manton Preached (1678).
69 See Bibliography for print history.
70 For example, see CWTM, IV, 7; V, 7.
71 Hunt, Hearing, 121.
standing in the way of interests are more hated, and looked upon with prejudice, but usually there is a greater esteem of the dead; how often do God’s Children live envied and die Sainted?72

It is possible that he was discouraged by the loss of one of his prepared manuscripts. Tucked away in William Taylor’s Dedicatory to Manton’s Treatise on Self-Denial (1689) is a remarkable anecdote of the history of its printing: ‘In the time of your ladyship’s widowhood, [this treatise was] designed and prepared by the author for the press, he intending the dedication of it to yourself, which he therefore often called “My Lady Wharton’s book”. That copy being lost, the ensuing treatise has been collected from his own notes’.73 Manton’s own hand-prepared copy for the press was lost, and became his last effort at that exercise; Jude proved his final sermon series personally edited for publication.

Manton’s stated reason was the lack of time. Harris reports that when Thomas Case urged Manton to print, he ‘answered him that he had not time, in the midst of such constant employments, to prepare anything, with due care, for the public view’.74 This is unfortunate for many reasons, including the fact that they have proven remarkably difficult to date, obscuring the likelihood of identifying the veiled speech. When William Bates, John Collinges and John Howe published Manton’s second Folio volume, it contained forty sermons on II Corinthians 5. In the Preface, even they could not date the sermon series: ‘The last discourses on 2 Cor. V., look like a cygnea cantio. Whether they were some of his last discourses we cannot tell, nor can we judge it from the subject’.75

From Notes to Press

Manton’s posthumously published sermons are based on his notes, which were collected and prepared primarily by William Bates and William Taylor (the

72 Manton, ‘To the Reader’ in Ferdinando Nicolls, The Life and Death of Mr Ignatius Jurdain (1654), a1, a2.
73 CWTM, XV, 177. The Lady Wharton was Edward Popham’s widow from 1651 till 1661 when she married Wharton. Therefore Manton must have written the Treatise before 1661 and been ready to publish after 1661.
74 Memoirs, xxiv.
75 CWTM, IX, 318.

Posthumous printing started with \textit{Dr Manton’s Last Sayings} published immediately after his death.\footnote{Manton, \textit{Words of peace or Dr Manton’s last sayings} (1677). Ironically 25 of 50 sayings were from Manton’s first published sermon, \textit{Meate}. One of the sayings (#47) is not found in Manton at all, but is quoted from Edward Reynolds’ sermon \textit{Self-denial} (1645) on Matthew 16:24, preached in the Assembly then reprinted 1652 and 1659. Though Manton preached a \textit{Treatise on Self-Denial} (in \textit{Third Volume}, 1689), also on Matthew 16:24, he does not quote Reynolds on this in the published edition.} William Bates published two smaller volumes of Manton’s sermons prefaced by Bates and Baxter respectively (1678, 1679), followed by five folio volumes printed by Bates, Howe and William Taylor over twenty years (1681-1701).\footnote{See Bibliography for print history.}

In the third work published following Manton’s death, Baxter and Bates included an advertisement: ‘To prevent false Copies, that may be published in Dr. Manton’s Name: These are to give Notice, that nothing is to be received as Genuine but what shall be Attested under the Hands of Dr. Bates, or Mr. Baxter’.\footnote{‘An Advertisement’ in T. Manton, \textit{XVIII Sermons} (1679), A5v.} Though not an uncommon warning, this demonstrates that not only was Manton’s name a draw for publishing, but also there were more known manuscripts that were intended to be published later.

The fact that Manton committed so many sermons to full script is unusual. According to Arnold Hunt, ‘most early modern sermons were never written down at all’ except in ‘rare cases’ showing ‘signs of extreme textual instability and indeterminacy’.\footnote{Hunt, \textit{Hearing}, 131.} One exception to this rule was the man who ordained Manton, Joseph Hall, who claimed he ‘never durst climb up into the Pulpit to preach any sermon whereof he had not before penn’d every word in the same Order, wherein he hoped to deliver it’, and yet ‘was no slave to syllables, neither
made use of...notes'.81 Perhaps it is due to Hall's conviction and early example, that Manton left behind such a magnificent corpus of fully penned sermons.

In the Preface to the *Second Folio* volume, Bates, Collinges and Howe state they, 'have seen no reason to [alter] it, but given thee his notes as they were under his hand, only when, not able to read some words in his notes, we were forced to add a word or two for clearing the sense'.82 The sermons were organized primarily into five folio volumes printed over the course of twenty years, demonstrating Manton's enduring name and influence. Bates mentioned in the Preface to the second volume that Manton's readers made the first folio 'so scarce in so short a time, as the price of it is enhanced by a fifth part'.83 Further, Manton's last four folios boasted eminent dedicatees: the Earl of Bedford, King William, Baron Wharton, and Sir Thomas Abney, Lord Mayor of London.

Though Manton's total published corpus exceeds a formidable 6.5 million words, it is likely only one fourth of Manton's output. The primary evidence for this is the fact that Manton preached on average three times per week for thirty-seven years (over 4000 events) and yet we have fewer than 1000 of his sermons. Further evidence for this incompleteness comes from the extant notes taken by his auditors: seven of nine Manton sermons externally confirmed by auditors' notes are not included in the *Works*.84 For example, Adam Martindale recorded hearing Manton preach on Matthew 11:12, which does not appear. This was almost certainly a series on Matthew 11 now lost, as according to Martindale, the topic of the sermon was limited to the phrase 'And from the days of John the Baptist' which is only a fragment of the verse.85 John Evelyn records hearing Manton's sermons on Acts 2:41 (16 May 1658) which is not in the *Works*, and Matthew 6:10 (23 May 1658) which is included in the exposition on The Lord's

81 John Whitefoote, *Deaths Alarum...Given in a Funeral Sermon for the Right Reverend Joseph Hall* (1656), 68.
82 CWTM, IX, 318.
84 See appendix H for a list of these sermons.
Prayer. In 1661 Thomas Aldersey, lawyer of Gray's Inn and nephew of merchant William Aldersey, recorded Manton's sermon on Canticles 5:9, which is not in the Works.

Illustration 6.1: The first page of Aldersey's notes on Manton's sermon on Canticles 5:9.

Source: MSS. Don. f. 42, fol. 133v, Thomas Aldersey Notebooks containing notes on sermons, 1661-88, personal image.

Two other contemporary notebooks contain the notes from five sermons, four of which are not in the *Works*. So both the limited number of sermons in the *Works* themselves and the extant evidence points to the fact that the majority of Manton’s sermons were not included in the *Works*.

Perhaps most convincing is the direct print evidence presented in the Advertisement at the beginning of the *Fourth Volume* (1693). Apparently there was some pushback from potential subscribers against publishing, ‘by giving out, that what was [to be] printed were but Scraps, and not from his own Notes’ (i.e. from auditors’ notes). The editor, almost certainly Vincent Alsop, responds, ‘there is so little need of publishing Scraps, that there remains as many single sermons under his own Hand, as would make as large a Volume as this; besides several whole Chapters, which would make one (if not more) large Folio’s, *viz...*most of the Chapters of the 1st Epistle of John, with many others not mentioned’. Of the 105 verses in I John, sermons on only nine verses found their way into print.

The fact that most of Manton’s original work was lost is also supported by manuscript evidence. The only manuscript of Manton’s sermons is the partial editorial copy of a work entitled *Of the Blessed and Glorious Persons in the Divine Nature*. The title page states the work is ‘In three Parts’, the immediate work being the first part containing six headers. However, the table of contents breaks off abruptly after four headers listing 31 sermons, averaging 25 folio pages each. In actuality, the volume contains folio pages 30-399, or fifteen complete sermons.

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88 For a list of sermon notes on sermons not in the *CWTM*, see Appendix H.
90 The verses represented are I John 1:7; 2:12, 13, 14, 20; 3:1, 2, 3, 4; see Index in *CWTM*, XXII, 460.
Of the 31 sermons listed in the contents, only nine are included in the Works. The manuscript appears to have become separated from the other volumes in the larger work as well as much of its own ‘First Part’. It seems to be a professionally produced copy of Manton’s notes, either as a primer to the press (as the text truncates Manton’s writing) or as a devotional reader to be passed among godly families.92 Comparing the printed edition of one sermon with its manuscript equivalent in this edition, shows that the manuscript edition is mostly word for word copied from the print edition, though at times condensed.93

There is tantalizingly little evidence regarding the provenance of the manuscript. An inscription on the verso side of the title page indicates Robert Gibbs’
marriage to Elizabeth in 1698. This is likely the son of the London bookseller
Robert Gibbs of Golden Ball, Chancery Lane (1650-75).\footnote{H. Plomer, *A Dictionary of the Printers and Booksellers...From 1668 to 1725* (Oxford, 1922), 126.}

**Illustration 6.3: Inscription of the marriage of Robert and Elizabeth Gibbs.**

![Illustration of the marriage of Robert and Elizabeth Gibbs.]

Source: University of Wales, Lampeter, Post-medieval MSS GB 1953, Folio of Sermons; with thanks to Archivist Peter Hopkins.

The senior Gibbs had published Manton’s funeral sermon for Jane Blackwell in 1656, as well as Reynolds’ *A Seasonable Exhortation* (1660), which Manton subscribed.\footnote{T. Manton, *The Blessed Estate of Them that Die in the Lord* (1656); E. Reynolds, *A Seasonable Exhortation of Sundry Ministers in London* (1660).} The only other possible evidence linking Manton to Gibbs, and this manuscript in particular, is the death of widow Elizabeth Gibbs, in the registers of St Paul’s Covent Garden (1744).\footnote{William Hunt (ed.), *The Registers of St Paul’s Church, Covent Garden*, 4 vols (London, 1908), IV, 410. Gibbs is perhaps best known for the later work of his apprentice, Nathaniel Ponder, printer of Bunyan’s *Pilgrim’s Progress* (1677); see Plomer, *Dictionary*, 240.}

**Other Genres**

Manton’s published corpus consists nearly entirely of sermons and lectures, with several treatises and multiple prefaces.\footnote{For a complete listing of Manton’s prefaces, see Bibliography.} Manton chose to write prefaces for a wide variety of works such as commentaries, personal piety, metric Psalms and funeral sermons.\footnote{Dewey Wallace holds up Manton as a prime example of a Puritan who valued ‘memorializing holy lives’ in *The Spirituality of the Later English Puritans* (Macon, 1987), 2. Manton’s library contained the increasingly influential books by Samuel Clarke: *Marrow of Ecclesiastical History* (1650), the enlarged *Marrow* (1655) and *A Generall Martyrologie* (1651).} Nearly all the works Manton prefaced were concerned with either the comforts of the gospel or their corresponding duties. Though the
Preface most referenced by contemporaries was *Smectymnuus Redivivus* (1654, 1660, 1661). Manton is most widely known to posterity for his Preface to the *Westminster Confession of Faith* (1658, 2nd edition). The *Confession* fit well with Manton's pastoral concern for the conversion of families, and their collective impact on the nation.\(^99\) Here Manton argued that, 'a family is the seminary of Church and State; and if children be not well principled there, all miscarrieth'. Manton considered the family the primary front for defending national orthodoxy: 'Religion was first hatched in families, and there the devil seeketh to crush it'. Therefore Manton 'had, upon entreaty, resolved to recommend to thee with the greatest earnestness the work of catechising'. Though Manton is credited with the Preface, he anonymously incorporated a large chunk of Baxter’s work, having met ‘with a private letter of a very learned and godly divine, wherein that work is excellently done to my hand’. In the Preface, out of 1941 total words, Manton wrote 803, while quoting Baxter’s 1138.\(^100\) Manton (joining a large company) offended Baxter by altering his text on the ‘importunity’ of publisher John Rothwell, and apologized to Baxter for this in a letter several months later.\(^101\)

It is a striking feature of the Manton corpus, that there is a complete lack of the polemical works and pamphlets as seen in the works of Baxter, Calamy and others. He has the dubious honour of being referenced in the odd polemical tract (often satirical), but he neither wrote nor responded to any.\(^102\) As opposed to Baxter, Owen and many of his colleagues, Manton simply did not get drawn into

\(^99\) William Williams later noted from America, Manton’s study of Hebrews 11:9, 'The Design of which Text (as Dr. Manton observes upon it) is to shew us the good Fruit of a godly Education'. W. Williams, *The Duty and Interest of a People...* (Boston, 1736), 61.

\(^100\) Manton, ‘Christian Reader’ in *The Confession of Faith* (1658), Wing 1482:24, C-Ca; for Baxter’s perspective, see *RB*, I, 122, § 210.


\(^102\) For example, Manton is mentioned in article XIX in the anonymous *Several Resolves Prepared By the Commanding Junto to Pass the House* (1659), 7; also in Prynne, *An Answer to a Proposition* (1659), 4, and in I. M., *A Wipe for Iter-Boreale Wilde: or, An infallible Cure for the Gout* (1670).
the pamphlet wars. The closest Manton came to civic politics was to subscribe public letters along with other London ministers in various protests.\textsuperscript{103}

There are at least three reasons this was the case. First, Manton did not wish to distract himself or others from God’s Word. In his 102\textsuperscript{nd} sermon on Psalm 119, Manton argues that a love for God’s word, ‘will draw us off from carnal pastimes, curious studies, vain pamphlets: if you had this love, here would be your recreation in the word of God...Saith Austin—here are my chaste delights, thy holy scripture’.\textsuperscript{104}

Also, Manton feared the sin of casting aspersions on God’s servants. He could write well enough against the papists, Socinians and libertines, but stopped short of other Christian ministers. In a sermon on Hebrews 11, he argues caution: ‘Be careful how you prejudice the good name of a believer; you cross God’s ordination. How ought you to tremble, when you go about to take off the crown which God hath put on their heads!... You are but acting the devil’s part, while you are scandalizing those that are eminent for grace.... Most odious it is in those that pretend to be christians, to do it to one another’. Manton continues, leaving no room for exceptions: ‘But you will say, If the man do but profess religion, must we not speak evil of him? no, unless it be done with grief’.\textsuperscript{105} Here Manton broadens the argument from the individuals to parties: ‘In times of division men take a liberty to blast opposite parties. Now shine forth in the lustre of an holy conversation, that envy may find nothing in you’. In other words, let your deeds show your faith more than words, as ‘Words are apt to beget strife, and are more liable to suspicion: by a good life you approve yourselves to their consciences. Revengeful replies lose their majesty’.\textsuperscript{106}

Finally, Manton feared the potential for sin inherent in dispute more than he feared being thought wrong. Manton addresses this most directly in \textit{James}. In his exposition of James 1:20, Manton observed, ‘The worst thing that we can bring to

\textsuperscript{103} Namely in 1649, 1660 and 1675; see Bibliography for Manton’s subscriptions.

\textsuperscript{104} \textit{CWTM}, VII, 472.

\textsuperscript{105} \textit{CWTM}, XIII, 386.

\textsuperscript{106} \textit{CWTM}, XIII, 387.
a religious controversy is anger’, specifically ‘occasioned by differences about the word’ and ‘the quarrel of religion’. Manton counters rhetorically: ‘Should a meek religion be defended by our violences, and the God of peace served with wrathful affections, and the madness of an evil nature bewray itself in the best cause? Christ’s warfare needeth not such carnal weapons’. Manton summarizes with the principle, that ‘the wrath of man is unsuitable to the matters of God’. Manton now hints specifically at pamphlet wars: ‘When tongue is sharpened against tongue, and pen against pen, what followeth? Nothing but mutual animosities and hatreds, whereby, if we gain aught of truth, we lose much of love and goodness’. In case that argument falls short, Manton goes even further, quoting the argument of Tertullian, ‘you cannot gratify Satan more than when you wrong the truth by an unseemly defense of it’. Having negatively removed the improper means, Manton then states his model for engagement: ‘Those engage most successfully that use the hardest arguments and the softest words…. Be watchful; our religious affections may often overset us’. 107 So Manton feared sin in himself more than persecution from others; he preferred to be pure in the eyes of God rather than right in the eyes of man. The risk of human displeasure was acceptable; the risk of divine displeasure was not.

Themes
Insofar as called for by pastoral necessity, Manton addressed through lectio continua series the two main spectres of his day, popery108 and Socinianism.109 In dealing with the heterodoxy, Manton took sides: with the Protestants over the papists and the Trinitarians over the Socinians. Otherwise, in dealing with in-house squabbles among Christians, Manton preached unity: ‘When God’s people are divided in opinion, all lenity and mutual forbearance should be used to prevent things from coming to an open rupture’.110 However, preaching unity

107 CWTM, IV, 138, 9.
108 T Manton, Eighteen Sermons...Containing...Diverse Cautions and Arguments to Establish Christians Against the Apostasy of the Church of Rome (1679).
110 T Manton, ‘A Persuasive to Unity in Things Indifferent’ in Several Discourses Tending to Promote Peace and Holiness Among Christians (1685), 182; CWTM, II, 68.
was tricky business in extreme and divided times, in an age when ‘errors, persecutions and scandals’ were ‘wont to hurry men from one extreme to another’.\footnote{CTWM, VI, 476.} So, more than preaching about unity, Manton demonstrated it by focusing his sermons on themes related to practical piety – worship (e.g. *Sermons on Psalm 119*),\footnote{Manton was known for promoting the singing of Psalms; see T. Jacombe, *A Treatise of Holy Dedication Both Personal and Domestick* (1668), pt. 2, 126.} prayer (e.g. *Treatise on the Lord’s Prayer*), gospel (e.g. *Sermons on Isaiah 53, Romans 6 and Romans 8*) and good works (e.g. *James*). One of Manton’s traits was his facility in speaking intelligently and sympathetically to both sides of a variety of theological debates which otherwise divided the orthodox.

**Heresy: Popery and Socinianism**

The lax enforcement of an unclear Instrument in the 1650s created a nurturing environment for the growth of a broad spectrum of sectaries. Though Manton commonly named the usual suspects – Quakers, Familists, Ranters and Levellers – his attacks on Papists and Socinians were most ardent.\footnote{For example, see *CWTM*, V, 164, 231; XIV, 138.} Manton’s public stance against Popery and Socinianism mirrored the general Presbyterian posture, though he was much more outspoken against the Papists than the Socinians and Arians. Manton believed the pope to be an antichrist and the ‘devil’s eldest son’, and the Catholic liturgy idolatrous.\footnote{*CWTM*, III, 60.} The Exclusion Crisis of 1679 precipitated Baxter’s printing Manton’s *XVIII Sermons on the Second Chapter of the 2d Epistle to the Thessalonians, Containing the Description, Rise, Growth, and Fall of Antichrist* (1679). Here Manton makes the plain case that the pope holds the seat of the antichrist, and ‘affecteth the honor due to our Lord Jesus Christ’. Manton argued that the pope was the pretended ‘King of pride, who opposeth and exalteth himself above all that is called God, or is worshipped’, and who would ‘lord it over your consciences...that you may better swallow his damnable errors, pestilent superstitions, and idolatries, and bold usurpation on the authority of Christ’.\footnote{*CWTM*, III, 44-5.} Two sermons later, Manton avers the first ‘Use’ is ‘a
detestation of Popery’, because ‘the abettors of Popery are Satan’s auxiliary forces, whom he stirreth up and employeth’.\textsuperscript{116} Part of Manton’s urgency in the matter was a foreboding uncertainty of the Protestant religion in England in his lifetime, renewed in 1679: ‘We know not what is in the womb of providence, or how far the prerogative of free grace may interpose on our behalf – whether England shall be made a theatre of mercy once more, or the seat of idolatry, and superstition, and blood’.\textsuperscript{117}

And though the Papists err by defending justification by ‘works done without faith and grace, by the sole power and force of free-will’, the ‘Arminians and Socinians go another way to work’. They rather ‘deceive with the fairer pretense’, who ‘seem to ascribe all to grace...but they make new obedience the instrument of justification’.\textsuperscript{118} Manton’s brief eight-sermon series on Colossians 1:14-20 was published by Thomas Jacombe in 1685, and given the title, \textit{Christ’s Eternal Existence and the Dignity of His Person Asserted and Proved in Opposition to the Doctrine of the Socinians}. The title is more polemical than the text, as Manton never mentions the Socinians – only indirectly as ‘the adversaries of the eternal Godhead of Christ’.\textsuperscript{119} In other works, Manton regularly called out the Socinians for disbelieving the deity of Christ and so destroying the Trinity.\textsuperscript{120} Manton’s critique of both the Papists and the Socinians in his sermons was most often not a main point, but a sub-point and an anti-point to a positive argument. For example, in a sermon on Isaiah 53, Manton was argued the doctrine, ‘That Jesus Christ endured all these bitter sufferings at his death for our sins’. The first ‘Use’ was that it ‘confuteth divers errors and mistakes in doctrine’, followed by two sub points: 1) ‘That evil blasphemy of the Socinians, that say that Christ only died by occasion of sin, not for sin’, and 2) ‘The derogatory doctrine of the papists, who extend this full satisfaction of Christ to sins only committed before

\textsuperscript{116} \textit{CWTM}, III, 70.  
\textsuperscript{117} \textit{CWTM}, III, 62.  
\textsuperscript{118} \textit{CWTM}, IV, 261-2.  
\textsuperscript{119} \textit{CWTM}, I, 430; Manton, \textit{Christ’s Eternal Existence} (1685), 39.  
\textsuperscript{120} For several examples, see \textit{CWTM}, III, 277, 343; V, 164; X, 188; XIII, 388; XX, 306.
baptism’.\footnote{CWTM, III, 277.} So while Manton never led with an attack on the Socinians, in his works on the nature of Christ and the gospel, he called them out repeatedly for their denial of Christ as a divine redeemer.

**Orthodoxy: Truths in Tension**

Nineteenth century Anglican Bishop J C Ryle noted Manton was willing to preach themes which, while superficially contradictory were nonetheless both presented in Scripture:

Manton held strongly to the doctrine of election. But that did not prevent him from teaching that God loves all…. Manton held strongly that faith alone lays hold on Christ…. But that did not prevent him from urging upon all the absolute necessity of repentance and turning from sin. Manton held strongly to the perseverance of God’s elect. But that did not hinder him from teaching that holiness is the grand distinguishing mark of God’s people.\footnote{Ryle, xvii.}

Ryle cast Manton as ‘a man who, in a day of hard-and-fast systems could dare to be apparently inconsistent, in order to “declare all the counsel of God”’.\footnote{Ibid, xvii.} This trait is precisely Manton’s aim: the faculty of interweaving scholasticism with mystery so that the ambiguities of the Christian life were addressed with both philosophical and existential sensitivity. This was not new. Alec Ryrie has argued that ‘paradox has been in Protestantism’s genome over since Martin Luther’, and enduring because it was based ultimately on ‘God’s self-abasement in Christ’. Therefore, ‘glory and the cross, guilt and innocence, sin and grace...joy and sorrow’ were ‘apparent opposites...woven together to the glory of God’.\footnote{Alec Ryrie, Being Protestant in Reformation Britain (Oxford, 2013), 91.} Many such tensions existed in Manton, all grounded in the ultimate paradox of the sense and senselessness of the gospel, that holy God could die for sinful man, and that finite, fallen man could house and demonstrate the infinite, glorious God.

This paradox is evident, in that though Manton was accused of Arminianism on account of his emphasis on works, Augustus Toplady abandoned Arminianism.

\footnote{CWTM, III, 277.}
\footnote{Ryle, xvii.}
\footnote{Ibid, xvii.}
\footnote{Alec Ryrie, Being Protestant in Reformation Britain (Oxford, 2013), 91.}
after reading Manton’s sermons on John 17: ‘I was not led into a full and clear view of all the doctrines of grace, till the year 1758, when through the great goodness of God, my Arminian prejudices received an effectual shock, in reading Dr. Manton’s sermons on the XVIIth of St. John’.\textsuperscript{125} In spite of the fact that Toplady was a very polemical divine and became one of the Wesleys fiercest critics, both Toplady and Wesley valued Manton. Also, in his exposition on James 2:24, Manton demonstrated this in his effort to ‘reconcile James with Paul’ when ‘the conclusions seem directly opposite’. He began with the assumption that ‘the apostles, acted by the same Spirit of truth, could not deliver contrary assertions’. And yet when they appear contrary, ‘they show more reverence to the scriptures who seek to reconcile both places than to deny the authority of one’.\textsuperscript{126}

This harmonization was not simply a rarefied theological exercise regarding ancient debates – these same nerves remained exposed among Manton’s contemporaries; so Manton sought not only to reconcile theologically the issues at hand (whether faith and works, or the validity of James in the same canon as Paul) but also to demonstrate existentially that they were reconcilable. And so Manton attacked heresy and developed unity by focusing on gospel truth and its corresponding practical piety, while reconciling the seemingly opposite themes of faith and reason, gravity and delight, law and grace.

