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THE LIFE OF BISHOP DAVENANT

BY THE SAME AUTHOR

OUR ESTABLISHED CHURCH

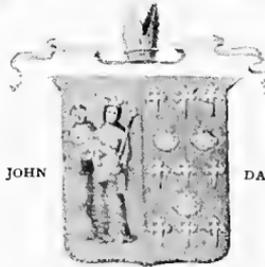
OUR TITLE DEEDS

PAN-ANGLICANISM

THE THRONE OF CANTERBURY

COURT OF FINAL APPEAL

THE LIFE OF THOMAS FULLER, D.D.



RIGHT REV. JOHN

DAVENANT, D.D

LORD BISHOP OF SALISBURY. 1621.

THE
LIFE LETTERS & WRITINGS
OF
JOHN DAVENANT D.D.
1572-1641

LORD BISHOP OF SALISBURY

BY

MORRIS FULLER B.D.

VICAR OF S. MARK'S, MARYLEBONE ROAD, W.

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“In his grave writings he (the Good Bishop) aims at God's glory and the Church's peace, with that worthy prelate, *the second Jewell of Salisbury*, whose comments and controversies will transmit his memory to all posterity.”

Whose dying pen did write of *Christian union*,
How Church with Church might safely *keep Communion*,
Commend his care, although the care do misse :
The woe is ours, the happiness is his :
Who finding discords daily to encrease,
Because he could not live, would dy in peace.”

—FULLER'S *Holy State, the Good Bishop*.

TO THE
BISHOP, DEAN, AND CHAPTER
OF THE "FAMOUS AND PARAMOUNT" CHURCH OF SALISBURY
THIS SKETCH
OF AN ANGLICAN PRELATE OF THE 17TH CENTURY
THE "GOOD," "EXCELLENT," AND "LEARNED"
JOHN DAVENANT, D.D.
BISHOP OF SALISBURY
PRESIDENT OF QUEENS' COLLEGE AND MARGARET PROFESSOR
OF THEOLOGY, CAMBRIDGE
(ANGLICAN DEPUTY AT THE SYNOD OF DORT)
ONE OF THE MOST ILLUSTRIOUS
OF A LONG LINE OF ILLUSTRIOUS BISHOPS
WHO HAVE FROM TIME TO TIME ADORNED THAT EMINENT SEE
"THE SECOND JEWELL OF SALISBURY"
AS HE HAS BEEN LOVINGLY AND ADMIRINGLY CALLED
IS
Dedicated
WITH EVERY FEELING OF DUTIFUL RESPECT
BY
THEIR FAITHFUL AND HUMBLE SERVANT
THE AUTHOR

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P R E F A C E

THIS volume contains the "Life, Letters, and Writings of Bishop Davenant"—an Anglican Prelate of the seventeenth century—who has been not under-rated, but overlooked. It is an attempt to rescue from comparative obscurity a great and good man, who deserves to be better known, and to pourtray the characteristics of an eminent and typical theologian of the age in which he lived. It emphasises an aspiration to recover and keep alive a precious memory, and has been undertaken as a work of love. Short biographical sketches of this worthy divine have been before written, but this is the first serious effort at a critical and connected biography. As such it illustrates, and is meant to be an ideal picture of, the *via media* of the Anglican Church.

The "Life of Bishop Davenant" is intended to be a companion volume to the "Life, Times, and Writings" of Dr Thomas Fuller, the Church historian, whose maternal uncle he was, which the present writer published some time ago in two volumes. The two biographies—which necessarily overlap in some degree—yet cover a period of nearly a century, *i.e.*, from 1572-1661, one of the most critical periods in the history of our institutions in Church and State. The *method* adopted in this Life is the same as that employed in the former one—and which received the emphatic approval of the late Archbishop of Canterbury. The method consists of giving *précis* of the various publications of the subject of the memoirs in chronological order, and then making the life to hang, as it were, round these productions in orderly sequence. Thus the whole

life is preserved as a matter of course, and a complete word-portrait is presented.

One special feature of the work is the number of Davenant's letters, which have now been published for the first time. They have been collected at great trouble and expense from the various public libraries, and it is believed that they will prove—especially the Laudian Epistles—very valuable in throwing a side-light upon the ecclesiastical and ritual troubles of contemporary Church history.

Another important item. It was known that Bishop Davenant's celebrated "Fast Sermon" at Westminster Abbey, preached at one of the National Fasts during the Troubles, was extant, but it could nowhere be found. After a prolonged search, the writer was at length rewarded by finding it in the archives of the British Museum. It is reprinted at length, and will be found full of the "strong meat" and flavour of the theology of that controversial period—and "there were giants in those days."

Considerable attention has been directed to the Synod of Dort, and two chapters have been devoted to the discussion of that celebrated Conference of members of the Reformed Communities. King James—after the fashion of the English Monarchs of those days—sent five of our most illustrious theologians as British representatives to attend its deliberations. Of these, Davenant was certainly the leading spirit of the College. Of this number, Bishop Carleton was reputed a most rigid Calvinist, but the remainder may be classed among the moderate *Augustinians*. They were all opposed indeed to the peculiar notions of Arminius with respect to the Divine decrees; but as we argue from their language on the benefits of infant baptism, or on the reception of regenerating grace by some who may not afterwards have persevered, their general doctrine had been drawn exclusively from *Hippo*, in contradistinction from Geneva. It is quite clear that Davenant and his *fidus Achates*, Dr Seth Ward, upheld the doctrine of

“ Augustinianism ” as the received doctrine of the Church of England, and in this they were agreed with their mutual and learned friend Archbishop Usher. “ In the course of the discussions, from the opening of the Synod to its close, we cannot fail to notice,” says the late Archdeacon Hardwick, “ that the influence of the English Deputies—and more especially of Davenant and Ward—was always on the side of primitive truth and Christian moderation ” (*History of the Articles*, p. 196).

One word more anent the Synod. The British College laboured, and with success, to prove to the Foreign Representatives that the episcopal regimen of our Church was the more excellent way. This they seem to have been fully convinced about, but averred that they had had no chance to conserve the Succession, which they deplored. An interesting question arises whether *we* could not offer the Orthodox Reformed Churches of the Continent that which they deplored the loss of, viz., the Historic Episcopate and the Divine Liturgy, although, be it remembered, they have retained the three Creeds of the Undivided Church in their symbolical writings. And this might be a first step in the reunion of Christendom. “ If ever,” said De Maistre, “ a divided Christendom is to be reunited, it must be through the instrumentality of the Anglican Church—for the good sense of the English has preserved the Hierarchy.” The eloquent author of “ *Du Pape* ” could not fail to see that the Church of England only can touch Rome on the one side, and the Reformed on the other. Such a beginning might also tend to promote that Home Reunion which is so desirable among ourselves.