\textbf{Faith and Reason}

Though Manton believed in the need for divine revelation, at the same time he urged the use of human reason. Manton owned nine works by Bacon, and utilized the Baconian method of inductive reasoning in his sermons.\textsuperscript{127} Reason was a weapon to combat both prejudice and ignorance by clearing the fog of generalities with the light of particulars:

\begin{footnotesize}
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\item[	extsuperscript{125}] Augustus Toplady, \textit{The reverend Mr. Toplady’s dying avowal of his religious sentiments} (London, 1778), 7.
\item[	extsuperscript{126}] \textit{CWTM}, IV, 261.
\item[	extsuperscript{127}] The works of Bacon in Manton’s library were the following: List works of Bacon in \textit{Catalogus Viri Thomae Manton}; Bacon outlined in \textit{Novum Organum} (1676), 14, that ‘we ascend from particulars to lower axioms, then medial’ much in the same way that Manton began with the particulars of the text, and developed doctrines from them.
\end{enumerate}
\end{footnotesize}
That we were less in generals, and would deal more particularly... Blunt iron, that toucheth many points at once, doth not enter, but make a bruise; but a needle, that toucheth but one point, entereth to the quick...I do the rather urge this because usually ungrounded zeal stayeth in generals, and those that know least are most loose and invective in their discourses.128

Engaging the mind was critical to Manton in spiritual growth:

The Spirit of God will not help us without our thoughts; for he dealeth not with us as birds do in feeding their young, bringing meat to them, and putting it into their mouths, while they lie still in their nest, and only gape to receive it; but as God giveth corn while we plough, sow, weed, dress, and with patience expect his blessing.129

As proper reasoning was the gift and calling of God, conversely, the Papist ‘put out the eye of your reason, that you may the better swallow his damnable errors, pestilent superstitions, and idolatries’.130

While embracing the necessity of reason, Manton also believed in mystery, a word occurring 460 times in the Works. The case for mystery is obviated by the paradox of finite mortals labouring to understand an infinite God:

For he were not infinite if he might be comprehended...many things are marvellous in our eyes which are not so to his, Zech. 8:6. Therefore we must not confine God to the limits of created beings or our finite understandings. Alas! our cockleshell cannot empty an ocean: we do no more know what God can do than a worm knoweth a man.131

And yet mystery was not an excuse for promoting innovative sectarian belief which bypasses both the fathers and reason: ‘An invention is something in religion not evident by natural light nor agreeable to sound reason, but is some cunningly devised fable, invented by one or more, and obtruded by various

128 CWTM, IV, 106.
129 CWTM, XII, 145-6.
130 CWTM, III, 45
131 CWTM, I, 474; see also CWTM, III, 212; VII, 84; XX, 173; XXI, 431.
artifices upon the belief of the world’. Nor can mystery or experience be an excuse for abrogating God’s revealed word: ‘we may chop logic one with another…but God’s prerogative is above the tribunal of our reason’.

**Gravity and Delight**

The puritans were caricatured in their day as zealous legalists and hypocritical Pharisees; they were not popularly associated with joy and delight. The French playwright Moliere’s comedy *L’Imposteur* (1664) was translated by Matthew Medbourne and performed in London in 1670 as *Tartuffe or The French Puritan*. In the text, the naïve head of the manse Orgon blindly praises his guest and religious devotee Tartuffe in a sarcastic swipe at the Puritans:

> He gives me notice of the designes of all,  
> And is six times more vigilant then my self,  
> You can’t imagine how his zeal aspires:  
> Each frivolous action he accounts a sin,  
> And ’s scandaliz’d at the least accident:  
> Was once at ’s prayers he chanc’d to catch a Flea,  
> And griev’d because his passion made him kill it.

The satirical broadside, *A sovereign remedy for the Presbyterian’s maladie* (1663), expresses a similar line:

> Let *Egypt’s* plagues be mentioned no more,  
> One *Presbyter*’s more mischief than a score;  
> *If Puritans* in stead of *Frogs* had fell,  
> Pharaoh at first had let go *Israel*:  
> Like Satan’s *It is written*, they can bring  
> A Text of *Scripture* for the greatest *Sin*.

Manton and the Puritans did indeed value seriousness, gravity and even mourning as spiritual disciplines. During a break in the 1657 talks with the Covenanters before Cromwell, Manton mentioned to James Sharp that he

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132 CWTM, V, 491.  
133 *Jude* (1657), 450; CWTM, V, 300.  
disliked Patrick Gillespie’s sarcastic ‘laughing way’, saying ‘Lord deliver me from a man who answereth my argument with laughing and flouting; such must be a man of an overbearing, insolent spirit’. Manton opposed jesting about spiritual matters: ‘Many men get a vein at jesting at sermons, and applying scripture to every profane and common matter; they make it as sauce to their meals, and make the word of God and holy things to lackey to their sports and profane mirth’. Harris noted in his Memoir that Manton ‘was observed to show a great zeal against using scripture phrases lightly in common conversation…as a profanation of the scripture and a great dishonour to God’. Manton uses the terms ‘grave’ and ‘serious’ as positive descriptors, synonymous with ‘pious’ and ‘earnest’.

Even so, these values were held in tension with a value for delight and joy: ‘But now for sports and the other delights of human life. Accept of God’s indulgence with thankfulness’. In fact, mourning was not the opposite of joy but a part of it; mourning over sin led to and interacted with joy over redemption. According to Harris’ report, Manton embodied both sides: ‘Though he was a man of great gravity, and of a regular unaffected piety, yet he was extremely cheerful and pleasant among his friends, and upon every proper occasion. His religion sat easy, and well became him, and appeared amiable and lovely to others’. Manton himself understood and agreed at least in part with the social critique of the puritan persona: ‘He greatly disliked the forbidding rigours of some good people, and the rapturous pretensions of others; and used to say he had found it, by long observation, that they who would be over-godly at one time, would be under-godly at another’. Manton used the term ‘precise’ in both positive (e.g. ii:124; vi:354, 394) and negative ways (e.g. ii:281; iv:171). Manton taught the

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136 Consultations, I, 355.
137 CWTM, XIV, 139.
138 Memoirs, xxx.
139 For example, see CWTM, III, 151, 159; IX, 239; VI, 474; XIX, 106.
140 CWTM, VII, 123.
141 Ryrie, Being Protestant, ch. 2 ‘The Meaning of Mourning’ and ch. 5 ‘Joy’.
142 Memoirs, xxxii.
143 See also CWTM, VI,494; VII, 490; XI, 436; see XX, 502 where God is described as precise.
normative Christian use of ‘all the good things of the world, meat, drink, marriage’. Manton smoked a pipe. He appreciated humour; when he was baptizing one of Samuel Annesley’s children and was asked how many children Annesley had, Manton replied, he ‘believed it was two dozen or a quarter of a hundred’. (It was ten.)

Though they opposed reformed Calvinism, in a sermon on joy, Manton agreed with the Lutheran critique that dour Calvinists were a gospel hindrance:

[Joy] is for his honour. Nothing bringeth reproach upon the ways of God so much as the sadness of those that profess them. *Spiritus Calvinianus est spiritus melancholicus*, was a Lutheran proverb, because the Calvinists were against wakes and dancings and revels. You darken the ways of God by your melancholy conversation. Religion should be cheerful, though not wanton and dissolute.

The words ‘joy’, ‘rejoice’, ‘happiness’ and ‘delight’ occur collectively over eight thousand times in the Complete Works – nearly literally on every page. Like many in his day such as Ralph Venning and John Flavel, Manton taught directly that his congregation should, ‘Fix your end and scope, which is to be everlastingly happy in the enjoyment of God’. The answer to the first question of the Larger Catechism of the Westminster Assembly may appear surprising: ‘Mans Chief and

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144 CWTM, I, 45.
145 Registers, I, 363.
147 CWTM, X, 356. The Lutheran quote was first mentioned in William Sclater, An Exposition With Notes Upon the First Epistle to the Thessalonians (1619), 503; also in Nehemiah Rogers, The True Convert (1620), 304 and others; Christopher Love in The Combate Between the Flesh and Spirit (1654), 218 and Richard Baxter in A Saint or a Brute (1662), 34 both attributed the critique to the Papists. It also echoes the Laudian/royalist charge against the Puritans.
Highest End, is to glorifie God, and fully to enjoy him for ever'.\textsuperscript{149} A concept going back to Augustine,\textsuperscript{150} Manton preached the ultimate satisfaction of the soul in God would lead to the truest happiness, rather than temporal delights:

Reconciliation with God, with the consequent benefits; communion with God now, peace of conscience, the gift of the Spirit, and the hopes of glory. If there were no more than these, shall we look back? Can we find better things in the world? Alas! there is nothing here but fears and snares, a vexatious uncertainty, and polluting enjoyments, such as may easily make us worse, but cannot make us better. What is this but to forsake the cold flowing waters for a dirty puddle?\textsuperscript{151}

Manton preached the death of sin in the soul should result in joy: ‘when the conscience is purged from dead works, we serve the living God in a lively manner; and this begets a holy cheerfulness in the soul’. Further, conscience should not ruin the believer’s happiness, but confirm it: ‘They are not happy that have least trouble, but they that have least cause; not they that have a benumbed conscience, but they that have a conscience sound, established, and settled in the grace of God, through Jesus Christ our Lord…this is the happy man’.\textsuperscript{152}

\textbf{Law and Grace}

The union of practical duty and gospel comfort, or law and grace, was one of Manton’s favourite themes. In the opening of James, Manton stated his reason for the exposition was to ‘show you your duties together with your encouragements, lest, with Ephraim, you should only love to tread out the corn, and refuse to break the clods’. The comfort of the gospel – if taken only for itself and not in consideration of a response – could be dangerous, ‘as if all that he required of the world were only a few naked, cold, and inactive apprehensions of his merit, and all things were so done for us, that nothing remained to be done by us’. Manton observed this tendency was, ‘the wretched conceit of many in the present age, and therefore, either they abuse the sweetness of grace to looseness, or the

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\item[149] Westminster Assembly (1643-1652), \textit{The confession of faith, together with the larger and lesser catechisms} (1658), 151.
\item[150] See Parker, ‘Proselytisation and Apocalypticism’, 178.
\item[151] \textit{CWTM}, II, 137.
\item[152] \textit{CWTM}, II, 186, 8.
\end{enumerate}
\end{footnotesize}
power of it to laziness’. Manton was a convinced Calvinist, teaching election, for example, in all 22 volumes, including a full sermon series on the standard election text of Romans 8. On the other hand, he preached the entire standard works book of James, an emphasis leading to accusations he was Arminian. His accusers might be forgiven, when confronted with the unresolved tensions in Manton’s preaching: ‘First [Paul] presseth knowledge in order to practice, then he presseth practice in order to knowledge. Saving knowledge is the cause of practice, and it is the effect of it’. Diarist Ralph Thoresby recorded that assent without action is ‘what Dr. Manton calls dry drunkenness, when indisposed for duty’.

Manton’s audience in London was well-heeled, particularly at Covent Garden. The Puritans in his audience were almost certainly a minority; the demand in the market of truth was likely more for fullness than fasting: ‘It is one of the fancies now in fashion, men would be altogether honeyed and oiled with grace; the wholesome severities of religion are distasted’. This disconnect between comfort and duty led his parishioners to pursue a practical devotion consisting of ‘external duties’ which though they make one busy are not designed by God to draw the believer to relationship with him:

Therefore, if you will always lick the glass, and never taste the honey, go on in a track of duties, but you will have no comfort in them. In short, they that go on in external duties may be said in some sense to serve God, but they do not seek after him.

Manton’s corrective was to make God himself, not God’s gifts, both the end of worship and therefore the source of comfort:

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153 CWTM, IV, 8.
154 In the Complete Works, Manton mentions election over 300 times, and quotes the classic election verses of Romans 8:30 thirteen times, and II Thessalonians 2:13 twenty-eight times.
155 CWTM, VIII, 24.
157 CWTM, IV, 374; see also VII, 431; XII, 71; XIV, 184; XVI, 119.
158 CWTM, II, 29.
A man maketh God the end of his worship when he will not go away from God without God; when he looketh to this, that his delight in God be quickened, his dependence upon God strengthened, his hatred of sin increased, and by every address to God is made more like God.\textsuperscript{159}

For Manton, the connection between comfort and duty is assumed because they are two sides of the same coin. There is no comfort without duty, and no duty without comfort; if one is lost then both are lost. Gospel comfort would lead to performance of duties; conversely growth in duty would spring from and confirm one’s gospel comfort. Therefore, Manton crafts his sermons to include both sides from the start, and delivered his sermons to reach both the heart (comfort) and the hands (duty) through the mind (reason). This process was articulated by Vincent Alsop in his Preface to Manton’s first folio volume: ‘Their design is practice; beginning with the understanding, dealing with the affections, but still driving on the advancement of practical holiness’.\textsuperscript{160}

One method Manton used to harmonize comfort and duty was to approach the doctrine of election not so much theologically as relationally. Manton presents God not as a judge who legally clears but a father who lovingly draws: ‘Election is nothing but God’s love and intention to bestow saving grace upon such and such persons’. Manton summarizes the entire soteriological process as both beginning and ending in God: ‘The first rise and spring of mercy was at election, which breaketh out by effectual calling, and so floweth down in the channels of faith and holiness, till it lose itself in the ocean of everlasting glory’. This does not release man from works but bridges to it. If, ‘in elective love we have the best view of mercy’, then they will take most comfort in that election who make it sure by works in the image of God’s.\textsuperscript{161}

\textbf{Appeal}

In an age of increasingly learned divines, what made Manton stand out? Why did the nobility attend his conventicles for fifteen years after his ejection? On the one

\textsuperscript{159} Ibid, 29.
\textsuperscript{160} Vincent Alsop, ‘Christian Reader’ in T. Manton, \textit{One Hundred and Ninety Sermons on the CXIX Psalm} (1681), A\textsubscript{1f}; \textit{CWTM}, VI, 3.
\textsuperscript{161} \textit{Jude}, 15; \textit{CWTM}, V, 18.
hand, Manton fit the standard mould of the Reformed scholastic preacher: he could cite both the fathers and the Reformers, maintained a broad grasp of literature and history to illustrate Biblical doctrines, all hung on a rhetorically challenging sermon structure. There was, however, a complex of strengths which set Manton apart as uniquely gifted: his ability to repeat topics without being tedious, his ability to make judicious yet forceful applications, and his ability to wear his learning lightly.

**Varied**

Manton not only repeated many of the texts and themes his colleagues were preaching, but he repeated many themes in his own writing. In his preface to James, Manton bluntly defends writing on themes covered by previous divines: ‘I pretend to nothing novel’, and yet the old truths must be renewed through ‘more liveliness of phrase and expression, every truth receiving some savour from the vessel through which it passeth’. And yet his ability to preach repeatedly on similar Biblical themes without tediousness was well recognized. Although all 176 verses of Psalm 119 pertain to the same theme – the Word of God – Bates commented on the remarkable variety of expression: ‘I cannot but admire the fecundity and variety of his thoughts, that the same things so often occurring in the verses of this psalm, yet by a judicious observing the different arguments and motives whereby the Psalmist enforces the same requests...every sermon contains new conceptions, and proper to the text’. William Taylor agreed, admiring Manton’s ‘variety of handling the same subject which sometimes occurs’ as ‘scarce imitable by any’. Though ‘the same matter may sometimes recur’, it ‘is handled with such variety as to prevent tediousness, in which the author had a singular excellency’.

**Consistent**

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162 For example, see *CWTM*, VII, 444 for Manton’s quoting both Seneca and Plutarch, ‘two heathens who have written two worthy treatises to vindicate the providence of God’.
163 ‘Advertisement to the Reader’ in *James* (1652), A; *CWTM*, IV, 7.
164 *CWTM*, VI, 2.
165 *CWTM*, XIII, 32 1-2.
And yet for all their frequency, according to Dissenting tradition, Manton’s sermons maintained consistent quality. As to quality, Harris reports Bates as commenting, ‘that he had heard the greatest men of those times sometimes preach a mean sermon, but never heard Dr. Manton do so upon any occasion’. Bates, Collinges and Howe noticed Manton’s consistent quality: ‘So frequent, yet so learned and solid preaching by the same person, was little less than miraculous’. Richard Stretton credited Manton with singular success in this area: ‘no man spun a more even thread through all his sermons, which are as much of a piece as can well be conceived...for the same spirit and sense, substance and warmth, is discernable in all of them’. Nineteenth-century London Baptist Charles Spurgeon admired Manton’s consistency: ‘There is not a poor discourse in the whole collection: he is evenly good, constantly excellent’.

**Judicious**

Manton’s sermons would have appealed to his audience because they covered the topics of the day without pointing fingers or making demands, i.e. they were relevant without being edgy. Thomas Jacome characterized Manton as a preacher who did ‘not so much concern himself in what is polemical and controversial, but chose rather in a plainer way (as best suiting with sermon-work) to assert and prove the truth by scriptural testimonies and arguments’. Richard Stretton noted in the Preface to Manton’s Fifth Folio Volume (1701), that ‘it hath nothing spurious, nothing unbecoming the author, nothing mean or trivial’. Even Manton’s Parliamentary sermons remain safely distant from the edge of politics – a line boldly crossed by colleagues such as Baxter, Calamy and Marshall. In his first Parliamentary sermon and first published work, Manton

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166 Memoirs, xxx.
167 CWTM, IX, 317 and Bates, Collinges, Howe, ‘To the Reader’ in Manton, Second Volume of Sermons (1684), A.
169 C. Spurgeon, Illustrations and Meditations or Flowers from a Puritan’s Garden (London, 1883), v.
himself aims at temperance: ‘In these busie times they are happy to whom God hath vouchsafed the shelter of an obscure privacy... and yet something is offered which, by the blessing of God, may be serviceable to reduce men from their violences & extremities to some better temper and moderation’. And yet Manton did not seek the seek moderation by violence to conscience: ‘I abhor all such moderation and compliances as will not stand with Christian zeal’. Bates noted that Manton, ‘would not rashly throw himself into troubles, nor, spreta conscientia, avoid them’.

The tendency away from polemics and toward piety stemmed not from Manton’s fear of battle but from his fundamental understanding of engagement, namely his theological understanding of the preacher as an ambassador, and of unity as an evangel. First, Manton viewed the preacher of the written Word as an ambassador of Christ, the living Word. The word ‘ambassador’ occurs over 100 times in the CW, and in all 22 volumes. In his first of two sermons on 2 Corinthians 5:20, Manton most clearly articulates the representative role of Christ’s ambassadors: ‘Doct. God hath authorised the ministers of the gospel in his own name and stead affectionately to invite sinners to a reconciliation with himself.... We are for another, not ourselves; our employment is to be proxies and negotiators for Christ’. As a preacher, Manton preferred to explain the redemption of Christ, and leave the more concrete application to the Spirit and the hearers.

Presse doctrines of Christ, and the maine things of Religion: some men love to live in the fire, and to handle the red hot questions of the age with passion and acrimony: but alas, this doth no good. Zuinglius was once asked by a friend, Cur non contra pontificios? Why he was not more keene against the Papists, and preached not oftner against them? He answered, He would first plant the feare of God, and then men would be for the cause

172 Meate, A2; CWTM V, 379.
173 W. Bates, A Funeral Sermon Preached Upon the Death of the Reverend and Excellent Divine Dr. Thomas Manton (1678), 73, 74, 76; CWTM, XXII, 145-7.
174 For example: I, 96, 163, 349, 458, 503; II, 156; III, 334; IV, 427; V, 13, 401; VI, 66; VII, 145.
175 CWTM, XIII, 290-1.
of God. To gaine men to a party before they be gained to God, is not so warrantable.  

To avoid party entanglements, Manton avoids the use of contemporary names and events that might prove distracting for his hearers. He often draws examples from ancient and medieval history both secular and sacred; he occasionally draws examples from post-reformation history whether positively or negatively. Manton almost never draws examples from contemporary events. For example, in his commentary on James, Manton quotes Aristotle (13 times), Cicero (8 times), Chrysostom (11 times), Augustine (52 times), Luther (16 times), Calvin (8 times) and even Cranmer (once). However, no political or religious figure from the seventeenth century is quoted or even mentioned. Rather than being a denial of the Scripture’s immediate relevance, Manton’s strategy was to prove the opposite. By using historical examples, Manton could prove the impact of doctrines lived out without raising objections based on bias from current controversies. This may explain at least partially why Manton’s sermons have worn well with time, being less tied to their era than some of his contemporaries’ sermons.

Manton chose instead to let his auditors draw their own contemporary conclusions based on historical precedents, so the opinions would be natural rather than forced. In Jude, note Manton’s slight misdirection in presenting the contemporary issue of division, the Biblical corrective, and historical argument – avoiding contemporary names and therefore party associations: ‘What should divide us when we have the same Spirit?... Shall not the same earth contain those that expect to live in the same heaven? Luther and Zuinglius, Cranmer and Hooper, Ridley and Saunders, shall all accord for ever in heaven; and certainly it is through the relics of the flesh that they cannot accord here’.  

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176 Meate, 40; CWTM, V, 402.
177 Two possible exceptions: 1) Manton footnotes Bishop Hall’s sermon at the Synod of Dort; James (1651), 348; CWTM, IV, 272 and Of Christian Moderation (1640), 318; CWTM, IV, 272; Manton footnotes Thomas Goodwin’s preface to his own work Christ Set Forth (1642), A 3v; CWTM, IV, 248.
178 CWTM, V, 94, the second and final reference to Cranmer in the CWTM.
While the echoes of ‘veiled speech’ (Hill, Appleby) are present in Manton, they were sufficiently ambiguous to protect Manton from direct accusation. Manton first preached Jude in the late 1640s at the height of the Leveller threat. Though he never addresses the issue directly, multiple times he negatively mentions levelling while supporting the idea of monarchy: ‘The government of the world is in God’s hands, and he casteth down some, and raiseth up others from beggary to sovereignty, from the dunghill to glory. You see there his course is contrary to levelling; he will have some upon the throne of glory’. In the very different context of the late 1660s, Manton still preached that ‘a Christian’s business is to give every man his due…whether by the law of nature…or by place or station’.

Secondly, these ambassadors must be unified to preserve the integrity of the gospel before the world they wish to reconcile. In Meate, preached in the turbulent times of war, Manton addressed his ‘Brethren in ministry’ as ‘Embassadours of the Prince of peace; twill ill become us to be men of violence. Oh that the Lord would dispose of our hearts to thinke of healing the breaches; the reproaches cast upon us are an hint from God to presse us to the more care’. When the ambassadors refuse peace and go to war with each other (or their magistrates), Christ’s mission of reconciliation is compromised: ‘Nothing has hindered the growth of the church so much as the spirit of division…. Divisions in the church breed atheism in the world’. Here Manton echoes Bacon: ‘nothing doth so much keep men out of the church, and drive men out of the church, as breach of unity….when atheists, and profane persons, do hear of so many discordant and contrary opinions in religion; it doth avert them from the church, and maketh them to sit down in the chair of scorners’. The role is all the more significant considering that Christ himself was the ambassador of the Father: ‘Christ with a great condescension took upon him the office of his

179 *Jude* (1657), 461; *CWTM*, V, 308.
180 *CWTM*, VIII, 464.
181 *Meate*, 38; *CWTM*, V, 400-1.
182 *CWTM*, VII, 382, 3; for nearly identical comments, see X, 242; XI, 39, 51; XIV 140.
183 Francis Bacon, ‘Of Unity in Religion’ in *Essays* (Ware, 1997), 9-10.
Father's ambassador to the church’. So if the minister represented Christ, who represented the Father, then ministers who distracted with parties or divided with quarrels proved derelict to their mission and master: ‘it proveth fatal to religion when once we cry up names, and those names beget parties, for then men look only to the accommodating of their own faction, though it be to the hazard of religion and public welfare’. In his funeral sermon for Manton, Bates’ primary description of ‘the quality of his office...was an ambassador of Christ, declaring his mind and representing his authority’. Fifty years after his death, Manton would be cited in Scotland as ‘the judicious Manton’, and still remembered one hundred years posthumously as the ‘learned and judicious Dr. Manton’.