In this work, the Laudian Revival—in which Davenant played an important part—has been carefully treated, and in this the writer has had the benefit of the advice and supervision of his old friend, the late Rev. James Bliss, M.A., editor of Laud’s works in the Anglo-Catholic Library, and who had made Laudian subjects his life’s study.

The writer is conscious that in his analyses of Davenant's works he has done scant justice to the intellectual acumen and subject matter of these learned treatises, which have been the admiration of the theological world for so many years.

It is no small effort to reduce to the limitations of a few chapters a *précis* of those voluminous and exhaustive works, which have arrested the attention, and won the commendation, of a Bellarmine, a Bull, and a Newman.

In fact no one realizes the imperfections of the present work more than the writer himself, but the critics will please to remember that it has been put together during the intervals of a busy pastorate, and in vacation and other off times.

It may, however, be stated that it is from first to last a labour of *love*. The present Bishop of Salisbury, who has kindly looked over some of the proof-sheets, but who is in no way responsible for their contents, writes me under date January 21st, 1897: "I wish the book all success, and thank you for the labour of love spent in illustrating the life of a good man, who deserves to be better known."

M. F.

ST MARK'S VICARAGE, MARYLEBONE ROAD, W.,

Festival of S. Matthias, 1897.

THE LIFE AND WRITINGS OF BISHOP DAVENANT

CHAPTER I

THE DAVENANT FAMILY AND PEDIGREE

“There is a secret *Loadstone* in every man’s native soyle effectually attracting them home again to their country, their center.”—FULLER’S *Abel Redivivus*, p. 21.

AMONG the signs which seem to prove the presence of God in history, and more especially in the history of His Church and people, we must reckon the appearance, at critical periods, of some great man—or galaxy of great men—who, themselves imbued with the spirit of the age, know how to give to religious and political movements a practical and permanent shape. The end of the sixteenth century and beginning of the seventeenth century were fertile in such leaders. If we take 1571 as the date of the Elizabethan settlement—synchronising with the publication of the thirty-nine articles in their final shape—and 1662 as the last settlement of the Anglican Reformed Church, we must consider that time as one of the most important epochs in our national history. It marks the gradual crystallisation of the National Church, it covers the struggles of the two contending parties in its bosom, it reduces an Anglo-Catholic theology to a system, it brings into prominence the peculiar characteristics of Anglicanism, it emphasises, by a vivid contrast, the differ-

ence between the pre-Reformation and post-Reformation eras. It accentuates the Reformation settlement.

We must never forget that from the outset of the Reformation in England, about 1533, till the final settlement in 1662, there were two nations—like Jacob and Esau—contending within the womb of the English Church, the men of the Old Learning, who desired to maintain the organic continuity, historical, legal, theological and liturgical, of the post-Reformation and the pre-Reformation Church—to remove all real abuses, but to retain everything which could be justly entitled Catholic by a fair appeal to Scripture and primitive antiquity; and those of the New Learning, whose one aim was the entire destruction of everything ancient, as in Scotland and Geneva, and the formation of a sect, whose purity was to be gauged by its qualitative divergence from the discipline and doctrine of Latin Christendom. It is quite clear that this latter section—the dominant party under Edward VI.—consisted for the most part of very unscrupulous men—cruel, greedy, and sacrilegious—though a very few of the better stamp abetted them. When the reaction under Queen Mary took place, many persons of this particular sect fled abroad, but some of the more respectable reformers, such as Matthew Parker and Roger Ascham, were left unmolested in England. But the impolitic cruelties of the Queen, instigated by her husband and Cardinal Pole, as narrated in the pages of Foxe, created a counter-reaction, and made the Puritan faction once more popular again. When the Marian exiles returned on the accession of Elizabeth some of the worst among them were advanced, by the influence of Walsingham and Leicester, to the vacant bishoprics and deaneries—offices which, as a rule, they abused, by embezzling church property for their own gain, and fostering Calvinism and Nonconformity amongst the clergy. And as the Church was also freely plundered, two processes went on all through her reign, the gradual

disappearance not only of Catholic worship, but of Catholic faith and practice, and the steady lowering of the status and education of the clergy, owing to the scantiness of the funds for their maintenance.

Thus when James I. ascended the throne, the Church of England, although it possessed the historic Episcopate and the Old Liturgy, in its main essentials, was in danger of becoming a Calvinist sect, much below the level of 1553, when, although things were outwardly worse, yet the majority of the Clergy and Laity were Catholic. When, for instance, as was brought vividly before us during the recent Laudian Commemoration, William Laud entered St John's College, Oxford, in 1589, he found the university given over to Calvinism, and there was hardly the nucleus of a High Church school of thought visible. It must not, however, be forgotten that Hooker was writing in 1590, and there were also Whitgift, Bilson, the author of the *Perpetual Government of Christ's Church*, and Bancroft, about the same period. We all know how Laud set himself to combat this state of things, how he did it with the help of Buckeridge, with consummate tact, good temper, and resolution : making new precedents when he had not old ones to fall back upon, and step by step eliminating the dominant error from Oxford. We can hardly realise this in our day when the collapse of Calvinism has been so complete, even in its own chosen homes and centers. Nor was this all. Elizabeth's Bishops, too faithfully seconded by the Presbyterian Archbishop Abbot, under James I. had brought the Church of England to the lowest depths of repute and efficiency. An ignorant, heterodox, and unconforming clergy filled the benefices in many parts of the country : in the parish churches the most disgraceful squalor and irreverence prevailed : the Prelates, in too many cases, were busy in impoverishing their sees for personal gain : and every vanity of abuse, nepotism, and scandal, was rampant. All this has been forgotten in an age which has

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been so intent on the recovery of the "six points" of Ritual, as not even to know the "five points" of Calvinism, once so dear to the hearts of our countrymen.

The period when the subject of our memoir flourished, 1572-1641—the last thirty years of the sixteenth century and the first forty of the seventeenth century—may be regarded as one of the most critical in the development of the National Church. It was then that the Archbishop just alluded to lived and died. William Laud was born 1573 and died 1645. John Davenant was born 1572 and died 1641. It will be noticed that these two great men went through life and their official experience *pari passu*, and were colleagues in the Episcopate, Davenant being one of Laud's suffragans, and assisting him in carrying out some of his ceremonial reformatations, although belonging to another school of thought. But it was emphatically the age of great men—it was the age of Andrewes, Jeremy Taylor, Hall, Fuller, Bedell, Duppa, Peter Heylin, Hornecke, Juxon, Overall, Usher, Montagu, Wren, Mede, Herbert, Hammond, Sanderson, Cosin, Hales and Chillingworth. There were indeed giants in those days. Perhaps it is owing to the fact that his lot was cast among such Titans, that Davenant has not taken that prominence in people's interest and consideration, which was his due. Yet some of our greatest divines have appreciated him at his real value. No other testimony needs to be adduced than one of Bishop Bull, who, however differing from Davenant with regard to the *ground* of their doctrine, has passed, in the following judgment, the highest eulogium upon his treatise (on Justification) for sterling worth, scholastic ability, and practical soundness. Thus, says he, on drawing to a close of his own discussion of the subject, in his *Harmonia*, "as a conclusion to this undertaking, I will subjoin a remarkable testimony of a man of most extensive learning, and a most worthy Prelate of the Anglican Church, who well knew and faithfully maintained