**Learned**

Manton had a reputation as learned. The 18th century Nottingham Presbyterian John Barrett referred to him as ‘The Learned Dr. Manton’, offering Manton’s definition of the righteousness of God in his own sermon on the same topic. Manton’s writing was both plain without being simple, and yet learned without being obscure. Along with John Wilkins, Manton preferred the ‘plaine style’ of William Perkins, who approved of private study of ‘the artes, philosophie, and varietie of reading’ but ‘ought in publike to conceale all these from the people, and not to make the least ostentation’. Manton averred in a Parliamentary sermon that, ‘The noise of axe and hammer should not be heard in the temple; these discussions [of background contextual arguments] better become the study than the pulpit’. Vincent Alsop thought Manton succeeded: ‘He laboured

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184 *CWTM*, I, 394.
185 Meate, 35; *CWTM*, V, 399.
186 *CWTM*, XX, 143.
187 *A Publick Testimony, Being the Representation and Petition of a Considerable Number of Christian People* (Edinburgh, 1732), 45; John Currie, *A Sermon Preached in the Church of Kirkaldie* (Edinburgh, 1733), 24; *Jus Populi Divinum, or the People’s Right to Elect Their Pastors* (Edinburgh, 1727), 78.
188 *The Antidote Against Popery*, 2 vols (Edinburgh, 1779), II, 16.
189 John Barrett, *Reliquiæ Barretteanae. Or, Select Sermons on Sundry Practical Subjects* (1714), 177; this was from Manton’s *First Volume*, 935; *CWTM*, VIII, 442.
more industriously to conceal his learning than others did to ostentate theirs’, and therefore ‘the discerning reader cannot but discover...a mass and treasure of useful learning couched under a well-studied and artificial plainness’, Artificial it was. When Manton’s library was sold following his death, the (twice) published catalogue ran seventy pages, listing over 2000 volumes, which would have translated to a procurement rate of over one volume every week for his thirty-seven years in ministry. In his practical commentary on James, in which Manton would be freer to add the notes supporting his observations, he quotes 156 other theologians by name. In the same work, in addition to comparing the received Authorized Version English text with the original Greek and related Hebrew texts, Manton makes personal interpretive evaluations using the Arabic, Syriac, Latin (Vulgate), Septuagint, Aquila and Chaldee editions. In contrast, in most sermons Manton would remove distracting references by mentioning previous writers not nominally but generally, e.g. ‘Some say...others...still others...’

In a comical piece, the young Cuthbert Ellison satirized Manton in these exact terms:

For few are fit,  
With acquir’d Wit  
Like learned Doctor Manton  
In plainest Speech  
To Sermons Preach  
Or Holy Writ descant on.

192 V. Alsop, ‘To the Reader’ in CWTM, VI, iii and ‘To the Reader’ in Manton, One Hundred and Ninety Sermons, A1.  
193 Catalogus Variorum & Insignium Librorum Instructissimae Bibliothecae Clarissimi Doctissimiq, Viri Thomae Manton (1678). Though it can be safely assumed most were, not all the books were Manton’s; booksellers would pad sales, and two of the volumes advertised here were printed 1678. Crawford Gribben noted the same dynamic with Owen and Bibliotheca Oweniana in Kelly M. Kapic and Mark Jones (eds), The Ashgate Research Companion to John Owen’s Theology (Farnham, 2012), ch. 6.  
194 For the list of theologians, see Appendix F.  
195 Aquila of Sinope produced a translation of the Old Testament into Greek in the second century.  
196 Cuthbert Ellison, A most pleasant description of Benwel village, In the County of Northumberland (Newcastle upon Tyne, 1726), 116.
Plain

And yet his study did not clutter the sermons or obfuscate his arguments. Richard Muller noted the contrast between sermons by Manton and Joseph Hall on the same text of Zechariah 14:20-1: ‘Hall’s exposition is...understood as a vehicle for oratory rather than, in a restrictive sense, as the foundation for doctrine’. Muller noted the difference between Hall’s grand style, filled with ‘classical allusion and the high rhetoric that gives pleasure to the ear’, and Manton’s plain style, characterized by ‘direct address to the heart of the hearer and the stress on praxis’.197 Ryle observes Manton’s prose as less Latinate and scholastic, and more vernacular and practical.198 Spurgeon echoed Ryle’s admiration of the clarity of Manton’s sermons: ‘for solid, sensible instruction forcefully delivered they cannot be surpassed. Manton is not brilliant, but he is always clear; he is not oratorical, but he is powerful; he is not striking, but he is deep’. In his Preface to Manton’s XVIII Sermons, Baxter praises their ‘plainness, suited to common capacities’.199 By the accounts of contemporary auditors, as a preacher Manton had ‘conspicuous eminence’ and a ‘singular talent’ for clothing spiritual wisdom with words ‘to make it sensible to others’.200 Manton was a master at the memorable, pithy phrase: ‘Now a christian should labour for both, for a good heart well-headed, and a head well-hearted’.201 From Jude, ‘It would weary the arm of an angel to write down God’s repeated acts of grace’.202

Manton, consistent with many dissenting contemporaries, had a rich store of illustrative material from the church fathers, which he would translate and adapt.203 For example, he combined Jerome’s thought on clothes with his thought ...

198 Ryle, xv.
201 CWTM, XX, 395.
202 Jude (1657), 102; CWTM, V, 76.
203 Manton claimed Augustine’s position on the church fathers as his own, namely that the authority of the church (fathers) moved him to believe the Scriptures; see Jude (1657), 153; CWTM, V, 110. Several recent studies on the
on food in challenging the rich not to be proud or the poor envious: ‘A little sufficeth to keep us till we come to heaven. If we have clothes for warmth, though not for pomp, it is enough. What need a Christian care how finely dust and ashes be wrapped up, or of what stuff his excrements be made of?’

In his funeral sermon for Manton, William Bates posits that one of Manton’s finest traits as a preacher was his skill in presenting ancient and learned truths in fresh and clear expression: ‘His style was not exquisitely studied...but far distant from vulgar meanness. His expression was natural and free, clear and eloquent, quick and powerful, without any spice of folly, and always suitable to the simplicity and majesty of divine truths’. Bates noted that Manton refused to ‘entertain his hearers with impertinent subtleties’ and ‘abhorred a vain ostentation of wit in handling sacred things’.

According to both Richard Baxter in old England and Cotton Mather in New England, Manton coined the phrase ‘Gentleman Preaching’ to ‘justly rebuke’ sermons ‘finely laced and gilded’. Here Manton is likely taking aim at sermons in the more literary style of Lancelot Andrewes and Joseph Hall.

While he was minister at Covent Garden, he was invited to preach before the Lord Mayor and Court of Aldermen, and the Companies of the city, upon some public occasion, at St Paul’s. The doctor chose some difficult subject, in which he had opportunity of displaying his judgment and learning, and appearing to the best advantage. He was heard with the admiration and applause of the more intelligent part of the audience; and was invited to dine with my Lord Mayor, and received public thanks for his performance. But upon his return in the evening to Covent Garden, a poor man following him, gently plucked him by the sleeve of his gown, and asked him if he were the gentleman who had preached that day


204 Manton, *Jude* (1657), 463; *CWTM*, V, 309; Manton’s marginal note attributes the first part of the quote to Jerome, see Jerome’s Letter CXX, ‘Ad Hedibiam’, section ‘Caput Primum’.

205 Bates, *Funeral Sermon*, 68-9; *CWTM*, XXII, 144.

206 R. Baxter, *Faithful Souls shall be with Christ* (1681), 42; Cotton Mather, *Magnalia Christi Americana*, 7 vols (1702), IV, 173.
before my Lord Mayor. He replied, he was. ‘Sir’, says he, ‘I came with earnest desires after the word of God, and hopes of getting some good to my soul, but I was greatly disappointed; for I could not understand a great deal of what you said; you were quite above me’. The doctor replied, with tears in his eyes, ‘Friend, if I did not give you a sermon, you have given me one; and, by the grace of God, I will never play the fool to preach before my Lord Mayor in such a manner again’.207

In the published edition of Jude (1657), which Manton could easily have been revising at the time of this incident, he comments to this effect: ‘As the modesty of the archangel was an upbraiding to the pride of the Gnostics, so should those that are advanced to the highest degree of honour shame the meaner sort with their comely plainness’. Manton presses the point of God’s equal love for all saints, however unequal they may seem: ‘What an instance is here of God’s love, that the highest angel should not be exempted from a care of the lowest saint’208.

In his own words, Manton preferred to teach ‘unmixed milk;…plain, simple milk, without human mixtures and compositions. The relish of the word is spoiled by garish strains of a frothy eloquence’. And though plain, historians such as Mary Morrissey and David Appleby have correctly argued that simple does not automatically discount as superficial or mechanistic.209 Manton continues, ‘I am not for a loose, careless delivering of God’s message; but it is the sound, plain, and wholesome ministry which suits with a gracious appetite. It argues a distempered heart when we must have quails and dainties, and loathe manna’.210 Though plain, this fresh savour would not come easily, but conversely with much work, so that Baxter styled him the ‘laborious Mr. Manton’.211 This labor, however, was not received by all with equal enthusiasm. Simon Patrick named and disparaged ‘plain preaching’ as meaning the use of ‘rude and broad

207 Memoirs, xiii-xiv.
208 CWTM, V, 244, 7.
210 Manton, One Hundred and Ninety Sermons, 125; CWTM, VI, 190.
211 Baxter to Abraham Pinchbecke, 15 December, 1657, CCRB, I, 281.
expressions’.\textsuperscript{212} Given to extreme prejudices, George Hickes negatively compared ‘that dull zealot Dr. Manton’ to ‘his most learned and religious successor of Covent-Garden’,\textsuperscript{213} Henry St John, whose mother died the week he was born, was raised under the nonconformist influence of his paternal grandmother Lady Johanna, the daughter of Oliver St John and a patroness of Manton’s. St. John wrote in a letter to Alexander Pope, of a ‘puritanical parson’ whose massive folio of sermons his grandmother would occasionally produce, and he had been ‘condemned sometimes to read in it’. Bolingbroke mentions the result in a letter to Jonathan Swift, that Manton ‘taught my youth to yawn, and prepared me to be an high-churchman, that I might never hear him read, nor read him more’.\textsuperscript{214} It is understandable this might seem punishment to a boy, as the Psalm itself is the longest chapter in Scripture, and Manton’s exposition filled 1107 folio pages. And yet while Lord Bolingbroke’s comment challenges Manton’s prolixity, it leaves his oral delivery unimpeached.

**Plain Preaching and a Learned Clergy**

Manton’s belief in the perspicuity of Scripture and value of plain preaching did beg the question of the need of a learned clergy. Conformists of the early 17th century such as Martin Fotherby and John Downe exploited the Hookerian emphasis on the plainness of Scripture and its power for salvation, shrewdly making its acceptance an assumed part of Protestant orthodoxy.\textsuperscript{215} Manton himself addressed this paradox in his CXIII sermon on Psalm 119, posing the question, ’If the scriptures be so plain, what need of the ministry’? Manton’s answer begins, unsurprisingly, with God: ’It is God’s institution – and we must

\textsuperscript{212} Simon Patrick, *A Friendly Debate between a Conformist and a Non-Conformist* (1668), 192.
\textsuperscript{213} George Hickes, *A Letter Sent from Beyond the Seas to One of the Chief Ministers of the Non-conforming Party* (1674), 32.
\textsuperscript{215} Hunt, *Art*, 48.
submit to it’. Manton supports the role of minister from Paul’s explanation in Ephesians 4:11 that God has appointed some as ‘pastors and teachers, to apply scriptures to us’. Then Manton framed the redemptive function of the ministry as preaching, quoting I Corinthians 1:21: ‘It pleased God by the foolishness of preaching to save them that believe’. In fact preaching is the minister’s primary function: ‘it is a minister’s work to open and explain the scripture’.216 And yet, consistent with Reformed theology, ironically the minister had not the operative power to make people believe: ‘God never required it at the hands of any minister to work grace and to save souls’.217 ‘Quest. Doth the faith of the hearers lie in the power of the speaker? I answer – No’.218

Reception

Manton’s legacy was his sermons – both sides of Atlantic – from 17th century debates to Jonathan Edwards in 18th century America to Ryle and Spurgeon in 19th century England – to J. I. Packer in 21st century Canada.

17th Century

Religious books were a big trade in seventeenth century England. According to Edward Arbor, ‘It was the religious people first, and the scientists next, that made the fortunes of the London Book Trade. They often subscribed as much for the folios of a single Writer, like Tillotson or Rushworth, Baxter or Ray, Manton or Bunyan, as would have bought a complete set of all the Plays of that Time’.219

The London booksellers wasted no time following Manton’s death in converting Manton’s reputation into trade profit. Manton’s son as well as son in law made use of his name: a June 1683 pamphlet advertised proposals for a new (second) Manton folio were being received by, ‘Mr. Nath. Manton at the Three Pigeons in

216 CWTM, VIII, 76.
217 CWTM, VIII, 421.
218 CWTM, XXI, 329.
Cornhil’ and ‘Mr John Terry at the Blew Boar in Pater Noster Row’. Manton’s *Fourth Volume* (1693) contained a full paragraph of books listed published since Manton’s death, ‘to be had at Mr. Nathaniel Manton’s at the 3 Pigeons in the Poultriey’.  

While the booksellers were eager for Manton’s work, so were the divines for other reasons. Also leveraging Manton’s name – to buoy a struggling dissenting community – Baxter, Bates, Howe and William Taylor published 15 works of Manton’s in the remaining years of the 17th century. In 1679 Baxter and Bates published Manton’s *XVIII Sermons* targeting popery. The urgent appellation, ‘Very necessary for these Times’ on the title page perhaps refers to the Exclusion Crisis regarding James II. In his lengthy Preface, Baxter notes ‘The revived attempts of this consuming Fiery Spirit, hath made those that dispose of Doctor Manton’s Papers, take these against Popery, as now most seasonable’. Baxter’s preface is dated 8 July 1679, about six weeks after Charles II prorogued (and four days before he dissolved) the First Exclusion Parliament to prevent the passing of the Exclusion Bill.

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220 *Weekly Pacquet of Advice from Rome Restored*, 41 (London, 1 June 1683), 320. For John Terry’s marriage to ‘Anne Manton, of St Paul’s, Covent Garden’ on 7 December 1670, see G. Armytage (ed.), *Allegations for Marriage Licenses...1669 to 1679*, 34 (London, 1892), 46. Terry was also listed as a bookseller in Plomer, *Dictionary*, 285.


222 See Bibliography for print history.

223 R. Baxter, ‘To the Reader’ in T. Manton, *XVIII Sermons on the Second Chapter of the 2nd Epistle to the Thessalonians* (1679), A4r.
Another posthumous work of Manton’s was *Several Discourses Tending to Promote Peace and Holiness Among Christians* (1685). According to the epistle
dedicatory (to the Earl of Anglesey), Manton’s collection ‘savoureth of that moderation which adorns the Christian’, and contains ‘Directions, which (if follow’d) would keep Peace and Love among Brethren’. It ran through two editions the same year, as England was astir with the succession of the Catholic James II to the throne.

Manton’s flagship expositions remained in use. The Independent Thomas Powell quoted Manton’s grounds for the perseverance of believers (from Jude) and the tragedy of soul neglect (from James). John Flavel quoted Manton’s explanation (from Psalm 119:36) of the heretical Pelagian understanding of God’s grace, because it makes ‘the Will of man a co-ordinate cause with God’.

18th Century Reception
While James and Jude remained popular, the publishing of this early five-volume Collected Works established Manton’s legacy. Early in the century, Manton was quoted on Psalm 119 by the popular commentator Matthew Henry in the context of teaching humble resignation and submission to God. The Nonconformist divines who completed Henry’s commentary (Acts-Revelation) cited Manton further on Romans (Christ’s mediating the believer’s adoption from bondage to sonship) and particularly James (regarding the increasing power of habitual sin, the unifying power of listening, the equality of the rich and poor, and the divisive power of griping). Manton is the third-most quoted nonconformist divine in Henry’s Commentary after Ainsworth and Baxter (both 13 times), and ahead of

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224 H. T., ‘The Epistle Dedicatory’ in T. Manton, Several Discourses Tending to Promote Peace and Holiness Among Christians (1685), a3r–a3r.
225 Thomas Powell, A Sanctuary for the Tempted (1679), b2v, 282, 283.
226 John Flavel, A Treatise on the Soul of Man (1685), 24; Flavel quotes Manton’s 40th sermon on Psalm 119 (pub. 1681): CWTM, VI, 377.
227 According to Wood (Athenae, 1817, III, 520), these volumes were produced mostly by the younger William Taylor, under the auspices of the Earl of Bedford. Extensive searching has failed to produce any of Manton’s original manuscripts.
228 Henry, Commentary, III, 418.
Poole (seven times), Bates (four times), Clarke (three times) and Owen (twice).  

Manton was cited in a variety of geographical and theological contexts, demonstrating the extent of his influence and reputation. Following Harris’ reprint of Manton’s *Sermons on Psalm CXIX* (1725), Manton also made appearances in multiple eighteenth-century works including those by John Wesley, James Granger, Samuel Palmer, Erasmus Middleton and the *Protestant Dissenters Magazine*. In 1726, William King, the Archbishop of Dublin, quoted Manton, ‘a Man of considerable Reputation among the Dissenters’ to support his conformist argument against the Derry Presbyterians on the acceptable use of Psalm singing. In 1730, Dorchester (South Carolina) Presbyterian minister Hugh Fisher preaching in Charleston, quoted Manton’s sermons on *Christ’s Transfiguration*, ‘against the Arminians, that matters of Faith are of a practical concernment’. The eminent Particular Baptist John Gill utilized Manton’s observation of the ancient judgment of the wicked in support of his own point countering the Arminians on Jude 4. Another Particular Baptist, John Fawcett, quoted Manton’s sermon on Philippians 3:11 in support of believers having

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230 John Lightfoot is mentioned the most, and though he sided with Manton and the Presbyterians at the 1661 Savoy conference, he is not included as he conformed.


corporeal bodies in Heaven.\textsuperscript{235} John Cotton, grandson of the early settler of Boston and Harvard College graduate (1730), quoted Manton on Jude 19, which offered Biblically lawful reasons for separation and accused those who separate easily of laziness.\textsuperscript{236} On 7 Oct 1781 Manton was quoted, as one of ‘the most eminent Dissenting Ministers’ in support of infant Baptism by John Neal Lake of Abingdon, Berkshire in a service celebrating the baptism of his own son.\textsuperscript{237}

North of the border, Manton remained very much alive among Scots divines. William Mitchell, minister of St Giles (the High Kirk) of Edinburgh and six-time moderator of the Scottish General Assembly (1710-1726), created a manuscript summary of the first four sermons of Manton’s Several Discourses (1685) in his own hand.\textsuperscript{238} In 1728, Literary Society founding member Thomas Ruddiman was licensed together with bookseller James Davidson as joint printers to the University of Edinburgh. By 1730, Manton’s five folio volume Collected Works was advertised for sale at Davidson’s shop.\textsuperscript{239} William Wilson disputed John Currie’s interpretation of Manton on Jude 3 and the causes for schism – both Scots divines and both claiming Manton for their side.\textsuperscript{240}

Across the ocean, the Mathers and Harvard College were collecting Manton’s works. In a letter to Anthony Wood, Increase Mather provided many biographical details for Athenae.\textsuperscript{241} Further, his son Cotton Mather knew

\textsuperscript{235} J. Fawcett, Dialogues on the Other World (London, 1759), 89; CWTM, XX, 65.
\textsuperscript{236} John Cotton, The Separation of the Tares and Wheat Reserved to the Day of Judgment (Boston, 1747), 36; CWTM, V, 330; see also Guy Baker, History of Halifax Massachusetts (Halifax, 1976), 24.
\textsuperscript{237} John Lake, Infant-Baptism a Reasonable and Scriptural Service (London, 1781), 30.
\textsuperscript{238} University of Aberdeen: Special Collections GB 0231, MS 104 (1699-1723), ff. 110-117, William Mitchell, ‘Notes of Sermons’. The notes break off abruptly in the middle of the fourth sermon, and are represented in Several Discourses (1685), pp. 1-191; CWTM, II, 4-71.
\textsuperscript{239} Thomas Boston, Human Nature in its Four-Fold State (Edinburgh, 1730), 609.
\textsuperscript{240} John Currie, An Essay on Separation: or, a Vindication of the Church of Scotland (Edinburgh, 1738), 62; William Wilson, A Continuation of the Defence of the Reformation-principles of the Church of Scotland (Edinburgh, 1741), 125; CWTM, V, 116.
\textsuperscript{241} Oxford University Archives, MS Wood F. 43 fol. 137, Letter from Increase Mather to Anthony à Wood, 6 January 1691.
Manton’s specific book recommendations regarding the existence of God: ‘Dr. Manton gave it as his Advice to Candidates in Divinity, to read and study well Dr. Stillingsfleet’s *Origines Sacrae*, and *Grotius de Veritate*, &c. to establish them in the Belief of what they were to preach’. In *The Everlasting Gospel* (1700), Cotton Mather names Manton as one of the ‘Great men’ who wrote ‘rare Schemes of Evangelical *Truth*, and *Grace*’. Unsurprisingly, the 1723 Harvard College catalogue contained *Folio Volumes* two and four, as well as *James* and *Jude*. Apparently they were read. On 23 January 1743, the Bradford, Massachusetts minister and Harvard graduate (1724) William Balch preached on II Corinthians 10:12, and twice quotes Manton: from *Jude* on passion in reason, and from *The Lord’s Prayer* on passion in speech. Significantly, there is evidence that Manton manuscript sermons now lost were in circulation in New England. On 2 February Balch preached on ‘The Apostles St. Paul and St. James reconciled with Respect to Faith and Works’. The title page quotes six lines of Manton, from his sermon on I John 3:19, which is not extant, but almost certainly was contained in Manton’s sermons on 1 John 3, though only printed through verse 4. Following the Harvard library fire in 1764, by the 1773 (much reduced) catalogue, Harvard had all five Manton folios.

Perhaps the most notable American to take note of Manton was the prolific Jonathan Edwards. In May 1724, when Edwards arrived in New Haven to take up his new post at Yale, he spent several weeks perusing the library and cataloguing...
the books and authors on the flyleaf of an envelope. While ‘Bible’ was at the top of the sheet, Manton was listed #14, slotted between Flavel and Locke.250 Edwards quoted Manton in his journal of resolutions on the nature and skill of relating to God: ‘Resolved, very much to exercise myself in this, all my life long: viz. with the greatest openness, of which I am capable, to declare my ways to God, and lay open my soul to him…according to Dr. Manton’s 27th Sermon, on the 119th Psalm’.251 Though Edwards agreed with Manton that faith has a ‘double office’ in that it ‘accepts Christ from God and presents Christ to God’, Edwards could disagree: he denied Manton’s delineation of faith into the three component parts of assent, consent and affiance because it implied sequence when he believed they were not in fact that distinct.252

Manton’s work on the Trinity from a sermon on John 17 was quoted during the Exeter controversy and Salter’s Hall debates. The author of A Caution Against Deceivers (1719) quotes a lengthy passage from Manton, in which Manton argues that Christ being sent by the Father, ‘implieth Distinction but not Inferiority against the Arians’.253 A Caution reads like a Who’s Who of theologians, quoting numerous divines including Archbishops Wake and Tillotson; Bishops Bull, Pierson, Hickman, Burnet; and nonconformist divines Owen, Baxter, Bates, Howe, Corbet and even Matthew Henry. When the publishers chose four names for the cover, they selected Wake, Tillotson, Owen and Manton while the rest had to settle for ‘&c’.254 Josiah Eveleigh weighed in, publishing on the deity of Christ and the necessity of the Trinity, also quoting Manton.255 The controversy continued and Joseph Hallet III commandeered Manton’s name and ‘charitable sentiments’ for the other side, namely that ‘Christians need not puzzle

253 CWTM, X, 162.
254 Anon., A Caution Against Deceivers, with Respect to the Subordination of the Son of God (1719), 1, 11.
255 Joseph Eveleigh, A Vindication...Proving by Ten Arguments...that the Doctrine of the Trinity and True Deity of Christ are Fundamentals (1719), vi, xi, xiii, 75, 82.
themselves’ in settling the nature of the Trinity as long as they come to God, by means of Christ, through the Spirit. Later Hallet published on the fact that Christians were not bound by the law of Moses. This was too much for Exeter Presbyterian John Enty, who quoted Manton’s sermon on Romans 8:4 on fulfilling the law of righteousness to refute Hallet (and possibly to clear Manton’s name).

D. 19th c. Reception

After a break in the first part of the 19th century, Manton’s works were revived in the press in 1840, with nine volumes printed in the 1840’s. There was a renewal of interest in the Westminster Assembly’s *Confession of Faith* (which included Manton’s ‘Preface’) with several editions being printed along with a substantial exposition.

The biggest proponents of Manton in the 19th century, ironically, were Anglican bishop J. C. Ryle and the Baptist minister Charles Spurgeon. Ryle produced ‘An Estimate of Manton’ as a preface to Volume 2 of Manton’s *Collected Works* in which he gives a lengthy apology for reading Manton, *facile princeps* among the divines of the Puritan school. Ryle argued that, ‘Manton’s chief excellence as a writer...consists in the ease, perspicuousness, and clearness of his style....He never worries you with acres of long, ponderous involved sentences, like Goodwin or Owen’. Charles Spurgeon echoed Ryle’s admiration of the clarity of Manton’s sermons: ‘for solid, sensible instruction forcefully delivered they

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256 Joseph Hallet III, *The Belief of the Subordination of the Son of God to His Father No Characteristic of an Arian* (Exeter, 1719), 21-2.
258 John Enty, *A Preservative Against Several Abuses and Corruptions of Reveal’d Religion: Containing Remarks on a Late Book of Mr. Joseph Hallet* (Exeter, 1730), 71; *CWTM*, XI, 430.
259 See Bibliography for print history.
261 Ryle, xv.
cannot be surpassed. Manton is not brilliant, but he is always clear; he is not oratorical, but he is powerful; he is not striking, but he is deep’. Spurgeon goes on to admire his consistency: ‘There is not a poor discourse in the whole collection: he is evenly good, constantly excellent’. Spurgeon summed up Manton’s Works as a ‘mighty mountain of sound theology’.262

E. 20th and 21st c. Reception

The first half of the 20th century was a low point for the reception of Puritan writings. The only sightings of Manton occur in the writings of the English pastor and scholar A W Pink. Pink noted that Manton was ‘one of the best known of the Puritans’ and further that, ‘none of the Puritans are more simple, succinct, and satisfying’.263 In the latter half of the 20th century, British-born Canadian scholar J. I. Packer and Welsh minister Martin Lloyd-Jones both promoted the Puritans in general and Manton in particular through their writings.264 The Collected Works were reprinted in full by Maranatha Publishers on the 100 year anniversary of the 1870 edition in about 1970.265 Crossway Publisher’s Classic Commentaries series, which assembled best works ‘in the last five hundred years’, included Manton’s James and Jude.266 The Complete Works was republished in 2008, whilst James and Jude remain in print as separate volumes.

262 Spurgeon, Illustrations and Meditations, v.
265 T. Manton, Complete Works of Thomas Manton (197-); the set is not clearly dated and appears to have been published in the years 1965-1979.
Conclusion

In his funeral sermon, William Bates reflected that though Manton had retired ‘from the world by death...yet he remains with us in what was most valuable of him, his excellent Sermons’. Manton’s used the English Reformed sermon model, based on the Pauline *felix ex auditu*, which included the labours of both

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267 W. Bates, ‘To the Reader’ in *One Hundred and Ninety Sermons* (1681), Ar.
the preacher and the hearers combined with the power of the Holy Spirit. The goal of Manton’s preaching was not only information but also transformation, both faith and works. To this end, Manton emphasized delivering organized, repeatable sermons and private meditation on Scriptural truth.

Manton’s flagship themes were gospel orthodoxy and practical piety. Manton was willing to risk being accused of half Arminianism rather than abet either sleepy or busy parishioners with contentedness in tradition: ‘The performance of external duties is not, and never was, a sufficient testimony of true piety; nay, without the love of God and men, and a uniform obedience to his holy will, is mere hypocrisy’. Manton utilized this balance of both orthodoxy and orthopraxis as a model to harmonize a variety of theological paradoxes such as gravity and joy, faith and reason, comfort and duty.

This chapter demonstrated some of the tensions in Manton’s work, such as his being a bona fide Calvinist, and yet emphasizing works to the point of being accused of Arminianism. This ambiguity was not unique to Manton. While the Calvinists have been typically viewed as de-mystifying the Christian religion with scholasticism, as Nuttall, Wallace, Schwanda and Pederson have shown, there was a mystic strain within Puritanism. Manton exhibited mystical elements of immediate and individual union with God through his emphasis on filling of the Holy Spirit, meditation, and the empowering effects of grace. Further, Manton was happy to teach theologies in tension such as faith and works, faith and reason, joy and mourning without reconciling their inherent ambiguities. Manton uses the word ‘mystical’ almost exclusively positively, most often regarding the believer’s unity with Christ.

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268 See CWTM I, 119; X, 227; XV, 170; XXI, 213; Hunt, Art of Preaching, 22, 3; Morrissey, ‘Scripture, Style and Persuasion’, 689-94.
269 CWTM, II, 10.
271 For example, see ‘Sermon XXXV’ in CWTM, XI, 23-32.
While Manton's delivery was positively noted by contemporaries, nonetheless his printed corpus has become his primary legacy. For all Manton did, at the end of the day he was an expositor and preacher – English Reformed, Calvinist, Ramist, Perkinsian, learned and plain.
Conclusion

Introduction
For all his moderation and plainness, Thomas Manton was not uncomplicated. He was a zealous Puritan and yet critical of over scrupulousness, a statesman debating national church settlement and a pastor collecting for the local poor. Though a minister and preacher committed to the unity of the Church of England, he himself was ejected from it and jailed for preaching outside it.

The preceding chapters have attempted not only to fill a gap in the historiography by rescuing Manton from being a faceless name on a list of divines, but also, as Michael Hunter has suggested, to better understand the period through the case study of a particular individual. What have we learned about Manton? And what are the larger implications for our understanding of English Puritanism/Presbyterianism and the Interregnum and Restoration?

Learned Preacher
We began by looking at the two dominant images of Manton in Bates, Harris and Wood – the learned preacher and moderate Dissenter. While both these images remain generally accurate, they are uniquely expressed in Manton. Though named a ‘learned divine’ by Andrew Marvell, he was not learned in the same way as many of his contemporaries, such as Archbishop Ussher, DD (fellow of Trinity college Dublin), Anthony Tuckney DD (head of St John’s Cambridge, and vice-chancellor), Edmund Calamy MA (President, Sion College London and Fellow tanquam socius of Pembroke College, Cambridge), John Owen DD (vice-chancellor, Oxford), John Wilkins (master of Trinity College, Cambridge and founding member of the Royal Society of London) and even Simon Patrick (fellow of Queen’s College, Cambridge and Bishop of Chichester and Ely). Manton spent only three years at university (with all subsequent degrees being honorary), and thirty-seven years in pastoral ministry. Yet he was universally

2 Andrew Marvell, *Remarks Upon a Late Disingenuous Discourse* (1678), 95.
affirmed and remembered as being a learned doctor. His command of multiple Biblical languages, the church fathers, the reformers and even ‘heathen’ philosophers was evident (though not paraded) in his writings. Though he himself was not a polemicist, his expositions were quoted and his name was used nonetheless to address a wide range of theological topics including Arminianism, popery, infant baptism, Psalm-singing, the nature of resurrected bodies, the Trinity, and perhaps most of all – practical piety.

**Moderate Dissenter**

We have also seen that Manton was a moderate Dissenter from the very beginning. He is certainly among the ‘hotter sort of Protestants’ who, though preaching a passionate and zealous personal religion, repeatedly preached the need for temperance, moderation, wisdom and judiciousness. On the one hand, Manton claimed that ‘Christ is a great friend and patron of human society, therefore will show his liking of it, and how pleasing all things are to him that tend to maintain it, as justice, equity, temperance, prudence, moderation, fidelity’.3 This in fact drew criticism during the civil war, Manton being accused of ‘tepid indifferency’ and ‘carnally-wise neutrality’. Manton responded by delineating spiritual zeal and socio-political commitment: ‘I abhor all such moderation & compliances as wil not stand with Christian zeal...whatever become of my own party I would be faithful and true to that interest’.4 Manton’s zeal for personal religion from the pulpit was well-known; his judiciousness in politics from that same pulpit was also known, and likely one reason he could maintain a fifteen-year conventicle in the centre of London. Baxter characterized Manton along these lines, as ‘a Man of great Learning, Judgment, and Integrity, and an excellent, most laborious, unwearied Preacher, and of moderate principles’.5

Perhaps as a part of his moderation, Manton was not only involved in the weighty affairs of preserving unity in the national ecclesiastical structure among

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3 *CWTM*, XVI, 463.
5 *RB*, III, 156, §283.
the good and great of the age; he also took note of the needs of the meanest and least. In the same way Manton was raised from ignorance to learning, he was raised from obscurity to prominence, and considered himself a steward of both training and position, which he ‘improved, not for himself, but for the service of others’. Manton was no Leveller, but believed that human station reflected divine providence, and its handling should reflect trustworthy stewardship: ‘In life it is clear man is not dominus vitæ, but custos; not lord of his life, but only the steward and guardian of it....We are stewards, and must render an account to God’. From the civic side, Fairfax shared this attitude about stewardship to his public offices, particularly evident in his appointment as Lord of Man. Though outside the scope of this study, it seems, from Manton and Fairfax, the concept of human stewardship of divine authority leading to humility and unity (as a fruit of the self-restriction of power) accompanies mainstream Puritanism.

In the spring of 1655, Manton hosted a fast day for the Piedmont sufferers, inviting Richard Baxter and John Wilkins to speak with him. Manton got out of bed on a rainy night to take a complete stranger to Chancellor Hyde at York House to preserve the living of a country minister and family man. Following the restoration, about 1663 Manton wrote to Lauderdale on behalf of a widow’s son for employment. Manton considered it a duty of a minister of Christ’s gospel to imitate ‘what value Christ sets upon the meanest christians, and the smallest and meanest respect that is showed them’.

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6 *Memoirs*, xv, xvi.
7 For two sermons on this, see *CWTM*, II, 315-326 and 327-339.
8 *CWTM*, I, 152-3.
10 *Memoirs*, xiv; see also B. Shapiro, *John Wilkins, 1614-1672: an Intellectual Biography* (Berkeley, 1969), 115. For Manton on the Piedmont Waldensians, see also *CWTM*, III, 69; V, 280; XVII, 246; XVIII, 33.
12 Edinburgh University Library: MS La I.150.3, Manton to Lauderdale, c. 1663.
13 *CWTM*, X, 68.
Manton took this sacred trust gravely, evidenced by his generosity in reaching across party lines. He appealed to Cromwell for the life of John Hewitt.\textsuperscript{14} He was the second preacher (following Joseph Hall), ostensibly in 1656, to preach at a meeting for the ‘sons of the clergy’ – a fundraiser for the families of sequestered royalists/episcopal clergy.\textsuperscript{15} When John Evelyn visited Manton’s service on 23 May 1658, he recorded that, ‘There was now a collection for persecuted and sequestered Ministers of the Church of England, whereof divers are in prison’, also doubtless contributing to Manton’s cross-party respect.\textsuperscript{16}

Illustration concl.1: Manton’s letter to Lauderdale, c. 1663.

\begin{figure}
\centering
\includegraphics[width=\textwidth]{manton_letter_to_lauderdale}
\caption{Manton’s letter to Lauderdale, c. 1663.}
\end{figure}

Source: Edinburgh University Library, MS La I.150.3.

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\footnotesize
\textsuperscript{14} Memoirs, xii.
\textsuperscript{15} Thomas Rennell, \textit{A Sermon Preached at the Anniversary Meeting of the Sons of the Clergy} (London, 1796), Appendix 1, xxix; T. Manton, \textit{A Third Volume of Sermons} (1689), Pt. 2, 116; \textit{CWTM}, XV, 463-74; Memoirs, xi.
\end{flushright}
**Ecclesiastical Statesman**

More broadly, the main theme that has emerged is how Manton epitomises and comes to personify the Presbyterian bid for the centre ground of English ecclesiastical culture. Manton’s commitment to a *mainstream* evangelical Protestantism accounts for his resistance to the Independents in 1648-1653, his return to national ecclesiastical leadership under the Cromwells 1653-1659, his efforts towards an inclusive Restoration settlement in 1660-1662, and his lobbying for comprehension thereafter. Although much the same might be said of Baxter, Manton is a better representative of English Presbyterianism as centrist, respectable, sober and well connected. He helps us to see why Presbyterianism remained a serious option for so long, why the Independents found it difficult to impossible to rule without the Presbyterians in the 1650s, why the high church conformists found it equally difficult to dismiss them in the 1660s, and why conformist as well as nonconformist clergy flocked to his funeral.

In the end, the Presbyterian bid for the centre ground failed, but historians have perhaps been too quick to write it off as a foregone conclusion. As Mark Goldie has shown, the Presbyterians had high-level supporters who wanted them as part of the ecclesiastical establishment under both Cromwell and Charles II. It is perhaps easier to dismiss Baxter as an eccentric controversialist; Manton, however, was invariably sober and statesmanlike.

Much of the current historiography of the period poses Baxter as the representative Presbyterian. However, in light of the preceding chapters, the question emerges, what does English Presbyterianism look like if we take Manton rather than Baxter to be its representative figure from the 1650s to the 1670s? While Manton owned the Presbyterians and disclaimed party spirit, Baxter disclaimed parties: ‘[If] you know not what Party I am of, nor what to call me...I will tell you, I am a CHRISTIAN, a MEER CHRISTIAN’.¹⁷ Whereas Baxter labelled himself an ‘Episcopal-Prebyterian-Independent’, in his own assessment,

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Manton was ‘nearest the Court, and of great Name among the Presbyterians, and being heard by many of great Quality’.  

On one level, nothing changes. Manton and Baxter are rather close on various matters, particularly ecclesiology and even soteriology. Manton twice quotes Baxter in the *Works*, both times in his sermon series on Psalm 119, and both times related to soteriology. First, in his 173rd sermon, Manton argues that a covenant relationship with God infers ‘a sanctified enjoyment,’ invoking the argument that ‘when we are sanctified to God (saith Baxter) all things are sanctified to us’.  

Second, in his 182nd sermon, Manton adapts and names Baxter’s argument for assurance as a ‘habitual bent of your hearts’ to holiness. For his side, Baxter constantly refers to Manton as a colleague of his same mind and labouring for his same causes, naming Manton about 50 times in *Reliquiae Baxterianae* alone.

Even so, there are a number of subtle differences, which, taking Manton as the more representative figure, do yield a rather different picture of English Presbyterianism. For example, geographically, London would resume its place at the centre of English Presbyterianism. Though the ecumenical gathering in 1654 had started as Baxter’s idea, he was not included on the peer-selected panel of five Presbyterian representatives, who were all London ministers.

Sermons and preaching would feature more prominently in our understanding of English Presbyterian culture, and political pamphleteering less. Manton’s ministry was fundamentally expository; Baxter hardly ignored the Bible, but putting him at the centre does not highlight the importance to the Presbyterians of biblical exposition and preaching. Instead, a focus on Baxter (and Thomas

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20 T. Manton, *First Volume* (1681), 1049; *CWTM*, IX, 236; R. Baxter, *Directions and Persuasions to a Sound Conversion* (1658), 279. While Manton promotes works for assurance, he does not demand them; ‘serious resistance’ to temptation is already a sign of grace. ‘A Christian is not always to be measured by the success, but by the conflict; he fights it out’. See *CWTM*, VIII, 57.
Edwards) perpetuates the impression that the Presbyterians were polemical pamphleteers.

Perhaps resulting from this, Manton is regarded with more respect and less suspicion than Baxter. Although Manton and Baxter considered themselves to be in agreement on justification, others received Manton more easily than Baxter on the interaction of faith and works. Baxter himself published Christopher Cartwright’s *Exceptions Against a Writing of Mr. Baxter’s* (1675), in which Cartwright cites Manton as in line with Calvin, Beza and himself, all in opposition to Baxter.\(^{21}\) Manton seems to have not been put off by their perceived differences, as Manton wrote a preface together with Baxter to Abraham Clifford’s *Methodus Evangelica* (1676), which was an answer to those ‘leavened with Antinomian Fancies and Conceits, not willing to hear of any Conditions in the New Covenant, and decrying all enforcements to Duty and Obedience as Legal Preaching’.\(^{22}\)

Also, in spite of Manton’s teaching that ‘they err certainly, that tell us the gospel is no law’ and ‘antinomism is but sin licensed and privileged’,\(^{23}\) Samuel Crisp nonetheless named and quoted Manton in *Christ Made Sin* (1691) to support free justification before faith.\(^ {24}\) Like Cartwright, Crisp praises (and sides with) the ‘pure, sound, uncorrupt doctrine’ of Manton, Owen, Caryl and Jenkyn as contrasted with Baxter, ‘the great Opponent of free Grace’.\(^ {25}\) In the same work, Crisp debunks Baxter’s claim ‘that Justification and Remission go before faith’ as

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21 Christopher Cartwright, *Exceptions Against a Writing of Mr. R. Baxter’s in Answer to Some Animadversions Upon His Aphorisms* (1675), 130, 180.
23 *CWTM*, XI, 395; V, 331.
25 Crisp, *Christ Made Sin*, a1v, a4r.
'a desperate errour', citing (a misquoted) Manton in opposition to Baxter, as purportedly saying 'we apprehend him, of whom we are first apprehended'.

Soteriologically, while Manton shared Baxter's concern with antinomianism, he did not generate controversy by reformulating the doctrine of justification. A prime example was the Pinner's Hall row in the mid 1670s. Baxter's lectures emphasized 'that Man's Will had a Natural Liberty, though a Thraldom to Vice, and that men might have Christ and life if they were truly willing'. This teaching made the 'Independents so quarrelsome', that 'it was cryed abroad among all the Party, that I Preached up Arminianism'. Francis Bremer and Tom Webster argue that Baxter's effort to clear the Dissenters from the accusation of antinomianism from the Anglicans inadvertently left him vulnerable to the accusations of Arminianism from the high Calvinists. Dewey Wallace described this tense relationship as the fruit of Baxter's fear 'that the Independents were too lenient with regard to Antinomian error, while many Independents considered Baxter too close to Arminian works righteousness in his theology'. In 1690, Tobias Crisp's son Samuel claimed Manton, Owen and Jacombe's sermons in support of his father's doctrines of free grace; conversely, he repudiated Baxter's Pinner's Hall lectures (27 January 1673 and 11 August 1674) that 'man's first believing is by extrinsical arguments' as 'a very unwary expression' at best and 'an horrid expression' at worst. As the Pinner's Hall controversy grew, Harris noted that Baxter 'complained to Dr. Manton', who 'on his next turn...pretty sharply rebuked them for their rash mistakes, and unbecoming reflections on so worthy and useful a person'. In Harris' memory,

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27 *RB*, III, 103, § 227; *Memoirs*, xxi.


Manton’s ‘reproof was managed with so much decency and wisdom, that he was not by any reflected upon’.  

The resolution may not have been as tidy as Harris indicated. In September 1673, Thomas Hotchkiss wrote to Baxter to confirm the rumour that a recent sermon of Manton’s ‘held forth the interest of works in order to the justification of a sinner’, so that ‘[Manton] had many eminent adversaries, by whom hee was \hotly/ handled’.  

Hotchkiss refers to Manton’s sermon being on verses in I John 3, a series in which Manton develops a similar emphasis on man’s role in salvation. In his sermon on I John 3:7 (possibly from Pinner’s Hall), Manton makes the standard Reformed claim that ‘a christian is not to be valued by dead and useless habits, but operative graces…the sap is not seen but the apples appear’. Even so, other statements in the same sermon might have chafed high Calvinist ears: ‘he that doeth righteousness is righteous with the righteousness of justification’.  

At the close of the sixth sermon on I John 3:4, Manton asks, ‘But what must we do?’ In answering this, Manton begins with a mixture of God’s sovereignty and man’s responsibility: ‘it is we that repent, believe, strive, watch against sin, though still by the power of his grace’. Yes, ‘you must depend upon the all-sufficiency of Christ’s merit and satisfaction’, and yes,  

you must obey the Spirit’s sanctifying motions…you must lie at the pool…it is you must keep the purifying graces…it is you must be careful to keep yourselves from the pollutions of the world…it is you must crucify the flesh more and more…it is you must remember your baptismal vow.

While Baxter printed four different justifications of his sermons at Pinner’s Hall, without any published ado Manton continued in favour with both Presbyterians and Independents.  

Already in 1675 Owen and Manton were the first two

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31 Memoirs, xxii.
32 CCRB, II, 156; the ‘adversaries’ were Owen, Jacombe and Henry Wilkinson.
33 CWTM, XXI, 35-6.
34 CWTM, XX, 488.
35 Baxter devoted one entire publication to the controversy in An Appeal to the Light (1674); he explained further in ‘An Answer to Dr. Tullies Angry Letter’ in R. Baxter, Of the Imputation of Christ’s Righteousness to Believers (1675), 93-4; ‘Postscript’, in The Scripture Gospel Defended, and Christ, Grace, and Free Justification Vindicated Against the Libertines (1690), A5r-A7v; and RB, III, 103, § 227 and 154, § 279.
subscribers to a new edition of the metric Psalms.\textsuperscript{36} In 1685 Jacombe published Manton’s sermons on Colossians 1 against the Socinians, describing it as ‘the profitable and pious labours of that eminent Divine Dr. Manton’.\textsuperscript{37} So we see Manton not only defending Baxter in his soteriology, but further achieving the unity among Nonconformists which eluded Baxter.

Manton clearly condemned trying to stand between gospel sacrifice and worldly advantages with a hand on both:

> And when they cannot frame the world and their conveniences to the gospel, do fashion the gospel to the world, and the carnal courses of it. It is a pity these men had not been of the Lord’s council when he first contrived and preached the gospel, that they might have helped him to some discreet and middle courses, that might have served turn for heaven and earth too.\textsuperscript{38}

On the other hand, Manton supported a middle way in the care of the soul, and therefore in the shepherding of souls: ‘How shall we know how to take the middle way, that we may neither hazard conscience nor endanger ourselves by a sullen and rigid obstinacy? God will direct us how to temper zeal with prudence’.\textsuperscript{39} Manton draws an analogy between the lute-string and the soul in duty:

> when we are careless, there is no melody made to God, but if we be too high strained, then the soul is oppressed with its own aims, and with a pursuit of things above our reach; the temperate middle way should be our aim.\textsuperscript{40}

\textsuperscript{36} Francis Rous published *The Psalms of David in Meeter* (1673) with Manton as the top subscriber and Owen two names later (p. A₆); it was either republished, or at least readvertised in 1675, with Owen’s name added just above Manton, on the last page of Robert Ferguson, *The Interest of Reason in Religion with the Import and Use of Scripture Metaphors* (1675), 672.


\textsuperscript{38} *CWTM*, II, 118.

\textsuperscript{39} *CWTM*, XV, 219.

\textsuperscript{40} *CWTM*, XVII, 297; XV, 219.
After all, it is God Himself whose providence demonstrates the middle way between faith and sight, ‘that the manner of God’s government of worldly affairs should neither be too perspicuous nor too obscure, but be carried on in a middle way’.\footnote{CWTM, XVIII, 386} So if God himself has ordered his revelation of the gospel around a middle way, then in a like manner should both the soul be cared for and the congregation be led.

In addition to soteriology, Manton stood very much with Baxter and the ‘reconcilers’ when it came to a middle-way of ecclesiology. Though a \textit{jure divino} Presbyterian, Manton held an ecclesiology that comprehended at least moderate episcopacy. Soteriologically Manton regularly and openly attacked the Arminians, Papists and sectaries to avoid a ‘coagulation of errors’; ecclesiologically he worked for accommodation of the orthodox godly so that the coat of Christ, though of diverse colours would have no rent.\footnote{Meate, 48-9; CWTM, V, 406-7.} Manton shows us that a \textit{jure divino} Presbyterian could be both zealous for orthodoxy \textit{and} work for accommodation.

This can be seen clearly in contrasting Manton’s relationships to two men in the interregnum: the Independent Joseph Caryl and the Quaker James Nayler. Manton worked closely alongside Caryl in common cause. They preached before Cromwell and Parliament on the same fast day twice (1656, 1657). They both wrote a commendatory preface to \textit{Several Works of Mr. John Murcot} (1657), both of which celebrated the grace of God in his life and learned discourses. Both Caryl and Manton served as Triers and preached at Westminster. Both served on the committees for the readmission of Jews (1655), for working with James Nayler (1656), and for advising on the Scottish settlement of 1657. Both were trustees of Matthew Poole’s fund for training ministers (1658).\footnote{Matthew Poole, \textit{A Model for the Maintaining of Students of Choice Abilities at the University} (1658), 9, 23.} They together interceded for the life of the royalist Dr John Hewitt before Cromwell (1658).\footnote{Murther Revealed, or, \textit{A Voyce From the Grave Faithfully Relating the Deplorable Death of Dr. John Hewit} (1658), 5.}
By way of contrast, the ‘parties that...may have presumed to have owned Christ’ did not include the Quakers, Ranters, Familists and other ‘fanatical and libertine’ parties. Manton called them a ‘yokeless generation of men...a kind of mean and loose sort of people’, collectively symbolized in the prosecution of James Nayler.45 For this ‘creeping party of libertines’, Manton expressed concern both in the early and mid-1650s that, ‘if the Lord put not a hook into their jaws, or do not awaken the magistrate to look to the safety, not only of Christ’s interests, but his own. Cursing Balaams will soon prove bloody Cains, and wicked seducers tyrannous oppressors’.46 For Manton the pastor, the Bible exposed sectarianism as a threat to spiritual integrity; for Manton the scholar, history exposed sectarianism as a threat to national security, uniting him with Caryl against these multiple dangers embodied by Nayler.