the sound and orthodox doctrine of our church in this controversy, and who, in short, most successfully, if ever man did, exposed the subtleties and devices of Bellarmine and of others of the Popish party; I mean the *great Davenant*, Bishop of Salisbury, who in his most learned Disputations concerning actual and imputed righteousness, cap. 31, thus explains and confirms in two short, but indeed, most learned theses, all the statements made in these Dissertations concerning the necessity of good words."¹ "What a pillar he was," says Bishop Hacket, "in the Synod of Dort, is to be read in the judgments of the British Divines inserted among the public acts; his part being the best in that work; that work being far the best in the compliments of that synod." Archbishop Usher—and Davenant was on close terms of intimacy with him—would say, "Davenant understood those controversies (the Quinquarticular) better than any man ever did since St Austin."

Few men appear to have been more honoured and venerated by all parties than Bishop Davenant. In all the works of friends and opponents, there is not to be found a single sentence approaching even to disrespect, much less any thing that can tend to cast the slightest reflection upon his deportment in any measure of his public and private life. His profound learning, acuteness of intellect, Catholic spirit, active benevolence, and meekness, are constantly adverted to; and the phrases, "the good Bishop Davenant," "the excellent Bishop Davenant," "the learned Bishop Davenant," &c., are the usual appendages to his name, even in the writings of those who took up the pen in express hostility to certain of their theological views. Even that eminent nonconformist Dr E. Calamy, in his lecture room at Salters Hall, recommends his hearers to consult the learned and peaceable Bishop Davenant.

The translator of his works on the Colossians and on

¹ Bishop Bull's *Harmonia Apostolica*, Disp. II. cap. xviii. sec. 10.

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Justification, remarks, "As respects our author himself when collecting materials for some suitable account of him, it became requisite to search the lives and writings of his contemporaries, and wade through the history of their time; and I soon discovered, that, however neglected in the present age, he enjoyed, in his own, a reputation among the first; and anxious to do justice to his merits—an anxiety augmented by the efforts of some modern opponents of him, and of his faith, to revive and propagate old misrepresentations, in order to disparage the value of his works—my investigation and search were redoubled."¹

It may be asked with such testimonies to the value and importance of Bishop Davenant's writings, and the opinion of such a Prelate as Bishop Bull, who was complimented by the Pope on his work on the Nicene Creed, how it has happened that his works have been so little known among us? The comparative oblivion into which the works of Bishop Davenant have fallen, notwithstanding the high estimation in which they were formerly held, must be imputed to the language in which they are composed, for certainly rich as our church is in theologians, she has none perhaps, who in the union of acute and correct argument, solid judgment, scriptural depth, and profound patristic and scholastic erudition, are to be named with him.

Dr Newman, when in the Anglican Communion, wrote an elaborate work on Justification—in *vindication* of the view maintained by Bishop Bull. To each of these writers the power of Davenant's treatise on the same subject, as amongst the most formidable to be assailed, is felt and acknowledged. The testimony which Bishop Bull has borne to the "great" writer, whose views it was his object to subvert, we have just placed before the reader. Dr Newman, sustaining Bull's view, scarcely refers to any other opponent among the English divines than Davenant; but whilst he labours in the un-

¹ Rev. Josiah Allport's Preface to Colossians.

seemly and ineffectual task of upholding the Roman champion, Cardinal Bellarmine, against the powerful attacks of the learned defender of the doctrine of his own church at that time, he is compelled to bow to his talent and acknowledge that the work he would disparage "abounds with noble passages." But although his principal works,—that on Justification and his Commentary on the Epistle to the Colossians—have now been translated, we fear that, even in their English dress, they would be regarded as too "strong meat" for present day Churchmen.

The Davenants were an ancient family, which seems to have been seated in the Eastern Counties for a considerable period. Some have thought that Sir William Davenant, the eccentric poet-laureate of the period, was a member of this family, but this is not the case. They were also connected with the commerce of the metropolis. The father of the subject of these memoirs—John Davenant—was one of the merchant princes of the City of London, and evidently a person of consideration among its citizens.

His wife, Margaret Clarke, was the daughter and co-heiress of John Clarke, who resided at Farnham Castle, near Guildford, in Surrey. Of the wife of the latter (her maiden name is not given) we have the following interesting biographical notice in Fuller's *Church History*, where there is a paragraph entitled: *The Author's Gratitude to Stephen Gardiner*:—

"However (as bloody as he was) for mine own part, I have particular gratitude to pay to the memory of this Stephen Gardiner, and here I solemnly tender the same. It is on the account of Mrs Clarke; my great-grandmother by my mother's side, whose husband rented Farnham Castle, a place whither Bishop Gardiner retired, in Surrey, as belonging to his See. This Bishop, sensible of the consumptious state of his body and finding physick out of the kitchen more beneficial to him than out of the apothecary's shop, and special comfort from the cordials she provided him, did not only himself connive at her *heresy*, as he termed it; but also protected her during his life from the fury of others. Some will say that this courtesy to her was founded

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on her kindness to himself. But, however, I am so far from detaining thanks from any, deserved on just cause, that I am ready to pay them where they are but pretended due on any colour."¹

This little incident shows that Bishop Gardiner is not so black as he is painted. Fuller no doubt believed most of what is set down in Foxe; but the recollection of the humane feeling on the part of the Bishop towards Fuller's ancestor, the particulars of which he, when a child, had often heard from his grandmother, led him to regard Mary's Bishop favourably. This passage bears witness, in the next place, to the early attachment of the family to the Reformed religion. It was this old lady's grandchild, Judith Davenant, who became the mother of Dr Thomas Fuller, the celebrated author. Another daughter of Margaret Davenant was Margaret, wife of Bishop Townson, who preceded his brother-in-law, Dr Davenant, in the See of Salisbury.

Under an altar tomb on the south-east side of St Peter's, Aldwinckle—where Mr Thomas Fuller, the father of the Church Historian was vicar, and where he was born—is buried Margaret Davenant, sometime wife of John Davenant, Esq., citizen of London. She departed this life March 30th, 1613. When Fuller was about five years old, this Margaret Davenant—who was his grandmother—had come to be near her daughters, and to live with or near them, where she died. How precious a memory she left is seen by the perpetuation of her name in the families of her two daughters. Three years later a tablet was put up to her memory on the south wall. It contains the arms of Davenant and Clarke. Upon the tomb is the following inscription:—

“ Many and happy years I lived a wife,
Fruitful in children, more in godly life :

¹ *Church History*, book viii. p. 17. When writing the life of Foxe, Fuller terms Gardiner (who persecuted him) “ that cruel bloodhound.”