Manton was personally less angular and more diplomatic than Baxter. Even Baxter’s friend John Humphrey was compelled to warn him what ‘seemes most grating’ is that he is ‘too dogmaticall’ in his style, ‘so violent, eager, sowre, from the very first’.47 Humphrey presses the point from Biblical examples which had very different outcomes: ‘your writings ordinarily cut your adversaries to the heart with Stephens hearers, rather then prick them at the heart (which were better) with Peters’.48 Further pointing up the contrast with Manton, Bishop George Morley noted that Baxter’s demeanour is ‘so Magisterial, and with that contempt, undervaluing and vilifying those he writes against, or that write against him, and sometimes with such exasperating and provoking language as very ill becomes him that pretends to be a Peace maker’.49 Manton also taught that ‘true Christians will strive to keep peace, to make peace; to preserve it

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45 CWTM, X, 332 and V, 7.
46 CWTM, X, 271. Manton had prepared Jude along with James by 1651, but preached it again in the mid-1650s and published it 1657.
48 Ibid, 267.
49 [George Morley], The Bishop of Winchester’s Vindication of Himself from Divers False, Scandalous and Injurious Reflexions made upon him by Mr. Richard Baxter in Several of his Writings (1683), 48.
where it is, to reduce it where it is lost; they are εἰρήνικοι, peaceable, and εἰρηνόποιοι, peacemakers. However, unlike Baxter, Manton was never accused by any minister in the Church of England for working any way contrary to this aim.

There is a counterfactual question as to what would have happened had Baxter been off the scene in 1660-1662. What if Baxter had not been at Worcester to wrangle with Morley and Gunning, or at Savoy to exasperate the bishops? What if Manton had led with Reynolds and Calamy and Bates? It remains an intriguing question, whether Manton would have had more success at bringing the two sides together.

Also, though Baxter's prominence pushes him to the fore as the Puritan theological foil for Owen, Manton would potentially provide a better choice (and a more representative Presbyterian): both Oxford trained in the 1630s, both chaplains to Cromwell, both on many of the same committees (e.g. Triers, New Confession, Scots Covenanters and readmission of the Jews), both handled similar themes (e.g. schism, toleration, Arminianism and the Trinity), both wrote major works on Hebrews, both followed Obadiah Sedgwick in settled livings, and they make a cleaner Presbyterian-Independent match. At least one nineteenth-century commentator lumped Manton and Owen together as icons of early modern preaching: 'Were Drs. Owen and Manton to revisit our world at the present moment, methinks they would, in their pious zeal, take a whip of small cords and drive us out of our pulpits'.

Areas for Further Manton Research
While some areas of Manton's work have been explored in this thesis, there remains much low-hanging fruit to pick from his branches. An obvious point of contact with existing research is local contexts. Although this thesis has explored

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50 CWTM, IV, 314.
51 Owen followed Sedgwick at Coggeshall, Essex (1646); Manton followed Sedgwick ten years later at Covent Garden.
the local contexts in which Manton pastored and preached, there is scope for
further research into his parishioners, patrons and networks, with west country
Puritans and especially at St Paul’s Convent Garden.

There are unexplored fields of Manton’s theology, written in dialogue not only
with his clerical colleagues like Baxter, Bates and Owen, but also in dialogue with
the social and political tensions of Interregnum and Restoration England.
Historically, a fuller study of the reception of Manton’s writings in the 18th - 21st
centuries would help trace the legacy of Puritan teaching on both sides of the
Atlantic. Also, Manton’s work on II Thessalonians 2 against the Papists
(eschatology and ecclesiology), and on Colossians 1 against the Socinians
(Christology) are prime examples of works deserving fuller historical-theological
analysis.53

Manton’s work is ripe for topical analysis: the word ‘prayer’ occurs over 2500
times in the Complete Works, ‘joy’ 2000 times, ‘worship’ 1700 times, and ‘faith’
nearly 12,000 times. The sheer size of his individual expositions, combined with
Manton’s profile in the centre of London, makes them a ready choice for more
focused study. While Derek Cooper has located Manton’s exposition on
seventeen verses of James within the western exegetical tradition, there remain
many possibilities to explore: anti-sectarianism in Jude, the nature of divine
grace in Romans 6 and Romans 8; and the connection between truth, the
affections and practice from Psalm 119. More broadly, Manton covers major
areas of theology in both a concise and yet comprehensive way, that make him
ripe to study in his own right, as well as locating his divinity in relation to the
broader theological tradition. Manton’s classic Puritan soteriology with its
attendant Reformed doctrine of sin could be compared and contrasted to both
medieval and modern theologies.

53 Manton’s exposition on II Thessalonians was published by Baxter as XVIII
Sermons…With Divers Cautions and Arguments to Establish Christians Against the
Apostacy of the Church of Rome (1679). Manton’s exposition on Colossians 1 was
published by Jacombe as Christ’s Eternal Existence, and the Dignity of His Person
Asserted and Proved in Opposition to the Doctrine of the Socinians (1685).
Conclusion

Whether or not Manton’s works live up to Spurgeon’s assessment of ‘sound theology’, I will leave the reader to decide; they certainly live up to his assessment of ‘mighty mountain’. Manton was remembered sympathetically by Defoe in a mixed list of Presbyterian and Independent divines whose legacy was in, ‘the large Volumes of Divinity remaining of Dr. Goodwin, Dr. Manton, Dr. Owen, Dr. Bates...and others’. And although Harris claimed that Manton was one of few who maintained ‘a clear and unspotted reputation, though a course of many years, among all parties of men’ he did nonetheless have his detractors as well as admirers. Laurence Echard wrote that ‘the Church in general had not so great a [loss] in his quitting his living’. Calamy answered Echard that he would ‘wish you and I may live in the world to as good purpose, and at last leave it with as much honour and credit as [Manton] did’. While Lord Bolingbroke found that Manton ‘made my youth yawn’ and wish he might ‘never read him more’, Augustus Toplady found ‘reading Dr. Manton’s sermons’ so revolutionary to his thinking, that he noted the discovery with eternal gratitude: ‘I shall remember...1758 with all gratitude and joy, in the heaven of heavens, to all eternity’. At Yale, in lieu of money, Jonathan Edwards took compensation in works by Manton, requesting ‘to take [Twenty Sermons] out of the library for salary with the Rest of Dr Mantons works’.

Manton was a chaplain to heads of state, a minister to people of rank, a foil for Owen, an advocate for the sequestered, a statesman for the Presbyterians, and styled the king of preachers. By restoring him to the picture, we are reminded that the Presbyterians were serious contenders for the centre ground of English

54 C. H. Spurgeon, Illustrations and Meditations or Flowers from a Puritan’s Garden (London, 1883), v.
56 Memoirs, xxxii; Harris, ‘Memoirs’ p. 75.
58 E. Calamy, A Letter to Mr. Archdeacon Echard (1718), 116.
ecclesiastical life, a force to be reckoned with throughout the revolutionary decades and well into the Restoration.
Appendix A

Complete Works of Thomas Manton

Table of Contents, with original publication dates

VOLUME 1

1725  Some Memoirs of the Life and Character of the Reverend and Learned Thomas Manton, D.D. (William Harris)

1684  Practical Exposition of The Lord’s Prayer (pp. 3-256)
  Preface (William Bates)
  Introduction
  Our Father which art in Heaven
  Hallowed be thy name
  Thy kingdom come
  Thy will be done in earth, as it is in Heaven
  Give us this day our daily bread
  And forgive us our debts as we forgive our debtors
  And lead us not into temptation
  But deliver us from evil
  For thine is the kingdom, and the power, and the glory
  For ever. Amen.

1685  Christ’s Temptation and Transfiguration (pp. 257-411)
  To the Reader
  The Temptation of Christ (sermons)
    1. Matthew 4:1
    2. Matthew 4:2-4
    3. Matthew 4:5, 6
    4. Matthew 4:7
    5. Matthew 4:8, 9
    6. Matthew 4:10
    7. Matthew 4:11
  The Transfiguration of Christ (sermons)
    1. Matthew 17:1; Luke 9:28
    2. Matthew 17:2; Luke 9:29
    3. Matthew 17:3; Luke 9:30, 31
    5. Matthew 17:5
    6. Matthew 17:5
    7. Matthew 17:6-8

1685  Christ’s Eternal Existence and the Dignity of His Person Asserted and Proved, In opposition to the Socinians (sermons, pp. 415-504)
  To the Christian Reader (Thomas Jacombe)
  1. Colossians 1:14
  2. Colossians 1:15
  3. Colossians 1:16
  4. Colossians 1:17
  5. Colossians 1:18
6. Colossians 1:18
7. Colossians 1:19; 2:9
8. Colossians 1:20

VOLUME 2

1870 An Estimate of Manton (J. C. Ryle)
1685 Several Discourses Tending to Promote Peace and Holiness among Christians (pp. 3-172)
   The Epistle Dedicatory (H. T. 'To the Right Honourable Arthur, Earl of Anglesey')
   The Preference of Duties: Morals before Rituals (Matthew 9:13)
   A Description of the True Circumcision (Philippians 3:3)
   What Kind of Perfection is Attainable in this Life (Philippians 3:15)
   A Persuasive to Unity in Things Indifferent (Philippians 3:15)
   Not to be Offended in Christ, the Ready Way to Blessedness (Matthew 11:6)
   Wisdom is Justified of her Children (Matthew 11:18, 19)
   The Faithful Followers of Christ must expect Troubles in this World (Luke 9:57-62)
   The Excellency of Saving Faith (I Peter 1:9)
   A Wedding Sermon (Genesis 2:22)

1678 Twenty Sermons (pp. 175-410)
   Preface (W. Bates) (in Scriptural order)
   1. Psalm 32:1, 2 Deuteronomy 30:15
   2. Psalm 32:1, 2 Job 19:25
   3. Acts 3:26 Psalm 32:1, 2
   4. II Peter 1:4 Psalm 32:1, 2
   5. Mark 9:49 Ecclesiastes 9:11
   6. II Thessalonians 3:5 Matthew 7:12
   7. II Thessalonians 3:5 Matthew 27:46
   8. Ephesians 1:8 Mark 9:49
   10. Romans 1:29, 30 Acts 3:26
   12. Job 19:25 Romans 1:29, 30
   13. I Timothy 6:8 Galatians 5:16
   14. Ecclesiastes 9:11 Ephesians 1:8
   15. Acts 21:14 Ephesians 2:10
   16. John 3:16 Ephesians 2:10
   17. Deuteronomy 30:15 II Thessalonians 3:5
   18. Matthew 7:12 II Thessalonians 3:5
   19. Ephesians 2:10 I Timothy 6:8
   20. Ephesians 2:10 II Peter 1:4

1662 Farewell Sermon
   Editorial note
   Sermon (Hebrews 12:1; August 17, 1662)

1694 Funeral Sermon ("Advice to Mourners")
   Editorial note
   Sermon (I Corinthians 7:30)

1651 The Saint's Triumph over Death
Editorial note
Sermon (I Corinthians 15:57, August 26, 1651, St Lawrence Jewry)

1656  The Blessed Estate of Them that Die in the Lord
The Epistle Dedicatory

VOLUME 3
1679  Eighteen Sermons on II Thessalonians 2
To the Reader (R. Baxter)

1. v 1, 2  7. v 7-9  13. v 15
2. v 2  8. v 10  14. v 16, 17
3. v 3  9. v 11, 12  15. v 16
4. v 4  10. v 12  16. v 16
5. v 5-7  11. v 13  17. v 17
6. v 8  12. v 14  18. v 18

1702  A Practical Exposition of Isaiah 53 (12 parts)
(Harris) To the Reader (W. Harris, written when Harris was 28 years old)

VOLUME 4
1651  A Practical Commentary; or, an Exposition with Notes on the Epistle of James
Epistle Dedicatory (Manton)
Advertisement to the Reader (Manton)
ΠΡΟΛΕΓΟΜΕΝΑ or Preface (Manton)
Chapter 1 (pp. 15-178)
Chapter 2 (pp. 179-269)
Chapter 3 (pp. 270-324)
Chapter 4 (pp. 325-397)
Chapter 5 (pp. 398-481)

VOLUME 5
1657  A Practical Commentary; or, an Exposition with Notes on the Epistle of Jude
The Epistle Dedicatory (Manton)
To the Reader (Manton)
Exposition (pp. 9-376)

1647  Meate out of the Eater (Zechariah 14:9b)
“Hopes of unity in and by divided and distracted times”
Sermon preached in House of Commons, Fast day, 30 June 1647

1648  England's Spiritual Languishing: The causes and cure (Revelation 3:2)
Sermon preached in House of Commons, Fast day, 28 June 1648

Sermons at the Morning Exercise
1661  How we may cure distractions in holy duties
1674 How ought we to improve our baptism
(Acts 2:38, in Supplement to the Morning Exercise, ed. Annesley)

1660 Man’s impotency to help himself out of his misery
(Rom 5:6; in Morning Exercises, ed. T. Case)

1675 The Scripture sufficient without unwritten traditions
(II Thess 2:15, also 1679 by Bates in Eighteen Sermons and in CWTM, III, 122)

1654 Editorial Note on Smectymnuus Redivivus (pp. 501-503)

VOLUME 6

1681 Preface (William Bates)
(Vol. 1) Preface (Vincent Alsop, editor, 13 December 1680)

Several sermons on Psalm 119 (sermons 1-52, pp. 5-495)

V1 V10 V20 V30 V36 V45
V2 V11 V21 V30 V27 V46
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V7 V17 V27 V34 V42
V8 V18 V28 V35 V43
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VOLUME 7

1681 Several sermons on Psalm 119 (sermons 53-103, pp. 3-492)
(Vol. 1) V47 V56 V65 V75 V89 V98
V48 V57 V66 V76 V89
V49 V58 V66 V77 V90
V50 V59 V67 V78 V91
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V54 V62 V72 V82 V96
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VOLUME 8

1681 Several sermons on Psalm 119 (sermons 104-158, pp. 3-498)
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V102 V108 V116, 7 V126 V133 V141
V103 V109 V118 V127 V134
V104 V110 V119 V128 V135
V104 V111 V120 V129 V136
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# VOLUME 9

**1681** Several sermons on Psalm 119 (sermons 159-190, pp. 3-311)

(Vol. 1)  
V142  V150  V164  V174  
V143  V151  V165  V175  
V144  V152  V165  V176  
V145  V153  V166  
V145  V154  V167  
V145  V155  V168  
V146  V156  V171  
V147  V161  V172  
V148  V162  V173  
V149  V163  V174

**1684** Several sermons on Matthew 25 (16 sermons, pp. 319-492)

(Vol. 2)  
Epistle Dedicatory (W. Bates 'To the Right Hon William, Earl of Bedford, Baron of Thornaugh and Knight of the Most Noble Order of the Garter')  
To the Reader (pp. 315-318, William Bates, John Collinges, John Howe, 1 Aug 1684)

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V3, 4  V7, 8  V13  V24, 25  
V3, 4  V9  V14, 15  V26, 27  
V5  V10  V16-18  V28, 29

# VOLUME 10

**1684** Several sermons on Matthew 25 (11 sermons, pp. 3-106)

(Vol. 2)  
V30  V32-33  V37-40  V41  
V31-33  V34  V41  V46  
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Sermons on John 17 (32 sermons of 45, pp. 109-490)

V1  V6  V10  V11  V16  V18  
V2  V6  V11  V12  V17  V18  
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# VOLUME 11

**1684** Sermons on John 17 (13 sermons of 45, pp. 3-149)

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V20  V21  V23  V25  
V21  V22  V24  V26

Sermons on Romans 6 (24 sermons total, pp. 153-379)

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Sermons on Romans 8 (11 sermons of 48, pp. 385-493)
Epistle Dedicatory (W. Bates and John Howe 'To the Right Honourable Philip and
Ann, the Lord and Lady Wharton')
V1  V3  V5  V8
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VOLUME 12
1684  Sermons on Romans 8 continued (36 sermons [or 37 w/v20], pp. 1-419)
(Vol. 2)  V9  V13  V16  V22  V26  V31  v38, 39
V10  V13  V17  V23  V27  V32
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Sermons on II Corinthians 5 (8 sermons of 40, pp. 423-494)
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V1  V4
V1  V5
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VOLUME 13
1684  Sermons on II Corinthians 5 (32 sermons of 40, pp. 3-315)
(Vol. 2)  V6  V10  V13  V14  V18  V20
V7  V10  V13  V14b  V19  V21
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V10  V13  V14  V17  V20

1689  Sermons on Hebrews 11 (17 sermons of 62, pp. 323-492)
(Vol. 3)  Epistle Dedicatory (John Howe 'To the high and mighty Prince William, By the
grace of God king of England, France, Ireland, &c.' )
To the Reader (William Taylor)
V1  V2  V3  V4
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V1B  V3  V4

VOLUME 14
1689  Sermons on Hebrews 11 continued (45 sermons of 65, pp. 3-489)
(Vol. 3)  V4  V6a  V6  V7a  V9, 10  V13  V20  V25
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VOLUME 15

1689 Sermons on Hebrews 11 continued (3 sermons of 65, pp. 3-43) (Vol. 3)
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V30
V31
(Miscounted in 1689 edition as 66 sermons, skipping LXIV)

A Treatise of the Life of Faith (pp. 45-144) (Gal 2:20)
The Life of Faith in Prayer (pp. 145-154) (James 1:6)
The Life of Faith in Hearing the Word (pp. 154-174) (Hebrews 4:2)
A Treatise of Self-Denial (pp. 179-294)
   The Epistle Dedicatory (by William Taylor ‘To the Right Honourable Ann, Lady Wharton’)
   Book 1 (Matthew 16:24)
Several Sermons preached on Public Occasions: Some of Which Explain the Nature, end, and Use of the Sacrament of the Lord’s Supper’
   A fast sermon on Isaiah 43:22
   A fast sermon on Malachi 3:7
   A preparative Sermon for Receiving the Sacrament on II Chronicles 30:18-20
   Sermons on the Sacrament:
      II Chron 30:18-20 (b)
      Song of Songs 2:3
   A sermon on Luke 17:32
   A sermon on John 3:33
   Sermons on Micah 6:8
      Sermon 1
      Sermon 2
   A Sermon Preached Before the Parliament (Zechariah 14:6, 7) (28 Feb 1660)
   A sacrament sermon (Song of Songs 1:12)
   A sermon on Micah 7:18
   A sermon on John 13:8

(1656)
   A sermon preached before the sons of the clergy (Psalm 102:28)
   A sermon on the ends of the sacrament (Matthew 11:7-9)

VOLUME 16

1693 Sermons on several texts of Scripture
(Vol. 4) Epistle Dedicatory (William Taylor, 6 Feb 1693 ‘To the Right Honourable Philip Lord Wharton, Baron of Wharton, in the County of Westmoreland’)
   Preface (Vincent Alsop, 17 January 1693)
(Vol. 3) A Sermon on Matthew 22:11-13
(Vol. 3) A Fast Sermon Preached Before Parliament on Amos 4:12, 24 September 1656

1 Volume 3 (1689) includes the sermons on Matthew 22:11-13 and Amos 4:12.
(Vol. 4) Several Sermons on Titus 2:11-14 (22 sermons, pp. 73-292)
   V11 sermons 1-2   V13 sermons 12-18
   V12 sermons 3-11   V14 sermons 19-22

Sermons on Hebrews 6:18 (5 sermons)
Sermons on John 14:1 (2 sermons)
Sermons on Luke 12:48 (2 sermons)
   Sermon on Deuteronomy 32:51
Sermon on Acts 17:30, 31

Sermons on Mark 10:17-27 (7 sermons of 15)
   V17   V21
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VOLUME 17

1693   Sermons on several texts of scripture, Part 1 continued
(Vol. 4) Sermons on Mark 10:17-27 continued (8 sermons of 15)
   V21   V25
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   V23   V27
   V24   V27

Sermons on II Thessalonians 1:3 (5 sermons)
   Sermon on Matthew 8:5-10
   Sermon on Matthew 15:21-28
   Sermon on John 8:56
   Sermon on Romans 4:18-21

Sermons on Mark 3:5 (3 sermons)

Sermons on Exodus 4:21 (2 sermons)
   Sermon on Genesis 3:15 (‘Preached the fifth of November’)

Sermons on Genesis 24:63 (10 sermons)

1693   Sermons on several texts of Scripture (Part II)
(Vol. 4) Epistle Dedicatory (William Taylor, 9 Feb 1693 ‘To the Lady Bawdon’ – daughter of
   the Lady Wharton, and who with her children was baptized and taught by
   Manton)²

Sermons on Luke 16:30, 31 (2 sermons)
   Sermon on Hebrews 13:20, 21
   Sermon Preached on a Public Day of Thanksgiving (II Chronicles 32:25)
   Sermon on Luke 22:31, 32
   Sermon on Hebrews 1:9

Sermons on Acts 24:14-16 (2 sermons)
   Sermon on Zechariah 14:20, 21
   Sermon on John 3:14, 15

Sermons on I Thessalonians 5:16 (2 sermons)
   Sermon on I Thessalonians 5:17

VOLUME 18

² CWTM, XVII, 351.
1693 Sermons on several texts of Scripture (Vol. 4)

MARK

Mark 2:17
Psalm 8:2
Joshua 6:26
Micah 6:5

ISAIAH

Isaiah 1:10 (50:10, misprint in CWTM)

PSALMS

Psalm 8:2
Psalm 50:5 (misprint in original as 51:5)
Psalm 127:3
Philippians 4:8
Luke 19:14
Luke 2:52
Philippians 2:7
I Corinthians 8:3

PHILIPPIANS

Philippians 8:10
Luke 19:10
Psalm 90:1
I Timothy 6:9
I Peter 1:12
Galatians 5:5
II Peter 3:9
Romans 10:5-9
Romans 10:10
I Corinthians 8:6
II Corinthians 4:18
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John 1:29 (2 sermons)

JOHN

John 18:11
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Ecclesiastes 7:29

VOLUME 19

1693 Sermons on several texts of Scripture (in Scriptural order)

Mark 2:17
Joshua 6:26
II Samuel 7:27
Psalm 8:2
Psalm 50:5 (misprint in original as 51:5)
Psalm 84:7
Psalm 84:10
Psalm 90:1
Psalm 127:3
Proverbs 3:17
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Proverbs 14:14
Isaiah 1:10 (50:10, misprint in CWTM)

Mark 4:24
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Hebrews 13:5
I Thessalonians 5:8
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John 1:29 (2 sermons)

Leviticus 19:17
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Ecclesiastes 12:7
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Romans 2:7
II Corinthians 13:14
John 18:11
John 19:30
Romans 2:7
I Corinthians 15:19
II Corinthians 13:14
Revelation 1:5, 6

1701  **Dedication of Vol 5** (John Howe ‘To the Honorable Sir Thomas Abney [Lord Mayor of London] and His Most Religious Consort’)

**Preface** (Richard Stretton)

**Sermons on Ephesians 5:1-27 (32 sermons of 32)**

(Vol. 5) V1  V7  V11  V16  V20  V26
V2  V8  V12  V16  V21  V27
V3  V9  V13  V17  V22
V4  V9  V14  V18  V23
V5  V9  V14  V18  V24
V6  V10  V15  V19  V25

**VOLUME 20**

1701  **Sermons on several texts of Scripture**

(Vol. 5) **Sermons on Philippians 3:7-21 (17 sermons)**

V7  V10  V14  V20
V8  V11  V17  V21
V8  V12  V18
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V9  V13, 14  V20

**Sermons on Philippians 1:21 (2 sermons)**

**Sermons on II Thessalonians 1:4-12 (16 sermons)**

V4  V7  V10  V11
V5  V8  V11  V12
V6, 7  V9  V11  V12
V6  V10  V11  V12

Sermon on Matthew 22:14
Sermon on Mark 7:37
Sermon on II Corinthians 4:17

**Sermons on I John 2:12-14 (6 sermons)**

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V13A  V14

**Sermons on I John 3 (7 sermons of 32)**

V1  V3  V4
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**VOLUME 21** (I JOHN 3 B, AND OTHER MINISERIES)

1701  **Sermons on several texts of Scripture**

(Vol. 5) **Sermons on I John 3 continued (25 sermons of 32)**
V5  V8  V12  V17, 18  V22
V5  V9  V13  V19  V22
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Sermons on Acts 2:37, 38 (7 sermons)
Sermons on I Peter I:23 (4 sermons: 23, 23a, 23a, 23b)
Sermons on Psalm 19:13 (6 sermons)
Sermons on Psalm 131 (5 sermons: 1, 1a, 1b, 2, 3)
Sermons on Ezekiel 18:23 (2 sermons)
Sermon on Jeremiah 45:5

**VOLUME 22** (SERMONS, INDICES)

1701  Sermons on several texts of Scripture
(Vol. 5)
Proverbs 6:6-8
Proverbs 3:18
Psalm 91:1
John 19:34-37
Matthew 19:30
I John 1:7
Job 10:2
Acts 7:55, 56
II Samuel 24:24
I John 2:20
Hebrews 12:24
Funeral Sermon Preached Upon the Death of Dr. Manton

* Vol 5 ends with its own index of subjects and Errata. The following indices are unique to the *CWTM*:
  
  Index of Subjects (pp. 149-371)
  Index of Texts (pp. 373-453)
  Index of Principal Texts (pp. 455-46)
Appendix B
Known Dates of Sermons

c. 1640* Sowton: First sermon preached, on Matthew 7:1, “judge not lest you be judged”

1640’s Colyton(?): Exposition on Isaiah 53 – predates James (pub 1651)¹

30 June 1647 HC: Parliamentary fast sermon, Zech 14:9
28 June 1648 HC: Parliamentary fast sermon, Rev 3:2

25 Aug 1651 St Lawrence, Jewry: Funeral sermon for Christopher Love
1651 (pub) SMSN: James commentary (probably preached 1649-50)

5 Nov 1654² HC: Thanksgiving, Eph 3:21 (not in CW), for rescue from Gunpowder plot, along with Vines on II Thess 2:11, 12 (previously unidentified and “undated”)

4 or 5 Aug 1655³ ? Sermon on Titus 2:12 (CW, xvi: 68)
27 Oct 1655⁴ ? Sermon on Joshua 24:17 (not in CW)

1655, spring* SMSN: Manton preaches on Amos 6:6 with Baxter and Wilkins at fast day, SPCG⁵

1656 (pub) St Andrew Undershaft: Funeral sermon for Jane Blackwell, wife of Eldad Blawell


24 Sept 1656 HC: Fast sermon, Amos 4:12, dated in Wood¹⁶
7 Nov 1656* ? Sermon on I Corinthians 10:1⁶
1657 (pub) SMSN: Jude commentary (though preached earlier⁷)

27 Feb 1657* HC: Fast sermon, when Cromwell invited to be king (text unknown)

27 May 1657 (invited but excused for travel)⁸

16 May 1658* SPCG: Sermon on Acts 2:41⁹
23 May 1658 SPCG: Sermon on Matthew 6:1⁰

Late 1650s John 17 (suspected, based on internal evidence)¹¹

¹ Harris; see also TM’s intro to James where he explains
² BL Add MS 39942, ff. 86-7.
³ BL Add MS 39942, f. 108. The sermon before is dated 4 August, and a later sermon is dated 5 August.
⁴ BL Add MS 39942, f. 128
⁵ Harris, ‘Memoirs,’ CWTM, ixiv; fast was for the Waldensians of the Piedmont; see also B Shapiro, John Wilkins, 115.
⁶ CUL MSS Dd.6.23.
⁷ In the preface, Manton mentions this directly; see also Harris, Memoirs, ix, which indicates it was almost finished when Manton was at Stoke Newington.
⁸ Cf, 28 May 1657.
⁹ Diary of John Evelyn, III, 212.
¹⁰ Diary of John Evelyn, III, 213.

253
4 Feb 1659*  
September 1659*  
November 1659*  
1660  
Baxter preaches at Covent Garden on *The Fools Prosperity* and is criticized for handling them “too roughly,” so it is published to vindicate him.

28 Feb 1660  
April 1660*  
May 1661*  
5 November 1668  
5 November 1669?  
5 November 1676  
5 November 16??  

HC: Fast sermon, Dt 33:4, 5

Sion College: Latin Sermon

Sion College: Latin Sermon

Parliamentary Day of Thanksgiving, text Zechariah 14:6, 7

Latin sermon

Latin sermon

*Sermon XCII*, on Psalm 119:85

*Sermon CXX* on Psalm 119:110

Sermon on Micah vi.5 *(Vol 4, p. 801; CWTM, xviii: 40) 10 pgs*

Parliamentary day of Thanksgiving Gen 3:15 *(CWTM, XVII, 241, 245), for rescue from Gunpowder plot (20 pgs)*

* Not in CW

At least five sermons on 5 November (plus possibly Latin sermon)

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11 *CWTM, X, 213, 330-4.*
12 *Memoirs*, xi; very controversial; previously undated.
13 *Sion College Court Minutes*, f. 199.
14 *Sion College Court Minutes*, f. 200.
15 *Sion College Court Minutes*, f. 203.
16 *Sion College Court Minutes*, f. 217; see also E. Pearce, *Sion College and Library* (Cambridge, 1913), 178.
17 T Manton, *One hundred and ninety sermons on the hundred and nineteenth Psalm* (1681), p. 559. In his preface to *One Hundred and Ninety Sermons*, Vincent Alsop said this about their being delivered under duress: “yet can the Spirit flow from the press as well as the pulpit; with this advantage, that they may here in safety read what with great danger they formerly heard.” V Alsop, “Christian Reader,” p. A, in T. Manton, *One hundred and ninety sermons* (1681). This series of sermons contains over 1.1 million words of commentary on this one chapter.
18 T Manton, *One hundred and ninety sermons on the hundred and nineteenth Psalm* (1681), 735; *CWTM, VII, 127.*
Appendix C
Manton Plates

There are two Robert White engravings of Manton: 1678 and 1681.

1) British Museum: museum number P, 5.214
   by Robert White, 1678
   Location: BH/FF10/Portraits British CIV 2 P2

2) British Museum: museum number 1927, 1126.1.25.82
   by Robert White, 1681
   Location: BH/FF10/Potter Collection Volume 25
# Appendix D

## Manton Biblical Texts by book

<table>
<thead>
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<th>Old Testament</th>
<th>248 texts in 16/39 books</th>
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<tbody>
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<td>Genesis (3)</td>
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<td>Exodus (1)</td>
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<td>Leviticus (1)</td>
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<td>Numbers (0)</td>
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<td>Deuteronomy (2)</td>
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<td>Joshua (1)</td>
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<td>Judges (0)</td>
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<td>Ruth (0)</td>
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<td>I Samuel (0)</td>
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<td>II Samuel (2)</td>
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<td>I Kings (0)</td>
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<td>II Kings (0)</td>
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<td>I Chronicles (0)</td>
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<td>II Chronicles (3)</td>
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<td>Ezra (0)</td>
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<td>Nehemiah (0)</td>
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<tr>
<td>Job (2)</td>
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<tr>
<td>Psalms (199 – of which 190 are on Psalm 119 alone)</td>
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| Total¹ | 740 |

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¹ This is purely texts covered, not the number of sermons. Doubles (and more) are not accounted for. Otherwise the number of lectures/sermons is around 1000 total.
Appendix E
A Comparative Look at Manton texts
Two Sermons on 2 Corinthians XIII. 14.

* A Fourth Volume of Sermons, pp. 1232, 3

2 CORINTHIANS XIII. 14.


My Purpose is to open the Apostolical Benediction, or Prayer for the Corinthians; for our way of Blessing is only to pray for those whom we blest. To love others, is to desire their Good: They that love best and most, desire the best Good for their Friends; and better Good there cannot be desired, than that those we love may have God for their God. Now they that have God for their God, have all that is in God, and all that is God: God the Father, Son, and Holy Ghost, will implore all his Will, Power and Goodness, to save them from all Evil, and bring them to eternal Blessings.

This is that which is prayed for in this place, *The Grace of our Lord Jesus Christ, and the Love of God, and the Communion of the Holy Ghost, be with you all. Amen.*

In the Words we have,
The Thing prayed for; together with the Persons from whom: Or rather,
2. The effectual Application to the Corinthians, *Be with you.*
3. The Confirmation of these Hopes and Desires, in the word *Amen.*


2. The effectual Application, *Be with you.* These things are with us, or in us, two ways. (1.) In the Effects. (2.) In the Sense.

(1.) In the Effects, when we have the Fruits of the Father’s Love, and Christ’s Grace, and the Spirit’s Operation. *That the Love wherein thou hast loved me, may be in them, and I in them.* John 17. 26.

(2.) In the Sense and Feeling, when we comfortably know it is thus with us: *John 14. 21. He that loveth me, shall be loved of my Father, and I will love him, and manifest my self unto him.* Rom. 5. 5. *Because the Love of God is shed abroad in our Hearts by the Holy Ghost, which is given unto us.*

3. The Confirmation of these Desires and Hopes, in the word *Amen,* which is *Signatum Fidei,* an Expression of Faith; and *Votum Desiderii,* an Eruption of our Delire and Love.

Doct. That all the Persons of the Blessed Trinity do concur to the Happiness and Salvation of Believers.

Here let me shew you,

I. How they do concur.
II. Why they do concur.
I. How they do concur. Let us explain the Text.

1. Here are all the Persons of the Godhead mention'd: God is taken personall for the Father, and then Jesus Christ and the Spirit are distinctly mention'd. So in other Scriptures; 1 Pet. 1. 2. Elect according to the fore-knowledge of God the Father, through Sanctification of the Spirit unto Obedience, and sprinkling of the Blood of Jesus Christ. The fundamental Cause of Salvation is the Election of God, who when he had all fallen Mankind in his Prospect and View, was pleased to choose out some to Grace and Glory, passing by others. Then there is Reconciliation ascribed to Jesus Christ; and Sanctification to the Spirit, as the Means by which this Purpose is brought about. The Beginning is from God the Father, the Dispensation is by Jesus Christ, and the Application is through the Holy Ghost. So also, Titus 3. 4, 5, 6.

But after that the Kindness and Love of God our Saviour towards Man appeared, not by Works of Righteousness which we have done, but according to his Mercy he saved us, by the washing of Regeneration, and renewing of the Holy Ghost, which he shed on us abundantly through Jesus Christ our Saviour. God the Father out of Love sent a Saviour, by whose Grace we are saved: and God the Son, from God the Father, sent God the Holy Ghost, who applieth the Love of God, and the Grace of our Lord Jesus Christ, by renewing and healing our Natures. So 2 Thess. 2. 13, 14. But we are bound to give Thanks always to God for you, Brethren, beloved of the Lord, because God hath from the beginning chosen you to Salvation, through Sanctification of the Spirit, and faith of the Truth; whereunto he called you by our Gospel, to the obtaining of the Glory of the Lord Jesus Christ. Where the three Persons are again mention'd, and their Concurrence to our Salvation.

2. That Words proper to their personal Operation are used; for there is Love ascribed to the Father, Grace to the Son, and Communion to the Holy Ghost. The Father is represented as the Fountain of Love and all Goodness, and as expressing and exerting his Love by the Son and Spirit. By the Grace of Christ is meant all that gracious Provision which he hath made for Man's Salvation, both in the reconciling God to us, and procuring the Mifion of the Spirit. Communion is ascribed to the Spirit, because all is applied or communicated to us by him. Or thus, our Salvation is ascribed in Election to the Love of the Father, in Redemption to the Grace of the Son, in Sanctification to the Communion or Participation of the Holy Ghost.
"On the Divine Nature" (Wales MS)

My purpose is to open this Apostolical benediction or Prayer for Corinthians, for every blessing is only to pray for those whom we bless. So none others is to do to their good. Now the Lord knows Christ and his love, and his friends best, and they desire so to bless. Better good there cannot be desired than where there whom we love may have God for their God. And they have God for their God, they have all. This is in God, who is God, Deus quoniam quia. God is great as he is made over him, who is his people for their good. God the Father, Son, and Holy Ghost will empower all his wisdom, power, goodness, to save them from all evil, to bring them to eternal blessings. This is our petition in this place, the grace of our Lord Jesus Christ.

In short, here is 1. What thing prayed for? 2. The persons for whom. 3. If you will call it thus, Hered.

1. The manner of an Apostolical blessing:
   - God's love, Christ's grace, a plentiful effusion of the Spirit.
2. The effectual application to communion [by ye]
3. The confirmation of those hopes and desires, in whom [Amen]
(1.) Here all ye Persons of ye God-head are mentioned: God's God, Christ, & ye Spirit. God is taken not essentially, but personally for ye Father. Then Jesus Christ & ye Spirit are distinctly mentioned. so in ye other places 1 pet. 1:2. (Elect according to ye foreknowledge of God, of Father, through sanctification of ye Spirit, unto obedience, by sprinkling of ye blood of Jesus:) Those ye fundamental cause of ye Salvation is ye Election of God. (Elect according to ye foreknowledge of God of Father,) God when he had all fallen men-lamb in his prospect & view was pleased to choose out some to grace & glory, passing by others: these ye foundation of acts. Then shall ye Reconciliation ascribed to Jesus who by shedding of his blood hath reconciled us to God. And Sanctification by ye Spirit, as ye means by it this purpose is brought about. The beginning is from God. & ye dispensation is by Christ: & ye applicable by ye Holy Ghost. So also 3 Titus 4:7, 6. (A new & living way of God towards ye ungodly, not by ye works of righteousness, but according to his mercy he saved us, by ye washing of regeneration & renewing of ye Holy Ghost, not the shed on us abundantly through Jesus Christ our Saviour.) God of Father out of Love sends a Saviour, by whose grace not are saved! And God of Son, from God.
Father sends y holy ghost, who applies all who conveys grace to, health & nature, & so makes escape
able of y Love of God, of y grace of Lord Jesus Christ, so also 2 Thes. 2:13, 14.
It is said that (God hath chosen to salvation through sanctification of y spirit, to obtaining of y glory of Lord Jesus Christ.)
Now 3 psions are again mentioned & their concurrence to our salvation: It begins
in God choosing us to salvation: It is accomplished by y mediation of Christ, who may
obtain y glory, y grace of God in Jesus Christ: By y sanctification of y spirit, & belief of y
truth, & sanctifying y healing & nature; this is y beginning of y new life. Thus the 3
psions are mentioned.
(21.) words proper to their personal operations
are mentioned: as Love is ascribed to the
Father: Grace to y Son: & communion to y
holy Spirit. The Father is represented as y
fountain of Love, & all Good, as expressing y
executing his Love, by y Son & Spirit: And
then by y grace of Jesus is meant all the
gracious provision of Christ hath made for
man's salvation, it is reconciling God to
a procuring & mission of y spirit; y may
be confirmed to God, a home of y image of God
imprinted upon us, & communion that
is ascribed to y spirit, for all is communicated to
Appendix F
Authors cited by Manton in *James*¹

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¹ Formatting of names is inconsistent (some vernacular and others Latin), reflecting Manton’s use. I have added some parenthetical clarifications.

² Referenced but not quoted.

³ Samuel Bochartus was a French Protestant scholar.

⁴ CW, IV, p 11: “... Brochmand, a learned Lutheran, and Bishop of Zealand, in Denmark,...”
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⁵ In a footnote (p 317) Manton says “See my sermon before the Parliament...”
⁶ Here (p 11) in relation to the reception of James as canonical or not, Manton quotes a string of authorities for and against – Osiander, Camerarius, Bugenhag, Andreas Althamerus, Grotius, Hunnius, Montrer, Gerhard, Walther, Brochmand etc.
⁷ P 12: Here again is a string: Flavius Dexter, Julius Toletanus, Didacus Dazor, Eusebius Neirembergius (Juan Eusebio Nieremberg)
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8 Quoted as speaking ‘out of Clemens Romanus’ (p. 82).
Appendix G
Ramism in Manton

Outline

A. Kingdom of God
   > Universal
B. > Particular/Special
C. > Kingdom of grace (present)
   > Externally administered
   > Inernally received
D. > Kingdom of glory (future)
   > Begun/inchoate
   > Consummate/perfect

Text

Level A
Now, God's kingdom is twofold:—
1. Universal.
2. More particular and special.

Level B
Of this especial kingdom there are two notable branches and considerations. One
is that administration which belongeth to the present life, and is called 'the
kingdom of grace;' and the other belongeth to the life to come, and is called 'the
kingdom of glory.'

Level C
Now, the kingdom of grace may be considered two ways,—as externally
administered, and as internally received.

Level D
Then for the kingdom of glory, it is either begun and inchoate, or else
consummate and perfect.

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1 Example taken from CWTM, I, 90-1, sermon 'Thy Kingdom Come' on Matthew 6:10.
Appendix H
Auditors’ Notes from Manton sermons not in CWTM

The Complete Works is not complete: 7 of 9 texts confirmed by auditors are not in the CWTM.

1. Adam Martindale records hearing Manton preach on Matt 11:12, which does not appear.1
2. Outside of listing Manton’s seven individually published sermons, Harris refers to sermons on Matthew 7:1 (first sermon), II Timothy 1:18 (last sermon), Amos 6:6 (fast sermon, spring of 1655), and a Parliamentary sermon on Deut. 33:4-5, none of which appears in CWTM.2
3. John Evelyn records hearing sermons on Acts 2:41 (16 May 1658) not in the CW, and Matthew 6:10 (23 May 1658) which IS in the exposition on The Lord’s Prayer.3
4. Sermon notes on I Cor. 10:10 and II Peter 1:5, not in CW.4
5. Sermon notes on Canticles 5:9, not in CW.5
6. Sermon notes on Eph. 3:21 from November 5, 1655 Parliamentary sermon not in CW.6
7. Sermon notes on Titus 2:12, (2nd of 9 sermons on Titus 2:12) from August 1655, in CW (xvi: 78-90).7
8. Sermon notes on Joshua 24:17, from 27 October 1655, not in CW.8

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1 Adam Martindale (R Parkinson, ed.), The Life of Adam Martindale (1845), pp. 86, 7. Two sermons on Matthew 11, verse 6 and verses 18-19, do exist, arguing for a series on Matthew 11; see CWTM II, 79, 93.
2 Memoirs, viii, xiv, xi; fast was for the Waldensians of the Piedmont; see also B Shapiro, John Wilkins, 115.
4 CUL MSS Dd.6.23.
5 Notebooks of Thomas Aldersery, sermons in London 1661, BOL MS. Don. f. 42, f. 133.
6 BL, Add MS 39942, f. 87.
7 BL, Add MS 39942, f. 108.
8 BL, Add MS 39942, f. 128.
BIBLIOGRAPHIES

A. Bibliography of Thomas Manton
   Works published in Manton's lifetime
   Posthumously published works
   Prefaces
   Documents subscribed by Manton
   Concise Chronological Summary

B. General Bibliography
   Primary Sources
   Secondary Sources

BIBLIOGRAPHY OF THOMAS MANTON

Works Published in Manton’s Lifetime

*Meate Out of the Eater*, or, Hopes of unity in and by divided and distracted times. Discovered in a sermon preached before the Honourable house of Commons at Margarets Westminster on their solemn day of fast, June 30 1647 (London, 1647). Printed by M.S. for Hanna Allen at the Crowne in Popes-head Alley, 1647.

*Englands Spirituall Languishing;* with the causes and cure: discovered in a sermon preached before the Honorable House of Commons, on their solemn day of fast, at Margarets Westminster, June 28 1648 (London, 1648). Printed by R. Cotes for John Clarke at the lower end of Cheapside, in the entrance to Mercers-chappell.


2. London, 1652. The second edition, much corrected, and enlarged with the addition of two tables
8. Evansville, IN, 1957. Reprint from Complete Works (1871), IV.
12. Seoul, 1987. Published as *야고보서 : 토마스 맨턴 성경주석* (Korean)

2. London, 1652, published as The Saints Triumph Over Death, being his funeral sermon, by that painful labourer in the Lords vineyard, Mr. Tho. Manton


5. Utrecht, 1657, Published with several of Christopher Love's works as Hier is bygevoeght een Lijk-Predikatie over de Doodt van Christopher Love door Thomas Manton (Dutch).


2. London, 1676.

A Practical Commentary, or An Exposition with Notes on the Epistle of Jude. Delivered (for the most part) in sundry weekly lectures at Stoke-Newington in Middlesex. By Thomas Manton, B.D. and minister of Covent-Garden (London, 1657). Printed by J.M. for Luke Fawn, and are to be sold at his shop at the sign of the Parrot in Pauls Church-yard.


5. Grand Rapids, 1988. Reprint from Complete Works (1871), V.


'How We May Cure Distractions in Holy Duties' in Samuel Annesley (ed.), The Morning exercise at Cripplegate, or, Several cases of conscience practically resolved by sundry ministers, September 1661 (London, 1661). Printed for Joshua Kirton and Nathaniel Webb.


'Prayer' in Richard Baxter (ed.), The Spirit of Supplication, or the prayers of the late ministers of the honourable city of London, before and after sermon, viz. Dr. Anesley's Dr. Bates Dr. Jacombe Dr. Manton Mr. Calamy Mr. Nalton Mr. Jenkins Mr. Cradackot [sic] Mr. Watson Mr. Lye Mr. Caryl Mr. Venning. Delivered in their respective congregations (Oxford, 1662).


‘How Ought We to Improve our Baptism’ in Samuel Annesley, A Supplement to the morning-exercise at Cripple-gate, or, Several more cases of conscience practically resolved by sundry ministers (London, 1674). Printed for Thomas Cockerill.

2. London, 1676.

Posthumously published works

Words of Peace: or, Dr. Mantons last sayings. Many of them taken from him on his death-bed, or observed on other remarkable occasions; tending very much to the edification of Christians (London, 1677). Printed by A.P. and T.H. for P. Brooksby, at the Golden Ball, in West-Smithfield, near the Hospital-gate.

2. London, 1677


XVIII Sermons on the Second Chapter of the 2d Epistle to the Thessalonians containing the description, rise, growth, and fall of Antichrist: with divers cautions and arguments to establish Christians against the apostacy of the Church of Rome: very necessary for these times (London, 1679). Printed by J.D. for J. Robinson and E. Aylmer.


One Hundred and Ninety Sermons on the Hundred and Nineteenth Psalm preached by the late reverend and learned Thomas Manton, D.D (London, 1681). Printed for T.P. &c. and are to be sold by Michael Hide, bookseller in Exon.

6. Rumpt (Dutch), 2012. Published as Benauwdheid en Angst; sermon on
Psalm 119:143 (only).

**A Second Volume of Sermons** preached by the late reverend and learned Thomas Manton in two parts: the first containing XXVII sermons on the twenty fifth chapter of St. Matthew, XLV on the seventeenth chapter of St. John, and XXIV on the sixth chapter of the Epistle of the Romans: Part II, containing XLV sermons on the eighth chapter of the Epistle to the Romans, and XL on the fifth chapter of the second Epistle to the Corinthians (London, 1684). Printed by J. Astwood for Jonathan Robinson.

1. London, 1684. Published as An Exposition of John 17 (only).
2. Evansville, IN, 1958. Published as An Exposition of John 17 (only).

**A Practical Exposition of the Lord's-Prayer** (London 1684). Printed by J.D. and are to be sold by Jonathan Robinson.

3. Gorinchem (Dutch), 1963. Published as Uw Wil Geschiede (Thy Will Be Done), only.
4. Gorinchem (Dutch), 1964. Published as Het Gebed Om Ons Dagelijks Brood (Give Us This Day our Daily Bread), only.
5. Apeldoorn (Dutch), 2009. Published as Het Gebed des Heeren (The Lord’s Prayer)

**Christ's Eternal Existence, and the Dignity of His Person** asserted and proved in opposition to the doctrine of the Socinians: in several sermons on Col. I, 17, 18, 19, 20, 21 verses (London, 1685).

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1. London, 1685.
2. London, 1685.
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1. Berlin, 1757. Published as Wahre Glaubens-Stärkung aus Jesu Christo, Gott und Menschen (A Treatise of the Life of Faith), only.

2. London, 1693. Published as A Treatise of the Life of Faith (only).


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6. Orlando, 2011. Published as A Treatise of Self Denial (only).

A Fourth Volume containing one hundred and fifty sermons on several texts of Scripture in two parts: part the first containing LXXIV sermons: part the second containing LXXVI sermons (London, 1693). Printed by J. D. and are to be sold by Jonathan Robinson.

Advice to Mourners Under the Loss of Dear Relations in a funeral sermon long since preach’d by the late Reverand Dr. Thomas Manton ... And now occasionally published on the much lamented death of Mrs. Ann Terry, who died the 9th of November, 1693 (London, 1694). Printed by J. D. for Jonathan Robinson.