(*Abel Redivivus.*)

And many years in widowhood I past,
 Until to heaven I wedded was at last.
 In wedlock, children, widowhood ever blest,
 But most in death, for now with God I rest."

In this church there are some stained glass windows, and around the border of one of them is a dog and hare alternately. The dog seems to suggest that this window was the gift of one of the Lords Lovell. In heraldry a white dog is called a "*lovell*," and it was by this very cognizance that in the celebrated satirical verses upon Richard III., reference was made to one of the lords of this manor, Francis Viscount Lovell. These well-known verses are thus given by Fuller:—

"The Rat and the Cat, and *Lovell the dog*,
 Do govern all England under the *Hog*,"¹

i.e., Ratcliffe and Catesby under King Richard, "who gave a boar for his crest." It was in this church Fuller's baptism took place, on the 19th June 1608. He had as his godfathers, his two uncles Drs Davenant and Townson. "Both these persons were my godfathers and uncles, the one marrying the sister of, the other being a brother to, my mother."²

Robert Townson, a native of Cambridge, was entered at Queens', and became a fellow of that Society, with his future brother-in-law, Davenant, in 1597. He was afterwards beneficed at Wellingborough in Northamptonshire, and married Margaret, elder daughter of John Davenant, the merchant of London, being born in 1585. Living in the same neighbourhood, the families of Townsons, and their cousins the Fullers, both very numerous, would naturally have been thrown much together, and there are proofs of an intimacy between the younger Townson and Fuller. To this period belongs Fuller's recollection of his uncle, Dr Townson, who was "of a comely carriage, courteous

¹ *Worthies* (Northamptonshire), p. 207.

² *Worthies* (Camb.), p. 154.

nature, an excellent preacher," and "becoming a pulpit with his gravity." Like Fuller himself and the rest of that family, Dr Townson had a very retentive faculty, and when made D.D. he could repeat the whole of the second book of Virgil's *Æneid* without missing a single line. Subsequently he became Bishop of Salisbury in 1620, succeeding Martin Fotherby. These two divines—Davenant and Townson—being Fuller's uncles, and beneficed in the same county, were frequent guests at his father's rectory, and he not only saw much of them, but entertained for them the greatest regard.

Besides his two sisters, Judith and Margaret, Davenant had three brothers,—Edward, William, and James. Edward married Anne, daughter of John Symmes of London. Their son, Edward Davenant, was one of Fuller's tutors at Queens', according to the register of Sydney College. Edward was the President's nephew, and therefore Fuller's cousin. His father, who is described as a merchant of London, was a distinguished mathematician, and "a better Grecian than the Bishop," adds Aubrey, who further says that "he was an incomparable man in his time, and deserves to be remembered." The son was born at his father's house at Croydon, Surrey. He was of Merchant Taylor's School, and coming to Queens' had shown great scholarly ability, excelling also as a mathematician, to which his genius inclined him. He was B.A. 1614, and M.A. 1618, Fellow also of his College. Aubrey, who knew him well, and obtained from him part, or all of the particulars of Dr Fuller,¹ said that he "had excellent notes of his father's in mathematiques, as also in Greeke, and 'twas no small advantage to him to have such a learned father to imbue mathematical knowledge into him when a boy, at night times when he came home from school." When his uncle, the President of Queens', went to the Synod of Dort, as one of the

¹ "Frō Dr Edward Davenant" is added in margin of his notice of Fuller.

representatives of the Anglican Church, Edward Davenant, then Fellow of the Society, went with him, as the following order implies (October 6, 1618). Leave granted to Mr Davenant to go into Holland, and all his allowances, till his return, as yf hee were at home.—J. D.¹

Upon his uncle's accession to the bishopric of Sarum, Edward Davenant received a prebendal stall therein (1623), and afterwards the treasurership (1630), "the best dignity." He dwelt mostly at the vicarage of Gillingham, in Dorset. Gillingham is commended as being a retired place, where he was not much troubled with visits. Here his large family was born. Walker² has an account of his sufferings and losses during the troubles, stating that, at the time of his sequestration, he had seven sons and five daughters. After holding the vicarage fifty-three years he died. Other patronage came in his way, for he was made Archdeacon of Berks (1630), and received Poulshot Rectory, near Devizes, the latter post he resigned during the troubles to his wife's brother, Mr Grove. Edward Davenant is described as being "not only a man of vast learning, but of great goodness and charity." Aubrey says, "He was *my* singular good friend. He was very ready to teach and instruct. He did me the favour to inform me first in Algebra; his daughters were algebraists." Sir C. Wren, whose father was Rector of East Knoyle, near Gillingham, spoke very highly of Edward's mathematical abilities. Into his tutor's favourite study, Fuller, we may suppose, like his General Scholar, entered "with great contentment; using it as ballast for his soul, yet to fix it, not to stall it: nor suffers he it to be so unmannerly as to jostle out other arts."³

It was under this tutor, too, most likely Fuller cultivated his memory, the exercise of which faculty brought him, in latter days, an extraordinary fame. Aubrey makes refer-

¹ Old Parchment, reg. fo. 9.6.7.

² *Sufferings*, pt. ii. 63.

³ *Holy State*, p. 67.

ence to a rough and ready method practised by Davenant, who, no doubt used it among his College pupils. It is said that he had an excellent way of improving his children's memories: he would make one of them read a chapter, &c., and then they were *sur le champ* to repeat what they remembered, which did exceedingly profit them: and so for sermons, he did not let them write notes, which jaded their memories, but give an account *viva voce*. When his eldest son came to Winton School (where the boys were enjoined to write sermon notes) he had not wrote: the master askt him for his notes—he had none, but sayd: “If I do not give you as good an account as they that do, I am much mistaken.” Doubtless, therefore, this method of his tutor was in Fuller's mind when he afterwards wrote his essay on Memory. To his nephew, Edward, Bishop Davenant left the bulk of his property, including as much of his library as he wished to have: this Edward Davenant, it is said, in consequence of his being the heir, gained more by the Church at Sarum than ever any man did by the Church since the Reformation; and it was taken ill that he left it nothing or about £50.¹

¹ Aubrey's Letters, ii. 100-1.

CHAPTER II

DAVENANT'S BIRTH, EARLY YEARS, AND STUDENT LIFE (1572-94)

"And if the scholar to such height did reach, then what was he who did that scholar teach?"—FULLER'S *Worthies, Hartfordshire*, p. 26.

THE Davenants were a family of great antiquity and respectability, as we have said in our last chapter, residing from the time of Sir John Davenant, in the reign of Henry III., on a domain called Davenant's Lands, in the parish of Sible-Heningham, in the county of Essex. His descendants followed "in a worshipful degree" till we come to William Davenant, who married Joan, daughter of John Tryer of Clare in Suffolk. Their son was John Davenant, a merchant tailor of Watling Street, who was, says Fuller, "wealthy and religious." Our prelate, John Davenant, was a younger son of the John Davenant, the eminent merchant of the city already alluded to, and was born May 20, 1572, in Watling Street, London.

The descent of the family, given as from Mr Wm. Holman of Halstead, 1722 in MS., Baker, xxx. 452, is as follows on next page.

"I will but speak of the father," says Cassan, "for he was an incomparable man in his time and deserves to be remembered. He was of a healthy complexion, rose at 4 or 5 in the morning, so that he followed his studies till 6 or 7 o'clock, the time that other merchants go about their business, so that stealing so much and so quiet time, in the morning he studied as much as most men. He understood Greek and Latin perfectly, and was a better Grecian than the Bishop. He

Pedigree Chart of the Davenant Family.

SIR JOHN DAVENANT OF SIBLE-HEADINGHAM, ESSEX, TEMP. HEN. II. III.

John Davenant = Maud, d. of Ri. Chawney.

Ralph D. temp. E. I. = Margaret, d. of Sir Henry Tey, Kt.

Richard D. temp. E. II. = Muriel, d. of and coh. of John Stanton.

Nicholas D. = Ann, d. of Delamare.

Juliana, d. of Ralph Hussey, Esq. = Nicholas D. temp. E. III., R. II., H. IV.

Elizabeth, d. of ... Covill = Henry D. temp. H. VI.

Joanne, d. of Reed of London = Henry D.

John D. = Ann, d. of John Berners of Writtle, Esq.

Edward D. = Margaret d. of Bardol of ... Herts, Esq.

Robert, died young.

Joan, d. of S. Tryer of Clare, Suffolk = William Davenant.

William D. at Halsted.

Margaret, d. of Clarke of Farnham = John Davenant of London.

Judith = Thomas Fuller, Rec-
tor of St Peter's,
Aldwinkle, nr. Oundle.

Margaret = Robt. Townson
(Bishop of
Salisbury).

Edward D. = Ann,
d. of John Symmes
of London.

John Davenant
(Bishop of Salisbury).

William James.

Thomas Fuller, D.D.
(Church Historian).

writt a rare Greek character, as ever I saw. He was a great Mathematician and understood as much of it as was known in his time. Dr Davenant his son hath excellent Notes of his Father in Mathematiques, as also in Greeke and 'twas no small advantage to him to have such a learned father to imbue arithmetical knowledge into him when a boy at night time, when he came from school (Merchant Taylors)."¹

The subject of our memoir was one of a numerous family, and some detailed account of his connexions and relatives will be given during the course of this biographical sketch. He was "remarkably born," says one of his biographers, "in the seventh month of his conception, and remarkably preserved in the first half seven years from his birth, falling down a high pair of stairs, and rising at the bottom with so little harm that he smiled. God and His good angels keeping him for further service in the Church."² "When a child," says his nephew Fuller, "he would rather own his own frowardness than another's flattery; and when soothed by servants that 'not *John*, but some of his brothers did cry,' he would rather appear in his own face than wear their disguise, returning, 'it was none of his brothers, but *John* only did cry.'"

In July 1587 he was admitted of Queens' College, Cambridge. Fuller, his nephew, and Ball, both by mistake, make him a fellow-commoner. He was, according to Chalmers, matriculated as pensioner on July 4th, 1587. We are not informed why the ancient and royal foundation of St Margaret and St Bernard, Cambridge, was selected for him; as there was every antecedent probability that he would have been sent up from Merchant Taylors School³

¹ Cassan's *Bishops of Salisbury*, p. 125. ² Lloyd: *Memoirs*, p. 281.

³ With regard to the probability of the Bishop having been educated at Merchant Taylors School, The Rev. Charles J. Robinson, when Rector of West Hackney, writes me: "I think it very likely that John Davenant (Bishop of Salisbury) was at Merchant Taylors; but our lists till 1607 are imperfect, and, strange to say, Edward Davenant (about whom there is no doubt of his being there) certainly does not occur in them. I have noted this fact in the Merchant Taylors Registers (vol. i. p. 83). You will find a copy of

to St John's College, Oxford, the College of his future friend and metropolitan, William Laud. Possibly family connections had something to do with it, as he was probably a College friend of the elder Fuller, who subsequently married his eldest sister Judith, and settled down at St Peter's, Aldwinkle, near Oundle, where their son Thomas Fuller, D.D., the Church historian, was born. At all events, at the early age of fifteen, John Davenant began his student's life at Queens', for in those days there were not only boy-bachelors, but necessarily boy-students. Under excellent teachers, and equally good examples, Davenant's life was spent. He entered zealously upon his studies. It may be said of him, as was said of his nephew Fuller by his eulogist, "the College was a sphere in which his translucent abilities had room to exert themselves, so that he filled the eyes of that University with a just expectation of his future lustre."

It was then to Queens' College, Cambridge, our "hopeful slip" was sent, full of promise and great expectations. The history of this College is particularly interesting from the fact that it is the only house in Cambridge founded by my book in Sion College Library. In the second volume several Davenants occur."

On reference to Mr Robinson's Register of Scholars admitted to Merchant Taylors School (1562-1874), we find:—

1615. Robert Davenant, b. 10 Mar. 1602. Robert Davenant, of Oxford, elected to S. John's Coll., Oxford. 1610, D.D. Prebendary of Sarum, if he has not been confounded with Edward Davenant, of Queens' College, Cambridge. B.A., 1614; M.A., 1618. Prebendary and Treasurer of Sarum, 1623-1634; and Archdeacon of Berks, who is said (by Aubrey) to have been at Merchant Taylors School, but whose name does not occur on the Probationer's List (vol. i. p. 5).
1619. John Davenant, b. 1607.
1618. Nicholas Davenant, b. 1611.
1639. Richard Davenant, b. 1646.
1574. William Fuller, son of John Fuller, Gent., b. 6 Mar. 1574.
1645. Benoni Fuller, only son of Thomas, born at Upton Gray, in Hants, 16 July 1620.

There were also the names of several Fullers at M.T.S., relations of the Davenants.

one of our queens. In their present form most of the Colleges in the old Universities of England are the result of many successive enlargements, for at first their foundations were often very humble. They were also not unfrequently derived from small previous Colleges or halls: Gonville and Caius College, Trinity College, Mary Magdalene College, Christ's College, are examples of this; but the one whose early history most nearly resembles that of Queens' College is the neighbouring King's College, where, on the site of St Nicholas hostel, among others, the small foundation of St Nicholas, for one rector and twelve scholars, soon expanded into the magnificent one of the King's College of our Lady and St Nicholas, with its Provost and seventy scholars. In a similar way, the existing College of St Margaret and St Bernard had a predecessor in the College of St Bernard, named probably after the still earlier St Bernard's hostel. As it existed only sixteen months, its history is necessarily a very short one; but since (as will be seen) the two foundations were intimately connected, what is known of St Bernard's College will fitly come first.