A Fifth Volume of Sermons preached by the late reverend and learned Thomas Manton, D.D. : In two parts. The first containing thirty-one sermons on the fifth chapter of the Ephesians, to the 27th verse. Seventeen sermons on the third chapter of the Philippians, beginning at the 7th verse. Sixteen sermons on the first chapter of the 2d epistle to the Thessalonians, beginning at the 4th verse. And ten sermons on particular texts of scripture. The second part containing thirty two sermons on the third chapter of the First epistle of St. John. And thirty five sermons on particular texts (London, 1701). Printed, and sold by Jonathan Robinson at the Golden Lion in St. Paul’s church-yard.

A Practical Exposition on the Whole Fifty Third Chapter of Isaiah. Containing A Lively Prospect of the Bitter Sufferings and Agonies of our Lord and Saviour Jesus Christ, in order to accomplish the Work of Man’s Redemption. With the Glories and Benefits thence resulting to Himself and all True Believers. Fitly Applicable to Sacramental Occasions (London, 1703). Printed for T. Parkhurst at the Bible and Three Crowns in Cheapside, and Jonathan Robinson at the Golden Lion in St. Paul’s Churchyard.


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1 Issued in the context of the Salter’s Hall Controversy and Dissenter debates over Arianism. See chapter six on 18th century reception.
Prefaces

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‘To the Reader’ in The dead speaking, or, The living names of two deceased ministers of Christ (contemporary, and eminently usefull in the west of England) viz. Mr. Sam. Oliver, and Mr. Samuel Crook: Containing the sermon at the funeralls of the one preached by John Chetwind, B.D. and two severall speeches delivered at the funeralls of them both by William Thomas, B.D. Joyned together at the desire, and for the use chiefly of those Christians who were often occasional partakers of their labours (London, 1653). Printed by T. W. for John Place, and are to be Sold at his Shop at Furnivals Inn Gate in Holburn.

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2 The preface in this work was a letter from Manton to Case urging him to publish the ensuing thoughts.
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6 Together with James Cranford, Arthur Jackson and Edmund Calamy.
at the lower end of Cheapside.

‘Good Reader’ in William Strong, *XXXI. select sermons, preached on special occasions; the titles and several texts, on which they were preached, follow. By William Strong, that godly, able and faithful minister of Christ, lately of the Abbey at Westminster. None of them being before made publique* (London, 1656). Printed by R.W. for Francis Tyton, and are to be sold at his shop, at the sign of the three Daggers near the Inner Temple gate.

‘Good Reader’ in William Strong, *Communion with God in ordinances, the saints priviledge and duty. Wherein is judiciously, and solidly, laid down the way to attain it, and to preserve it when attained; with several discoveries or notes of tryal. By that eminently godly, able and faithful minister of Christ, William Strong, lately of the Abbey at Westminster. By himself intended to be made publike, and part of it transcribed in his life time* (London, 1656). Printed by R.W. for Fra. Tyton, at the sign of the three Daggers in Fleet-street, neer the Inner-Temple Gate.

‘To the Reader’ in Richard Hollingworth, *The Holy Ghost on the bench, other spirits at the bar: or The judgment of the Holy Spirit of God upon the spirits of the times. recorded in Holy Writ* (London, 1656). Printed by J.M. for Luke Fawn and are to be sold at his shop, at the signe of the Parrot in Pauls Churchyard.

‘Good Reader’ in William Strong, *Heavenly treasure, or, Mans chiefest good wherein the several workings of the heart about, and in pursuance of its chiefest good are solidly and judiciously discovered* (London, 1656). Printed by R.W. for Francis Tyton.

‘To the Reader’ in John White, *A commentary upon the three first chapters of the first book of Moses called Genesis* (London, 1656). Printed by John Streater and are to be sold by George Calvert and John Nevill.

‘To the Reader’ in William Strong, *A treatise shewing the subordination of the will of man unto the will of God by that eminently godly, able, and faithfull minister of Christ, William Strong, lately of the Abbey at Westminster; the greatest part printed with his own marginal quotations in his life time, and now published by Mr. Rowe, Master Manton, and Master Griffith* (London, 1656). Printed by R.W. for Francis Tyton.

‘To the Reader’ in Obadiah Sedgwick, *The humbled sinner resolved what he should do to be saved. Or Faith in the Lord Jesus Christ the only way of salvation for sensible sinners. Discovering the quality, object, acts, seat, subject, inseparable concomitants and degrees of justifying faith. The agreement and difference of a

7 Manton’s name is listed first, with John Rowe and George Griffith. The work was edited by the Lady Elizabeth Carr; see preface by Ralph Venning, p. a6v.
8 Other prefaces contributed by Rowe and Venning.
9 Other prefaces contributed by Rowe, Vines and Griffith.
10 Together with Rowe and Griffith.
11 Another preface contributed by Calamy.
strong and weak faith; the difficulty of believing, the facility of mistake about it, and the misery of unbelief. The nature of living by faith, and the improvement of it to a full assurance. Wherein several cases are resolved, and objections answered (London, 1657). Printed by T.R. & E.M. for Adoniram Byfield at the Bible in Popes-head Alley, neere Lombardstreet.

‘Good Reader’ in John Murcot, Several works of Mr. Iohn Murcot, that eminent and godly preacher of the Word, lately of a Church of Christ at Dublin in Ireland. Containing, I. Circumspect walking, on Eph. 5.15,16. II. The parable of the ten virgins, on Mat. 25. from ver. 1. to ver. 14. III. The sun of righteousness hath healing in his wings for sinners, on Mal. 4.2. IV. Christ's willingness to receive humble sinners, on John 6.37. Together with his life and death (London, 1657). Printed by R. White, for Francis Tyton, at the three Daggers in Fleet-street, near the Inner-Temple gate.

‘To the Christian Reader’ in John Shawe, Mistris Shawe's tomb-stone or, the saints remains. Being a brief narrative, of some few (amongst many) remarkable passages in the holy life and happy death of that precious servant of the Lord Mrs. Dorothy Shaw, (late the dearly beloved wife of Mr. John Shaw preacher of the Gospell at Kingstone upon Hull,) who sweetly slept in the Lord, Decemb. 10th. and was interred at Trinity Church, in Hull, Decemb. 12. 1657. Collected by her dearest friend: with many usefull instructions, especially for his own and his six daughters consolation and imitation (London, 1658). Printed for Nathanael Brooks, at the Angel in Cornhill.

‘Christian Reader’ in Westminster Assembly, The confession of faith, together with the larger and lesser catechisms. Composed by the reverend Assembly of Divines, sitting at Westminster, presented to both Houses of Parliament. Again published with the Scriptures at large, and the emphasis of the Scriptures in a different character. To which is annexed two sheets of Church-government with the Scriptures at large (London, 1658). Printed by E.M. for the Company of Stationers, and are to be sold by John Rothwel at the Fountain in Cheapside.

[unlabeled] Preface in Samuel Leigh, Samuelis primitae: or, an essay towards a metrical version of the whole book of Psalmes Composed, when attended with the disadvantagious circumstances of youth, and sickness (London, 1661). Printed by Tho. Milbourn for the authour, and are to be sold at the Golden Lyon in St. Pauls-Church-Yard.

‘Good Reader’ in Richard Vines, Gods drawing, and mans coming to Christ discovered in 32 sermons on John 6.44: with the difference between a true inward Christian, and the outward formalist, in three sermons on Rom. 2. 28, 29 (London, 1662). Printed for Abel Roper, at the Sun against St. Dunstans Church in Fleet-Street.

12 Other prefaces contributed by Joseph Caryl and Samuel Eaton.
13 Bibliographic number: Wing C5796.
14 Other prefaces contributed by Baxter and Jacombe.
‘Good Reader’ in John Oliver, *A present to be given to teeming women. By their husbands or friends Containing Scripture-directions for women with child, how to prepare for the hour of travel. Written first for the private use of a gentlewoman of quality in the west, and now published for the common good* (London, 1669). Printed by A. Maxwell, for Tho. Parkhurst, at the Golden-Bible, on London-Bridge.

‘To the Reverend Author’ in Thomas Case, *Movnt Pisgah, or, A prospect of heaven being an exposition on the fourth chapter of the first epistle of St. Paul to the Thessalonians; from the 13th verse, to the end of the chapter, divided into three parts* (London, 1670). Printed by Thomas Milbourn, for Dorman Newman.


‘Good Reader’ in Andrew Gray, *The spiritual warfare, or, Some sermons concerning the nature of mortification together with the right exercise and spiritual advantages thereof: whereunto are added other two sermons, concerning the mystery of contentment under afflicting rods and pinching dispensations ... being the substance of ten sermons by that eminently pious and faithful servant of Jesus Christ* (London, 1673). Printed by J.D. and sold by Nathaniel Ranew.

‘To the Reader’ in Francis Rous, *The Psalms of David in meeter Newly translated and diligently compared with the original text, and former translations: more plain, smooth and agreeable to the text, then any heretofore* (London, 1673). Printed for the Company of Stationers, and are to be sold by Thomas Parkhurst at the Bible and three Crowns, at the lower end of Cheapside, and the Bible on London Bridge, and Dorman Newman at the Kings Arms in the Poultry. *This is a reprint of The Psalms of David in Meeter (Edinburgh, 1650), begun by the Westminster Assembly of Divines and completed by the General Assembly of the Kirk of Scotland.*

‘Good Reader’ in George Swinnock, *The sinners last sentence to eternal punishment, for sins of omission wherein is discovered, the nature, causes, and cure of those sins* (London, 1675). Printed for Geo. Swinnock, and are to be sold at the Bible and Three Crowns.


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15 This ‘preface’ is a letter from Manton to Case urging him to print.
16 ‘R. P.’ is presumed to be Robert Perrot; another preface contributed by Caryl.
17 Gray was Robert Baillie’s son in law, and died at age 23 in 1656.
18 Though the preface is subscribed by 26 divines, Manton’s name is listed first. Other circumstantial evidence points to Manton as the author: the preface quotes James and Psalm 119, and includes the phrase ‘the singing of Psalms is a duty of...comfort and profit’, which is reminiscent of Manton’s statement, ‘that singing of Psalms is a duty of the gospel’; *Jude, 407;CWTM, IV, 441.*


Documents subscribed by Manton

A Serious and Faithfull Representation of the judgements of ministers of the gospell within the province of London contained in a letter from them to the Generall and his councell of warre. Delivered to his Excellency by some of the subscribers, Jan. 18, 1648 (London, 1649). Imprimatur Ian. 18. 1649. James Cranford.

A Vindication of the Ministers of the Gospel in, and about London, from the unjust aspersions cast upon their former actings for the Parliament, as if they had promoted the bringing of the King to capitall punishment. With a short exhortation to their people to keep close to their covenant-ingagement (London, 1649). Printed by A.M. for Th. Vnderhill at the Bible in Woodstreet, 1649.

Edward Reynolds (ed.), A seasonable exhortation of sundry ministers in London to the people of their respective congregations (London, January 1660).²¹ Printed by E.M. for Samuel Gellibrand at the Golden Ball in Paul’s Church-yard; and Robert Gibbs at the golden Ball in Chancery lane.

John Faldo, Quakerism no Christianity:²² or, A thorow-Quaker no Christian Proved by the Quakers principles, detected out of their chief writers, and confuted by Scripture and right reason: with a key to their terms and phrases, a discourse of apostolical inspirations, and an account of their foundation laid in popery (London, 1675). Printed by B.G. for Jonanthan [sic] Robinson, at the Golden-Lyon in S. Paul’s Church-yard.

Richard Baxter, The Judgment of Non-conformists of the Interest of Reason in Matters of Religion²³ in which it is proved against make-bates, that both conformists, and non-conformists, and all parties of true Protestants are herein really agreed, though unskilful speakers differ in words (London, 1676).

¹⁹ Manton’s name appears first, together with Richard Baxter.
²⁰ Baxter wrote a private letter endorsing the material, and under his name Manton countersigned, ‘I am of the same mind’; see CCRB, II, 165. This letter does not appear in the original 1674 print edition.
²¹ Manton’s name is listed seventh of 63 divines.
²² Manton’s name is listed first of 21 divines.
²³ Manton’s name is listed first of 15 divines.
## Concise Chronological Summary

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Year</th>
<th>Event</th>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1649</td>
<td>Subscribed <em>A Serious and Faithful Representation</em> (18 January) and</td>
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<td></td>
<td>Cornelius Burgess’ <em>Vindication of the Ministers of London</em> (20 January)</td>
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<td>1651</td>
<td><em>Exposition with Notes on James</em></td>
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<td><em>Funeral Sermon for Christopher Love</em></td>
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<td>1652</td>
<td><em>Saints Triumph Over Death (Funeral Sermon for Christopher Love)</em></td>
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<td></td>
<td>Preface to Thomas Case’s <em>Correction, Instruction James</em> (2nd ed.)</td>
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<tr>
<td>1653</td>
<td><em>Saints Triumph Over Death</em> (2nd ed)</td>
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<td>1654</td>
<td><em>Preface to The Dead Speaking</em> by Chetwind and Crook</td>
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<td>1655</td>
<td><em>Preface to Smectymnuus Redivivus</em></td>
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<td></td>
<td><em>Preface to The Life and Death of Mr. Ignatius Jurdain</em> by F. Nicolls</td>
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<td><em>Preface to Blasphemoktonia</em> by Matthew Poole</td>
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<tr>
<td>1656</td>
<td><em>Preface to The Life and Death of Mr. Ignatius Jurdain</em> (2nd ed.)</td>
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<td></td>
<td><em>Preface to Precepts for Christian Practice</em> (8th ed.) by Edward Reyner</td>
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<td><em>Preface to An Anti-Diatribe</em> by Humphrey Saunders</td>
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<td><em>Preface to Morning-Exercise</em> by Thomas Case* (ed.)</td>
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<td><em>Preface to A Commentary on II Corinthians I</em> by Richard Sibbes</td>
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<td>1657</td>
<td><em>Preface to Precepts for Christian Practice</em> (9th ed.) by Edward Reyner</td>
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<td><em>Preface to Precepts for Christian Practice</em> (10th ed.) by Edward Reyner</td>
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<td><em>The Blessed Estate, Funeral sermon, for Mrs. Jane Blackwell</em></td>
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<td><em>Preface to XXXI Select Sermons</em> by William Strong</td>
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<td></td>
<td><em>Preface to Communion with God in Ordinances</em> (2nd ed.) by William Strong</td>
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<td><em>Preface to Heavenly Treasure</em> by William Strong</td>
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<td><em>Preface to The Holy Ghost on the Bench</em> by R Hollingworth</td>
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<td><em>Preface to A commentary on Genesis 1-3</em> by John White</td>
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<td>1657</td>
<td><em>Hier is bygevoeght een Lijk-Predikatie over de Doodt van Christopher Love</em> by Thomas Manton*</td>
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<td><em>Preface The Subordination of the Will of Man unto the Will of God</em> by William Strong</td>
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<td><em>Preface The Humbled Sinner Resolved</em> by Obadiah Sedgwick*</td>
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<td></td>
<td><em>James</em> (3rd ed.)</td>
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<td>1658</td>
<td><em>Preface to Several Works of Mr John Murcot</em></td>
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<td><em>Exposition with Notes on Jude</em> (1st ed.)*24</td>
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<tr>
<td></td>
<td><em>Saints Triumph Over Death</em> (3rd ed)</td>
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24 Manton explained had written and taught *Jude* before 1651 in the preface to the first edition (1657): ‘these things were first delivered (which was long since) in the way of short notes...so I went over them again in sermon-fashion,’ see *CWTM, V, 7*. So it seems Jude was presented with minimal notes, then later expanded and preached again in a series of sermons in the mid 1650’s, perhaps as Harris implies, begun at Stoke Newington and completed at Covent Garden (*CWTM, I, ix*). Though not exactly dated, Manton further stated in his preface to *James* (1651): ‘The Epistle of Jude was with this licensed to the press,’ see *CWTM, IV, 6*. Manton explains the delay in getting the revised copy of *Jude* printed in the Preface to *Jude*: ‘This work hath been long in the press, and no wonder, the author lying under such an oppression of business, it being carried on by snatches and spare hours,’ see *CWTM, V, 8.*
Preface to *Mistris Shsawes Tomb-stone* by John Shaw
Preface to *The Confession of Faith* (2nd ed.) by the Westminster Assembly
Preface to *Precepts for Christian Practice* (11th ed.) by Edward Reyner
1660
Preface to *Smectymnuus Redivivus* (2nd ed.)
Sermon in *The Morning Exercises Methodized* by William Bates (ed.)
Subscribed *A Seasonable Exhortation of Sundry ministers in London*
by Edward Reynolds
1661
Preface to *The Metrical Psalms* by Samuel Leigh
Preface to *Smectymnuus Redivivus* (3rd ed.)
Sermon in *Morning Exercises at Cripplegate*
1662
Preface to *Precepts for Christian Practice* (12th ed) by Edward Reyner
Preface to *God’s Drawing and Man’s Coming to Christ* by Richard Vines
*Jude* (2nd ed.)
Prayer in *Spirit of Supplication*, by Richard Baxter (ed.)
Farewell sermon (from August 17, 1662)
1663
Farewell sermon (2nd and 3rd editions)
(gap)
1669
Preface to *A present to be given to Teeming Women* (2nd ed.)
by John Oliver
1670
Preface to *Mount Pisgah* by Thomas Case
1671
Preface to *RP’s Sole and Sovereign Way of England’s Being Saved*
by Robert Perrot
1673
Preface to *Spiritual Warfare* by Andrew Gray
Subscribed first (wrote?) the Preface to the *Psalms of David in Meeter*
by Francis Rous
1674
Sermon in *Supplement to the Morning Exercises at Cripplegate*
1675
Sermon in *Morning Exercise in Southwark*
Subscribed a Preface to *Quakerism No Christianity* (2nd ed.) by John Faldo
Preface to *The Sinners Last Sentence to Eternal Punishment*
by George Swinnock
1676
Preface to *Methodus Evangelica* by A. Clifford
Subscribed *The Judgment of Non-conformists in the Interest of Reason in*
*Matters of Religion* by Richard Baxter
Sermon in *The Morning Exercise Methodized*
Sermon in *The morning-exercises at Cripplegate*
1677
Sermon in *The morning-exercises at Cripplegate*

**Posthumous**

1677
*Words of Peace* or Dr Manton’s Last Sayings
1678
*Twenty Sermons* (1st ed.), by William Bates
1679
*Eighteen Sermons on the Second Chapter of II Thessalonians*
Preface to *The Sinner’s Last Sentence* (2nd ed.) by George Swinnock
1681
*First Volume of Sermons: 190 Sermons on the 119th Psalm*
1684
*Second Volume of Sermons: Part I: Matt 25; John 17; Rom 6*
*Part II: Rom 8, II Corinthians 5*
1684
*Exposition on the Lord’s Prayer*
1685
*Several Discourses Tending to Promote Peace and Holiness Among Christians*
*Several Discourses (2nd ed.)*
*Christ’s Temptation and Transfiguration*
*Christ’s Eternal Existence, in opposition to the Socinians*
Third Volume of Sermons: Sermons on Hebrews 11
Fourth Volume of Sermons: Sermons on Several Texts
Advice to Mourners under the Loss of Dear Relations
Preface to Mediocria: the middle way of justification by John Humfrey
Fifth Volume of Sermons: Sermons on Various Texts
A Practical Exposition of Isaiah 53
Preface to Smectymnuus Redivivus (6th ed.)
Geistreiche Gedancken Uber die Verklarung Christi Auf dem Berge
(Transfiguration)
Geistreiche Gedancken Uber Christi Versuchung In der Wuesten, auf der
Zinne des Tempels und einem sehr hohen Berge; wie auch zuletzt
am Stamm des Creutzes (Christ's Temptations and
Transfiguration, Dutch)
A Caution Against Deceivers
Sermons on Psalm 119 (2nd ed.), prefaced with Harris' Memoirs
Geistreiche Gedancken über Christi Versuchung (The Temptation of Christ,
Dutch)
Wahre Glaubens-Stärckung aus Jesu Christo, Gott und Menschen
(Treatise of the Life of Faith, Dutch)
James
Practical Exposition of the Lord's Prayer
Eighteen Sermons on II Thessalonians 2
Sermons on Psalm 119
James
The Morning Exercises at Cripplegate, 4 Manton sermons
Sermons on Psalm 119
James
Isaiah's report of the Messiah by T. M. Macdonough (ed.)
Complete Works, 22 Vols.
De Verzoeking van Christus in de Woestijn (Treatise on Temptation,
Dutch)
James
An Exposition of John 17
Jude
An Exposition of John 17
James
Uw Wil Geschiede (Thy Will Be Done, Dutch)
Het Gebed Om Ons Dagelijks Brood (Give us our Daily Bread, Dutch)
Complete Works, 22 Vols.
An Exposition of John 17
James
James
Jude
야고보서: 토마스 맨튼 성경주석 (James, Korean)
Jude
Sermons on Psalm 119
Complete Works, Vols 1-3
James
The Temptation of Christ
A Treatise of the Life of Faith
Jude
Ware Godszaligheid (God's True Salvation, Dutch)
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Add MS 4460, ff. 65, Ralph Thoresby Transcripts, c. 1707.
Add. MSS. 36,781, f. 11, Lists of privy counselors, peers, the king’s household, the judges and officers of the Chancery and Common Law, bishops, deans and prebends, ministers of parish-churches in London, justices of the peace, 1661.
Add. MS 36916, ff. 52-66, f. 173, News-letters from John Starkey to Sir Willoughby Aston, 1667-1672.

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25 My thanks to Cees van Breugel at De Tabernakel Publishers in the Netherlands who informed me in personal correspondence (October-December 2014) of a long print history of Manton there, including recent Manton works from another publisher, Den Hertog, on prayer and John 17.
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DWL MS 59.2, fo. 273r, Manton to Baxter, 26 September 1668.

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WCA 110/2, The College Caution Books, Document C.

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26 My thanks to Elliot Vernon for sharing with me his 263 images of the Sion
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Birkenhead, John, *Cabala, or, An impartial account of the non-conformists private designs, actings and ways from August 24, 1662 to December 25 in the same year* (London, 1663).

Blackwell, Elidad, *A caveat for magistrates in a sermon, preached at Pauls before the Right Honorable Thomas Atkin, Esquire, Lord Major of the city of London, November the third, 1644, being the first day of his coming thither after his entrance upon his majoralty* (London, 1645).


Bradshaw, Ellis, *An Husbandman's Harrow to Pull Down the Ridges of the Presbyteriall Government and to Smooth, a Little, the Independent* (London, 1649).

Brooks, Thomas, *Gods delight in the progresse of the upright. Especially, in magistrates uprightness and constancy in wayes of justice and righteousnesse, in these apostatizing times, notwithstanding all discouragements, oppositions, &c. Presented in a sermon before the Honorable House of Commons at their last monethly fast, December 26. 1648* (London, 1649).

Burges, Cornelius, *A vindication of the ministers of the Gospel in, and about London, from the unjust aspersions cast upon their former actings for the Parliament, as if they had promoted the bringing of the King to capitall punishment With a short exhortation to their people to keep close to their covenant-ingagement* (London, 1649).


Calamy, Edmund, *An Abridgment of Mr. Baxter's History of His Life and Times. With an account of many others of those Worthy Ministers who were Ejected, after the Restauration of King Charles the Second. Their Apology for Themselves and their Adherents; containing the Grounds of their Nonconformity, and Practise as to Stated and Occasional Communion with the Church of England. And a Continuation of their History, till the Year 1691* (London, 1702); 2nd ed. (London, 1713).

Calamy, Edmund, *A continuation of the Account of the ministers, lecturers, masters and fellows of colleges, and schoolmasters, who were ejected and silenced
after the Restoration in 1660, by or before the Act for Uniformity. To which is added, the Church and dissenters compar’d as to Persecution, in some Remarks on Dr. Walker’s Attempt to recover the Names and Sufferings of the Clergy that were sequestred, &c. between 1640 and 1660, 2 vols (London, 1727).

Calamy, Edmund, *Jus divinum ministerii evangelici. Or The divine right of the Gospel-ministry: divided into two parts. The first part containing a justification of the Gospel-ministry in general. The necessity of ordination thereunto by imposition of hands. The unlawfulness of private mens assuming to themselves either the office or work of the ministry without a lawfull call and ordination. The second part containing a justification of the present ministers of England, both such as were ordained during the prevalency of episcopacy from the foul aspersion of anti-christianism: and those who have been ordained since its abolition, from the unjust imputation of novelty: proving that a bishop and presbyter are all one in Scripture; and that ordination by presbyters is most agreeable to the Scripture-patern. Together with an appendix, wherein the judgement and practice of antiquity about the whole matter of episcopacy, and especially about the ordination of ministers, is briefly discussed* (London, 1654).


*Calendar of State Papers Relating to English Affairs in the Archives of Venice*, 38 vols (1864-1947), XXXIII.