Of the history of St Bernard's hostel—whose head, Andrew Doket, was the first principal of Queens' College—nothing is known previous to the middle of the fifteenth century. Andrew Doket may have been the founder of the hostel, as he was certainly the owner of it, but the date of its establishment and erection have not come down to us. After the foundation of the College, the hostel became a mere appendage to it, and though it is mentioned by Fuller among the larger hostels for "Artistæ," as having a considerable number of Regents, besides non-Regents, above them and young students beneath them, residing in it, yet the particulars concerning it that are recorded are very few in number, and as besides this the hostel had no share in the foundation of the College, an account of it will be found with the his-

tory of the other hostels that belonged to Queens' College.

The date of this first foundation of the College of St Bernard is 3 December 1446, and it lasted till 30 March 1448. A careful search has failed to bring to light any earlier document or papers referring directly to this short-lived College than the charter of King Henry VI. for its foundation. The deed itself is not preserved, but there is an enrolment of it in the Public Record Office, and the loss of the charter is the less to be regretted as its contents may also be known from a subsequent deed (21st August 1447).

By the first charter the King Henry VI. did "to the glory and honour of Almighty God, in whose hands are the hearts of kings, and of the blessed Virgin Mary, the Mother of Christ; and of the glorious confessor St Bernard, for the extirpation of heresies and errors, the augmentation of the faith, the advantage of the Clergy, and the stability of the Church, whose ministry ought to be entrusted to fit persons, who should shine like stars in their courses, and by learning and example alike, instruct the people"—on 3rd December 1446 found a College for a president and four fellows, more or less, according to the increase or decrease of their means, in the University of Cambridge by the name of St Bernard's College.

The site whereon the College was proposed to be erected was a plot of ground described as situate in the parish of St Botolph, between messuages of the nuns of Radegundis, Andrew Docket, clerk, and others on the south side; and messuages of the Convent of Sawtry, and Benet Morys, dyer, on the north side, abutting on the east side of Trumpington Street; and on the west on the street leading towards the Carmelite friars; the length from east to west was $277\frac{1}{2}$ feet, and its breadth from 72 to 75 feet. It had been made over to the King for this purpose of founding a College by Richard Andrewe, burgess of

Cambridge, by a deed of the previous 8th November 1446.

To this document the College seal is appended. It is round, nearly two inches in diameter. The field is divided into three compartments. In the centre one is seen St Bernard under a canopy, holding a book in his right hand, and in his left a pastoral staff; beneath him is a shield bearing the royal arms of England and France quartered. On each side of the saint are elaborate canopies, beneath that on the dexter side are four kneeling figures, and beneath that on the sinister is one kneeling figure—doubtless to represent the four fellows and the president of the College. Behind the president is a standing figure of an angel in an alb, swinging a censer. The inscription is in small Gothic letters, “*Sigillūm eor President et socior Collegii St ber]nardi de Cantebri.*”

The society also returned the foundation charter into the King's Chancery with the petition that it might be cancelled, and another charter granted, refounding the College on the new site, next to the house of the Carmelite friars; for this seemed to the president and fellows more favourable to the prosperity of their new College, in giving greater scope in their deed of surrender referred to in the charter (21 Aug.).

The message and tenements thus conveyed to the King form the site of the first court, of the Cloister Court, and of part of the fellows' building. The tenements belonging to John Thorys, Thomas Foster, and Corpus Christi College, which occupied the position of the “return” of the fellows' building, were not acquired till later.

The King acceded to the request of the society, and the charter of the following 21 Aug. [25 Henry VI. 1467] revoked the former charter, and refounded the College of St Bernard on the new site. It is by this deed, still remaining in the College treasury, that we are made acquainted with the charter of Dec. 3, 1446.

The name of the College, the president, and the four fellows constituted by it, are the same as in the earlier charter, but as in the meantime John Langton, Chancellor of the University, and Gilbert Worthington had died, other framers of the statutes were appointed in their stead.

The College was empowered to hold lands and advowson and other ecclesiastical property in mortmain, to the amount of £100 per annum, a licence which was soon after greatly extended.

In this charter the King appears in some degree to claim the credit of being founder of the College, as the reason for its exemption from all corrodies, pensions, &c. (which might be granted by the King, "*ratione dicte foundationis nostra*"), is expressed in the words, "*eo quod Collegium predictum de fundatione nostra ut pre-mittitur existit.*"

The witnesses to this charter were John Stafford, Archbishop of Canterbury, Lord High Chancellor; William Booth, Bishop of Lincoln; John Moleyns, Bishop of Chichester, Lord Keeper of the Privy Seal; Richard, Duke of York, father of Edward IV., four earls, and two others.

About this time, Margaret of Anjou,¹ the queen of Henry VI., addressed a petition to him, begging to have the foundation and making of the College. It is here given from the original, preserved among the College muniments:—

MARGARET,

R. H. To the King my souveran lord: Beseecheth meekly Margarete quene of England youre humble wif. Forasmuch as youre

¹ Margaret of Anjou was daughter of René, Count of Anjou and Provence, Duke of Bar and Lorraine, and titular King of Sicily and Jerusalem, and was born 23 Mar. 1428-9. She was espoused to Henry VI. in Nov. 1444; married to him at Southwick, Hampshire, 22 April, and crowned at Westminster, 30 May 1445. She was then, at the time when she accepted or assumed the patronage of the College, only in her 19th year, but in spite of her youth was becoming rapidly the most important personage in the realm.

moost noble grace hath newly ordeined and stablissed a Collage of Seint Bernard in the Universite of Cambridge with multitude of grete and faire privileges perpetually appertenyng unto the same as in your lr̄s patentes thereupon made more plainly hit appereth, In the which universite is no Collage founded by any quene of Englonde hidertoward, Plesse hit therefore unto youre highnesse to geve and graunte unto youre seide humble wif, the foundacōn and determinacōn of the seide Collage to be called and named the Queenes Collage of Sainte Margarete vergine and martir and Sainte Bernard Confessor, and thereupon for ful evidence hereof to have licence and pouoir to ley the first stone in her owne persone or ellis by other depute of her assignment so that beside the most noble and glorieus Collage roial of our Lady and Saint Nicholas founded by your highnesse may be founded and stablissed the said so called Queenes Collage to conservacōn of our feith and augmentacōn of pure clergie namely of the impresse of alle sciences and facultees theologic . . . to the ende there accustomed of plain lecture and expositiōn botraced with docteurs sentence authentig performed daily twyes by two docteurs notable and wel advised upon the bible aforenoone and maistre of the sentences afternoone to the publique audience of alle men frely both seculiers and religieus to the magnificence of denominacōn of such a Quenes Collage and to laud and honneure of sexe feminine, like as two noble and devoute Contesses of Pembroke and of Clare founded two Collages in the same universite called Pembroke halle and Clare halle the wiche are of grete reputacōn for good and worshipful clerkis that by grete multitude have be bredde and brought forth in theym, And of your more ample grace to graunte that all privileges immunities profites and commodites conteyned in the lr̄s patentes above rehersed may stande in their strength and pouoir after forme and effect of the contene in theym. And she shall ever preye God for you.

This document is written on parchment, 13 inches by 7 inches. The Queen, as a royal personage, puts her name on the top, and the letters R. H. are the King's own sign manual, by which he countersigned the petition on returning it to the Queen granted. Its date must be between 21 Aug. 1447 and 30 Mar. 1448.

What prompted Queen Margaret to undertake the patronage of the College—whether (as Fuller says) “as Miltiades’ trophy in Athens would not suffer Themistocles

to sleep, so this Queen, beholding her husband's bounty in building King's College was restless in herself with holy emulation until she had produced something of the like nature, a strife wherein wives without breach of duty may contend with their husbands which should exceed in pious performances—or whether Andrew Doket, finding the King too busy with the affairs of State and the management of his own two foundations, King's College and Eton College, contrived to engage the Queen's interest in a similar work—there is no forthcoming evidence to shew.”

Anyhow, the College gladly accepted the Queen as their patroness, and a second time returned their charter into chancery to be revoked, and resigned into the King's hands all the lands which they possessed, with the petition that he would grant them to Queen Margaret, together with the licence to found “another Collage in honour of the glorious virgin St Margaret and St Bernard, on the ground late of John Morys of Trumpington, Esquire.” The King acceded to the joint request of the Queen and the College, and so St Bernard's College finally disappears. Its only memorials are the Charters, a few deeds referring to its sites, and its seal: for though the will of John Caraway of Cambridge, contains a bequest to St Bernard's College, it really belongs by its date (21st May 1449) to Queen Margaret's College.

Letters patent under the great seal were issued on 30th March 1448, granting to Margaret of Anjou the lands of St Bernard's College, and license to found another—the Queens' College of St Margaret and St Bernard (30th March 1448). It is printed in the documents relating to the University and Colleges of Cambridge in the *Inspeximus* charter of Henry VIII.

In the letters patent which, in pursuance of this permission, the Queen issued on 15th April '26, Henry VI. 1448, she first recites the King's Charter of 30th March, and then repeating the provisions of it in her own name,

with little or no variation, proceeds, "in the name of the Holy and undivided Trinity, Father, Son and Holy Ghost, and of the glorious Virgin Mary, and of St Margaret, and St Bernard, by virtue and authority of the King's licence to found a College for one President and four Fellows, by the name of the Queens' College of St Margaret and St Bernard," or in Latin, "Collegium Reginale Sancte Margarete et Sancti Bernardi." As this charter contains no new points, the Queen's own words only are transcribed from the original in the College treasury—indeed, this charter is quite ignored in the confirmed charters of 2 Henry VIII. and 2 Edward VI., where the King's charter alone is recited.

This deed, 37 in. by 23 in., bears appended the seal of the Queen, which is circular, $3\frac{1}{2}$ in. in diameter, and shews the Queen's Arms crowned and supported by a griffin and an eagle surrounded by the inscription "Sigillum Margarete Dei gratia regine Anglie et Francie et domine hibernie filie regis Sicilie et Ierlm."

The prevalence of the plague at Cambridge, 1446-7, doubtless prevented Henry VI. from laying the first stone of King's College Chapel on Michaelmas 1447—and a like reason may have deterred Queen Margaret from laying the first stone of the Chapel herself, "pro forma primi operis foundationi illius," and compelled her to do it by proxy. Though the Queen was not present, we may—from the general custom of that age, the fact of the College claiming her patronage, and the number of persons of high rank and position who are recorded among its benefactors—conjecture that the foundation stone was not laid without much pomp and state. The Queen's commissioner was Sir John Wenlock, her Chamberlain, who, on 15th April 1448, the very day on which her own charter of foundation was executed, laid the first stone at the south-east corner of the Chapel. Her commission to him for this purpose, dated at Windsor, 8th April, '26, Henry VI. 1847, is

extant. Sir John Wenlock, Kt., who acted as Queen's Commissioner for the purpose of laying the first stone of the College Chapel *primaria petra ecclesie collegii illius*, is described as the Queen's Chamberlain.

In a brief account of the foundation of the College, which was written about 1470, we find some lines composed on the occasion of laying the foundation stone. According to the same authority, "this stone bore the inscription, 'Erit domine nostre Regine Margarete dominum in refugium et iste lapis in signum.'" In all accounts of the College from Dr Caius (1572) downwards, this inscription has been printed, "Erit dominæ nostræ Reginæ Margaretæ Dominus in refugium et iste lapis in signum." And Fuller translates it thus—"The Lord shall be a refuge to Lady Margaret, and this stone for a sign," and makes the following reflections on it. "Indeed, poor Queen, soon after she needed a sanctuary to shelter herself when beaten in battle, and the aforesaid (since Lord) Wenlock slain at Tewkesbury, when no doubt her soul retreated to Divine protection, the only succour left unto her." The meaning is more probably, "the power of our Lady Queen Margaret shall be our refuge, and this stone (laid in her honour) the sign of her protection."

From the words "auctoritate apostolica et regia," and in a document transcribed from it, it would seem that beside the Royal Charter, a Papal Bull was procured for the foundation of Queens' College, as was the case in most colleges and universities in those days. If this were the case the Bull was sent to London, 1538, together with all charters, statutes, &c., of the University and Colleges, and possibly destroyed, as a very diligent search was unable to find it in the Public Record Office. Nor is there any transcript of it in the Vatican papers of the British Museum. However, Archbishop Parker, in the account of the Colleges appended to this work, "De Antiquitate Britannicæ Ecclesiæ," and written about 1571, has, in his

notice of Queens' College, placed the words "ex diplomate pontificio" opposite the document; that Andrew Docket, the founder of the College, may be conjectured from this, that he saw the Papal Bull for the foundation, in the post-Reformation era, and therefore it may be yet in existence.

In these two charters of Henry and Margaret, the same society was constituted as the early ones of St Bernard's College—with Andrew Docket as president and four fellows. They were to form a corporation able to sue and be sued, with a common seal, and having license to hold property in mortmain to the amount of £200 per annum.