Carrington, S., *The history of the life and death of His Most Serene Highness, Oliver, late Lord Protector wherein, from his cradle to his tomb, are impartially transmitted to posterity, the most weighty transactions forreign or domestique that have happened in his time, either in matters of law, proceedings in Parliaments, or other affairs in church or state* (London, 1659).

Case, Thomas, *Correction, instruction or, a treatise of afflictions: first conceived by way of private meditations: afterward digested into certain sermons, preach’d at Aldermanbury* (London, 1652).

Cartwright, Christopher, *Exceptions against a vvriting of Mr. R. Baxters in answer to some animadversions upon his aphorisms* (London, 1675).

Caton, William, *Truths carater of profressors and their teachers which by looking through may bring to their remembrance the dayes of old, and how it was then with them, which may evidently shew unto them what hath befallen them since they degenerated from the measure of God, which some of them had in them, and it may also put them in mind of Gods justice and severity towards them* (London, 1660).

*A Caution Against Deceivers, with respect to the subordination of the Son of God; and a defence of several eminent divines, viz. A. B. Wake, A. B. Tillotson, Dr. Owen, Dr. Manton, &c. Being quotations from their own works. By which it appears, That those Divines never held such a Subordination of the Son of God, as is now pleaded for in Exon, as tho' the Son were a Subordinate Being, or a Subordinate God to the Father; but that when they mention'd any thing of the Subordination of the Son, it was only a Relative Subordination, in the same Being or Godhead; and that they believed the Father, Son, and Holy Ghost, to be the one Supream God* (Exeter, 1719).

*Certain Considerations and Cautions agreed upon by the ministers of London, Westminster, and within the lines of communication, June 19. 1646. According to which they resolve to put the presbyteriall government in execution, upon the ordinances of Parliament heretofore published* (London, 1646).


Chillingworth, William, *The religion of Protestants a safe vvay to salvation, or, An ansvver to a booke entitled Mercy and truth, or, Charity maintain'd by Catholiques, which pretends to prove the contrary* (Oxford, 1638).


Clarke, Samuel, *A generall martyrologie containing a collection of all the greatest persecutions which have befallen the church of Christ from the creation to our present times : whereunto are added, The lives of sundry modern divines, famous in their generations for learning and piety, and most of them great sufferers in the cause of Christ* (London, 1651).

Clarke, Samuel, *The lives of thirty-two English divines famous in their generations for learning and piety, and most of them sufferers in the cause of Christ* (London, 1677).
Clarke, Samuel, *The lives of two and twenty English divines eminent in their generations for learning, piety, and painfulnesse in the work of the ministry, and for their sufferings in the cause of Christ* (London, 1660).

Clarke, Samuel, *The marrow of ecclesiastical historie, conteined in the lives of the fathers, and other learned men, and famous divines, which have flourished in the Church since Christ's time, to this present age. Faithfully collected out of several autors, and orderly disposed, according to the centuries wherein they lived.* (London, 1650).

*Certain considerations and cautions agreed upon by the ministers of London, Westminster, and within the lines of communication, June 19. 1646. According to which they resolve to put the presbyteriall government in execution, upon the ordinances of Parliament heretofore published* (London, 19 June 1646).

*A Collection of Farewel-Sermons preached by Mr. Calamy 1. Mr. Watson 2. Mr. Sclater 3. Mr. Watson 4. Dr. Jacomb 5. Mr. Case 6. Dr. Jacomb 7. Mr. Baxter 8. Mr. Jenkins 10. Mr. Lye 11. 12. Dr. Manton 13. To their respective congregations at their departure from them. To which is annexed, A sermon preached at the funeral of Mr. Simeon Ash by Edmund Calamy* (London?, 1662).27

Corbet, John, *A Discourse of the Religion of England Asserting, That Reformed Christianity Settled in its Due Latitude, is the Stability and Advancement of this Kingdom* (London, 1667).


Crisp, Tobias, *Christ made sin II Cor. V. xxi evinc’t from Scripture, upon occasion of an exception taken at Pinners-Hall, 28 January, 1689, at re-printing the sermons of Dr. Tobias Crisp,* ed. Samuel Crisp (London, 1691).


Currie, John, *Jus populi divinum, or the people’s right to elect their pastors; made evident by scripture, confirmed from Antiquity and Judgment of foreign Protestant Churches and Divines since the Reformation, as also from Books of Discipline, Acts of General Assemblies, and Sentiments of our best Writers in the Church of Scotland, &c* (Edinburgh, 1727).

27 Neither the printer nor the location is identified; Wing C5145A.
Currie, John, *A sermon preached in the church of Kirkaldie, at the opening of the synod of Fife, upon the 26th day of September 1732. On 2 Tim. ii. 15. Study to shew thy self approved to God, &c.* (Edinburgh, 1732).


Despagne, John, *The joyful convert: represented in a short but elegant sermon preached at the baptizing of a Turke, who renouncing the law of Mahomet, and having given abundant satisfaction for the reasons and soundness of his conversion, was baptized in the French Church May 2. 1658. the Marquis of Montpouillian, and the Lady Adrian de Mayern, being his godfather and godmother* (London, 1659).

*The Devil turned Quaker, or, The damnable, divellish, and accursed doctrines and designes of these desperate, deluded, and deluding people called Quakers their damnable opinions and horrid blasphemies touching the person and deity of our blessed Lord and Saviour Jesus Christ: especially the divelish practices and accursed blasphemies and opinions of one James Neyler ... who blasphemously declared himself to be God and was publickly worshipped as God by his wicked disciples at Bristol, who now lye in prison* (London, 1656).

*Directions of the Lords and Commons assembled in Parliament after advice had with the Assembly of Divines, for the electing and choosing of ruling-elders in all the congregations, and in the classical assemblies for the cities of London and Westminster, and the several counties of the kingdom, for the speedy settling of the Presbyteriall-Government* (London, 19 August 1645).


Edwards, Thomas, *The first and second part of Gangraena, or, A catalogue and discovery of many of the errors, heresies, blasphemies and pernicious practices of the sectaries of this time, vented and acted in England in these four last years also a particular narration of divers stories, remarkable passages, letters: an extract of many letters, all concerning the present sects: together with some observations upon and corollaries from all the fore-named premisses* (London, 1646).

Ellison, Cuthbert, *A most pleasant description of Benwel village, In the County of Northumberland* (Newcastle upon Tyne, 1726).

Enty, John, *A Preservative Against Several Abuses and Corruptions of Reveal’d Religion: Containing Remarks on a Late Book of Mr. Joseph Hallet* (Exeter,

Faldo, John, *XXI divines (whose names are here-under affixed) cleared of the unjust criminations of Will. Penn in his pretended just rebuke for their epistle to a book, entitled, Quakerism no Christianity* (London, 1675).

Faldo, John, *Quakerism no Christianity: or, A thorow-Quaker no Christian Proved by the Quakers principles, detected out of their chief writers, and confuted by Scripture and right reason: with a key to their terms and phrases, a discourse of apostolical inspirations, and an account of their foundation laid in popery* (London, 1675).


Flavel, John, *The fountain of life opened, or, A display of Christ in his essential and mediatorial glory wherein the impetration of our redemption by Jesus Christ is orderly unfolded as it was begun, carried on, and finished by his covenant-transaction, mysterious incarnation, solemn call and dedication* (London, 1673).

Flavel, John, *Pneumatologia, a treatise of the soul of man wherein the divine original, excellent and immortal nature of the soul are opened, its love and inclination to the body, with the necessity of its separation from it, considered and improved* (London, 1685).

Foulis, Henry, *The history of the wicked plots and conspiracies of our pretended saints representing the beginning, constitution, and designs of the Jesuite: with the conspiracies, rebellions, schisms, hypocrisy, perjury, sacrilege, seditions, and vilefying humour of some Presbyterians, proved by a series of authentick examples, as they have been acted in Great Brittain, from the beginning of that faction to this time* (London, 1662).

Fox, George, *Honest, plain, down-right-dealing with the people called episcopalmen, & Presbyterians. In this seasonable advice given unto them, and their teachers* (London, 1660).

*A Further Narrative of the Passages of these times in the Common-Wealth OF ENGLAND....An exact relation of the manner of the solemn Investiture, or happy Inauguration of his Highness the Lord Protector at Westminster, June 26. 1657. With his Oath, and the Oath of the privy Coun|cell, and every*
person who now is, or hereafter shall be a Member of either House of Parliament before he sit shall from and after the first of July 1657 take the same (London, 1658).

Gauden, John, Charis kai eirene, or, Some considerations upon the Act of uniformity with an expedient for the satisfaction of the clergy within the province of Canterbury by a servant of the God of peace (London, 1662).

Gauden, John, Kakourgoi, sive medicastri: Slight healers of publick hurts set forth in a sermon preached in St. Pauls Church, London, before the Right Honorable the Lord Mayor, Lord General, aldermen, Common-Council, and companies of the honorable City of London. Febr. 28. 1659. Being a day of solemn thanksgiving unto God for restoring the secluded members of Parliament to the House of Commons: (and for preserving the city) as a door of hope thereby opened to the fulness and freedom of future Parliaments: the most probable means under God for healing the hurts, and recovering the health of these three Brittish kingdoms (London, 1660).


Gilpin, Richard, Demonologia sacra, or, A treatise of Satan’s temptations in three parts (London, 1677).

Goodwin, John, Basanistai. Or The triers, (or tormenters) tried and cast, by the laws both of God and of men. Or, arguments and grounds as well in reason as religion, clearly evincing the unlawfulness of those ordinances or commissions (at least as they have been from time to time declared and interpreted, aloud by the persons acting them, and tacitly by the authority enacting them) with all others of like import, by which the respective courts, or consistories of triers and ejectors (so called) amongst us, are established: together with the unwarrantablenesse of the acceptation and exercise of the powers delegated and granted in the said commissions, by any man, or company of men whatsoever, now in being (London, 1657).


Hall, Edmund, He aostasia ho antichristos: or, A scriptural discourse of the apostasie and the Antichrist, by way of comment, upon the twelve first verses of 2 Thess. 2. Under which are opened many of the dark prophecies of the old Testament, which relate to the calling of the Jews, and the glorious things to be effected at the seventh trumpet through the world. Together with a discourse of slaying the witnesses, and the immediate effects thereof (London, 1653).

Hall, Joseph, Christian Moderation in Two Books (1640).
Hall, Joseph, A Defence of the humble remonstrance, against the frivolous and false exceptions of Smectymnnvs wherein the right of leiturgie and episcopacie is clearly vindicated from the vaine cavils, and challenges of the answerers by the author of the said humble remonstrance (London, 1641).

Hall, Joseph, An Humble Remonstrance to the High Court of Parliament, by a dutifull sonne of the Church (1641).

Hall, Joseph, A modest offer of some meet consideratons tendered to the learned prolocutor, and to the rest of the Assembly of Divines, met at Westminster. By a true lover of truth and peace (Oxford?, 1644).


Hall, Thomas, An exposition by way of supplement, on the fourth, fifth, sixth, seventh, eighth and ninth chapters of the prophecy of Amos where you have the text fully explained...together with a confutation of Dr. Holmes, and Sir Henry Vane, in the end of the commentary (London, 1661).

Hallett, Joseph, The Belief of the Subordination of the Son of God to his father no characterick of an Arian (Exeter, 1719).


Hammond, Henry, A vindication of the dissertations concerning episcopacie from the answers, or exceptions offered against them by the London ministers, in their Jus divinum ministerii evangelici (London, 1654).

Harvard College Library, Catalogus Librorum Bibliothecae Collegij Harvardini Quod est Cantabrigiae in Nova Anglia (Boston, 1723).

The Hearty Concurrence of divers citizens and inhabitants of the city of London; with the ministers of the province thereof, to their testimony to their truth of Jesus Christ, and to our solemne League and Covenant. As also against the errours, heresies, and blasphemies of these times, and the toleration of them (London, 1648).

Heath, James, Flagellum, or, The life and death, birth and burial of Oliver Cromwel faithfully described in an exact account of his policies and successes, not heretofore published or discovered (London, 1663).

Heath, James, A brief chronicle of the late intestine vvar in the three kingdoms of England, Scotland and Ireland, with the intervening affairs of treaties, and other occurences relating thereunto as also the several usurpations, foreign wars, differences and interests depending upon it : composed and ended by the happy restitution of our Sacred Soveraign King Charls the Second : with all memorable affairs since his time : in four parts, as the government and its usurpations altered, from the year of our Lord 1637 to this present year
1663 (London, 1663).

Hieron, Samuel, *The preachers plea: or, A treatise in forme of a plain dialogue making known the worth and necessary vse of preaching: shewing also how a man may profit by it, both for the informing of his iudgement, and the reforming of his life* (London, 1604).


Heylin, Peter, *Cyprianus anglicus, or, The history of the life and death of the Most Reverend and renowned prelate William, by divine providence Lord Archbishop of Canterbury...containing also the ecclesiastical history of the three kingdoms of England, Scotland, and Ireland from his first rising till his death* (London, 1668).

Heylin, Peter, *Aerius redivivus, or, The History of the Presbyterians containing the beginnings, progress and successes of that active sect, their oppositions to monarchial and episcopal government, their innovations in the church, and their imbroylments of the kingdoms and estates of Christendom in the pursuit of their designes: from the year 1536 to the year 1647* (Oxford, 1670).

Hickes, George, *A letter sent from beyond the seas to one of the chief ministers of the non-conforming party by way of reply to many particulars which he sent to the author in a letter of news / by a lover of the established government both of church and state* (London?, 1674).


Higginson, Francis, *A brief relation of the irreligion of the northern Quakers wherein their horrid principles and practices, doctrines and manners ... are plainly exposed to the view of every intelligent reader: together with a (brief reply) to some part of a very scurilous and lying pamphlet called SAULS errand to Damascus* (London, 1653).


Hyde, Edward, *The History of the Rebellion and Civil Wars in England begun in the year 1641: With the precedent passages and actions that contributed thereunto, and the happy end and conclusion thereof by the King's blessed restoration and return, upon the 29th of May in the year 1660*, 3 vols (Oxford, 1702-1704).


Jane, William, The present separation self-condemned and proved to be schism as it is exemplified in a sermon preached upon that subject by Mr. W. Jenkyn; and is further attested by divers others of his own persuasion all produced in answer to a letter from a friend (London, 1678).

Jeanes, Henry, The want of church-government no warrant for a totall omission of the Lords Supper...Whether or No, the Sacrament of the Lords Supper May (According to Presbyterial Principles) Be Lawfully Administred [sic] in an Un-presbyterated church (London, 1650).

Jenkyn, William, The burning yet un-consumed bush, or, The holinesse of places discuss'd held forth in two farewell-sermons at Christ-Church London, August 17th, 1662 (London, 1662).


Jessey, Henry, A narrative of the late proceeds at White-Hall concerning the Jews who had desired by R. Manasses an agent for them, that they might return into England, and worship the God of their fathers here in their synagogues, &c. : published for satisfaction to many in several parts of England, that are desirous, and inquisitive to hear the truth thereof (London, 1656).


Kennett, White, A Register and Chronicle, Ecclesiastical and Civil: Containing Matters of Fact, Delivered in the words of the most authentick books, Papers, and Records; Towards Discovering and Connecting the True History of England, from the Restauration of King Charles II (London, 1728).

King, William, A Discourse Concerning the Inventions of Men in the worship of God (London, 1726).

Lake, John, Infant-Baptism a Reasonable and Scriptural Service (London, 1781).

Leigh, Edward, Annotations upon all the New Testament philologickall and theologickall wherein the emphasis and elegancie of the Greeke is observed, some imperfections in our translation are discovered, divers Jewish rites and customes tending to illustrate the text are mentioned, many antilogies and seeming contradictions reconciled, severall darke and obscure places opened, sundry passages vindicated from the false glosses of papists and hereticks (London, 1650).
Leigh, Edward, *Foelix consortium, or, A fit conjunction of religion and learning in one entire volume, consisting of six books: the first treating of religion in general ... the second of learning ... the third, fourth, fifth and sixth books particularizing the men eminent for religion or learning* (London, 1663).

Leigh, Edward, *The saints encouragement in evil times: or Observations concerning the martyrs in generall with some memorable collections out of Foxes three volumes. Martin Luther. The covenant and promises. Living and dying by faith* (London, 1648).

Leigh, Samuel, *Samuelis Primitae: or, an essay towards a metrical version of the whole book of Psalmes Composed, when attended with the disadvantagious circumstances of youth, and sickness* (London, 1661).

L'Estrange, Roger, *Interest mistaken, or, The holy cheat proving from the undeniable practises and positions of the Presbyterians, that the design of that party is to enslave both King and people under the masque of religion, by way of observation upon a treatise, entituled, The interest of England in the matter of religion* (London, 1661).

L'Estrange, Roger, *Truth and loyalty vindicated from the reproches and clamours of Mr. Edward Bagshaw together with a further discovery of the libeller himself, and his seditious confederates* (London, 1662).


Lloyd, David, *Cabala, or, The mystery of conventicles unveil'd in an historical account of the principles and practices of the nonconformists, against church and state: from the first reformation under King Edward the VI. anno 1558. to this present year, 1664: with an appendix of an CXX. plots against the present government, that have been defeated* (London, 1664).

Love, Christopher, *Mr. Love's speech made on the scaffold on Tower-hill, August 22. 1651. With his proposals to the citizens of London; his desires touching religion, and his judgment concerning the Presbyterian-government; as also, his perfect prayer immediately before his head was severed from his body: printed by an exact copy taken in short-hand* (London, 1651).

Love, Christopher, *A modest and clear vindication of the serious representation, and late vindication of the ministers of London, from the scandalous aspersions of John Price, in a pamphlet of his, entituled, Clerico-classicum or, The clergies alarum to a third war. Wherein his king-killing doctrine is confuted. The authors by him alleged, as defending it, cleared. The ministers of London vindicated. The follies, and falsities of John Price*
discovered. The protestation, vow, and the Covenant explained (London, 1649).


Marvell, Andrew, *Remarks upon a late disingenuous discourse, writ by one T.D. under the pretence de causa Dei, and of answering Mr. John Howe's letter and postscript of God's prescience, &c., affirming, as the Protestant doctrine, that GOd doth by efficacious influence universally move and determine men to all their actions, even to those that are most wicked by a Protestant* (London, 1678).

Marvell, Andrew, *The second and third advice to a painter, for drawing the history of our navall actions, the two last years, 1665 and 1666 in answer to Mr. Waller* (London, 1667). 

Mather, Cotton, *The everlasting Gospel. The gospel of justification by the righteousness of God as 'tis held and preach'd in the churches of New-England: expressed in a brief discourse on that important article; made at Boston in the year, 1699...And, asserted with the attestations, of several reverend and eminent persons, now most considerable in those churches* (Boston, 1700).


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28 Formerly attributed to Sir John Denham; on Marvell's authorship, see Martin Dzelzainis, ‘L'Estrange, Marvell and the *Directions to a Painter*: The Evidence of Bodleian Library MS Gough London 14’ in Anne Dunan-Page and Beth Lynch, *Roger L’Estrange and the Making of Restoration Culture* (Aldershot, 2008), ch. 3.


Nedham, Marchamont, The true character of a rigid Presbyter with a narrative of the dangerous designes of the English and Scotish covenanters as they have tended to the ruine of our Church and Kingdom: also the articles of their dogmatic faith and the inconsistency thereof with monarchy (London, 1661).

A New Confession of Faith or The holy scriptures of the Old and New Testament are the word of God, and the only rule of knowing him savingly, and living unto him in all holiness and righteousness, in which we must rest (London, 1654).

Nicolls, Ferdinando, The life and death of Mr. Ignatius Jurdain, one of the aldermen of the city of Exeter, who departed this life July 15th, 1640 drawn up and published by Ferd. Nicolls (London, 1654).

Nye, John, Mr Sadler Re-examined, or, His disguise discovered. Shewing, the grosse mistakes and most notorious falshoods in his dealing with the Commissioners for Approbation of Publike Preachers in his Inquisitio Anglicana. : Wherein also a brief and true account is given of their righteous proceedings with him and those that come before them. By one who has been a constant eye and ear-witnesse of all their proceedings, though now in no relation to them (London, 1654).

An Ordinance of the Lords and Commons Assembled in Parliament for giving power

29 This was never published publicly, but only 300 copies by order of Parliament.
to all the classickall presbyteries within their respective bounds to examine, approve, and ordaine ministers for several congregations. Die Lunae 10. Novemb. 1645. (London, 10 November 1645).


Owen, John, The humble proposals of Mr. Owen, Mr. Tho. Goodwin, Mr. Nye, Mr. Sympson, and other ministers, who presented the petition to the Parliament, and other persons, Febr. 11. under debate by a committee this 31. of March, 1652. for the furtherance and propagation of the Gospel in this nation. Wherein they having had equall respects to all persons fearing God, though of differing judgements, doe hope also that they will tend to union and peace. With additionall propositions humbly tendred to the Committee for propagating the Gospel, as easie and speedy means for supply of all parishes in England with able, godly, and orthodox ministers. For, setting of right constituted churches, and for preventing persons of corrupt judgements, from publishing dangerous errours, and blasphemies in assemblies and meetings, by other godly persons, ministers, and others (London, 1652).

Parkinson, Richard (ed.), The Life of Adam Martindale (Manchester, 1845).

Patrick, Simon, A friendly debate betwixt two neighbours, the one a conformist, the other a non-conformist about several weighty matters (London, 1668).


Perkins, William, The arte of prophecying, or, A treatise concerning the sacred and onely true manner and methode of preaching first written in Latine by Master William Perkins ; and now faithfully translated into English (London, 1607).


Peters, Hugh, A word for the Armie. And two words to the kingdome. To cleare the one, and cure the other. / Forced in much plainesse and brevity from their
faithfull servant, Hugh Peters (London, 1647).

Poole, Matthew, *A Model for the Maintaining of Students of Choice Abilities at the University* (London, 1658).

Powell, Thomas, *A sanctuary for the tempted: being a discourse on Christ’s friendly admonition to Peter Wherein the fall and rising of Peter, is at large considered: the craft, potency, and malice of Satan (that arch-enemy of our salvation) discovered: his various wiles. stratagems and machinations invalidated: several choice and excellent Gospel-truths handled, and cleared (from the calumnies and objections of gainsayers.*) (London, 1679).

Price, John, *Clerico-classicum, or, The clergi-allerum to a third war.*

*Being an answer to a pamphlet, intituled, A serious and faithfull representation of the judgements of ministers of the Gospel within the province of London, contained in a letter from them to the Generall and his Councell of Warre. Delivered to his Excellency by some of the subscribers, Jan. 18. 1648. Which may likewise serve for a brief answer to their late vindication, relating to their former actings, touching the capitall punishment of the person of the King* (London, 1649).

Prince, John, *Danmonii orientales illustres: or, the worthies of Devon. A work, wherein the lives and fortunes of the most famous divines, statesmen, Swordsmen, Physicians, Writers, and other eminent persons, natives of that most noble province, from before the Norman Conquest, down to the present Age, are memoriz’d, in an Alphabetical Order, out of the most approved Authors, both in Print and Manuscript In which an account is given not only of diver very deserving persons.* (Exeter, 1701).

Price, John, *The Pulpit Incendiary: or, The divinity and devotion of Mr. Calamy, Mr. Case, Mr. Cauton, Mr. Cranford, and other Sion-Colledge preachers in their morning-exercises, with the keen and angry application thereof unto the Parliament and Army. Together with a true vindication of the Covenant from the false glosses put upon it, and a plain indication of Covenant-breakers.* (London, 1648).

Provincial Assembly of London, *Jus divinum ministerii evangelici. Or The divine right of the Gospel--ministry: divided into two parts. The first part containing a justification of the Gospel-ministry in general. The necessity of ordination thereunto by imposition of hands. The unlawfulness of private mens assuming to themselves either the office or work of the ministry without a lawfull call and ordination. The second part containing a justification of the present ministers of England, both such as were ordained during the prevalency of episcopacy from the foul aspersion of antichristianism: and those who have been ordained since its abolition, from the unjust imputation of novelty: proving that a bishop and presbyter are all one in Scripture; and that ordination by presbyters is most agreeable to the Scripture-patern* (London, 1654).
Prynne, William, *An answer to a proposition in order to the proposing of a Commonwealth or democracy*. Proposed by friends to the Commonwealth by Mr. Harringtons consent; who is over-wise in his own conceit (London, 1659).

Prynne, William, *A short demurrer to the Jewes long discontinued barred remitter into England Comprising an exact chronological relation of their first admission into, their ill deportment, misdemeanors, condition, sufferings, oppressions, slaughters, plunders, by popular insurrections, and regal exactions in; and their total, final banishment by judgment and edict of Parliament, out of England, never to return again: collected out of the best historians and records* (London, 1656).

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