When the crest of the College was granted by Sir J. Cooke Clarencieux, King of Arms, 1575, the arms of Queen Margaret, with a green border, were in use. In his warrant the Queen is stated to have granted to the College "her own arms to be used in the said College." Of this, however, there is no evidence, though we might reasonably expect it to be so, as the King, by letters patent, assigned a coat of arms to this College. The first seal of the College bears, indeed, the Queen's arms, but they were on the second seal replaced by that of Elizabeth Wydeville and of England. A seal temp. Henry VIII. has only the latter, and the present one, engraved 1625, none at all.¹

Such is the history of this ancient and royal foundation of Queens' College. It took its name, as we have seen, from Margaret of Anjou, wife of Henry VI., who began to build it in 1448; and from Elizabeth Wydeville, wife of Edward IV., who completed it; "so that," says Fuller, who invariably sees a coincidence where others would never think of looking for one, "the two houses of Lancaster and York had their *first amity* in that foundation." It is entered by a covered gateway, upon which are em-

¹ The writer is indebted for this account of the history of the Queens' College to the valuable contributions of Rev. W. G. Searle, M.A. (Fellow of the College), to the Cambridge Antiquarian Series, 1851.

blazoned the arms of Queen Margaret ; it had, however, other coats "laid up in her wardrobe." The gateway is said to contain the oldest brickwork in England, and there is still an air of austere antiquity about it and the rest of the buildings—except the new buildings in the Walnut Tree Court, and the handsome new chapel by Bodley, which have quite recently been added to the ancient pile. Humphrey Tyndall was the President when Davenant went into residence, having been elected to that office in 1579. In Davenant's youth, Queens' was a prosperous College, having (including tutors, &c.) a quota of about 230 persons, only four other colleges possessing a larger number. In 1655 the number had decreased to 190, but this may have been owing to the trouble during the Commonwealth, which paralysed education as well as disestablished the Church. The College was famous as that in which Erasmus—"who no doubt," says Fuller, in a parenthesis, "might have picked and chosen what house he pleased, either invited thither by the fame of the *learning* and *love* of his friend, Bishop Fisher, then Master thereof, or *allured* with the situation of the College, so near the river (as Rotterdam, his native place, to the sea), with pleasant walks thereabout"—was a student. Aubrey says, "He studied sometimes in Queens' College in Cambridge ; his chamber was over the walls. He mentions his being there in one of his Epistles." This great scholar—of whom Queens' men are deservedly proud—was often talked about by old Cantabs, and his study "on the top of the south-west tower in the old Court," Fuller tells us, "still retaineth his name." Erasmus' tower, on the south-west corner of the old Court, is in the Fellows' buildings." This gossiping writer further tells us that (in his *Church History*, sub anno 1504) "about this time Erasmus came first to Cambridge (coming and going for seven years together and having his abode in Queens' College)" and that Erasmus' labours to mount so many stairs was re-

compensated by a pleasant prospect, which would put him in mind of his own country. "No traces of his residence," says Mr Searle, "are to be found in the bursary book, nor in any other document belonging to the College. It has, however, been a constant tradition at Queens' College that he was for some time resident in it, and as no other has any tradition on the subject, or puts forward any claim of having sheltered the great scholar within its walls, in spite of the want of contemporary evidence on the subject, beyond the dates of the three above letters, he must still be regarded, if belonging to any college at all, as having belonged to Queens'."

Samuel Knight, in his *Life of Erasmus*, has the following:—

"As Erasmus then was first invited down to Cambridge by Bishop Fisher, Chancellor of the University, and head of Queens' College, so it was to this Prelate that he ascribes all the advantages he found in that place, being accommodated by him with everything needful in his own lodgings at Queens', and promoted by this means to the Lady Margaret Professorship of Divinity, and afterwards to the Greek Professorship Chair, which places, though they were more honourable than profitable, yet were of great service to the University."

Across the bridge, now called the "Mathematical Bridge," are extensive gardens, in which are some fine old elm trees and a walk named after Erasmus, but now called the Undergraduates' Walk—it being given up to them, and from this walk excellent views are to be obtained of King's and Clare bridges and Colleges.

"Desiderius often complained," says Fuller, "of the College ale—*Cervisia hujus loci, mihi nullo modo placet*, as raw, small and windy, whereby it appears (1) Ale in that age was the constant beverage of all the Colleges before the innovation of beer (the child of hops) was brought into England. (2) Queens' College *cervisia* was not *vis Cereris* but *Ceres vitata*. In my time (when I was a member of that House) scholars, continued Erasmus his complaint: whilst the brewers (having, it seems, prescription on their side for long

time) little amended it. The best was, Erasmus had his *lagena* or flagon of wine (recruited weekly from his friends at London), which he drank sometimes singly by itself, and sometimes encouraged his faint ale with the mixture thereof.¹

Fuller, as was natural, had a hearty appreciation of the great scholar; and he makes frequent mention of him in his writings. The *Adagia* and *Colloquia* were perhaps the books to which Fuller was most inclined, for these he most often quotes. To a Roman exorcist he somewhere says, "Satan's language was as familiar as Erasmus' dialogues are well known to men, or those of Corderius to schoolboys." He justly remarks that Erasmus was a greater scholar than divine. He was Lady Margaret Professor of Divinity in 1511. The Dining Hall of the College contains a portrait of Erasmus, the royal foundresses of the house, and others.

In this austere building—surrounded by such a stimulating *entourage*—young Davenant's student life passed quickly and pleasantly away. The daily routine of College life at the period when he went into residence was very different to what it is now. There were first prayers in the College Chapel at *five* o'clock, with an occasional sermon. Then after breakfast came the regular work of the day. "It consisted of two parts—the *College-studies*—or the attendance of students on the lectures and examinations of the College tutors, or lecturers in Latin, Greek, Logic, Mathematics, Philosophy, &c., and the *University-Exercises*, or the attendance of the students, together with the students of other Colleges, in the 'public schools' of the University, either to hear the lectures of the University-professors of Greek, Logic, &c., which, however, was not incumbent on all students of all the Colleges who were preparing for their degrees." After dinner (12 o'clock) there was a further shorter attendance required at the disputations, &c. The students were further required

¹ *Hist. Univ. Camb.*, § 5, ¶ 48, p. 87.

to attend evening service; also supper at 7 o'clock, the intervals and the time after supper, up to 9 or 10 o'clock, being at their own disposal.¹

According to the University statutes, the indicated course of study in "the Liberal Arts" extended in Davenant's day over about seven years. It was divided into two periods, the first of which occupied ten or eleven terms, or about four years. The *curriculum* is not incorrectly sketched by Dr. Fuller in his character of *The General Artist*,² which is here given from that author's *Holy State*.

"I know the general cavil against general learning is this, that *aliquis in omnibus est nullus in singulis*: he that sips of many arts, drinks of none. However, we must know that all learning, which is but one great science, hath so homogeneal a body that the parts thereof do, with a mutual service, relate to, and communicate strength and lustre each to other. Our artist, knowing language to be the key of learning, thus begins:—

"1. *His tongue being one by nature, he gets cleved by art and industry.* Before the confusion of Babel all the world was one continent in language, since divided into several tongues, as several islands. Grammar is the ship by benefit whereof we pass from one to another in the learned languages generally spoken in no country. His mother tongue was like the dull music of a monochord, which by study he turneth into the harmony of several instruments.

"2. *He first gaineth skill in the Latin and Greek tongues.* On the credit of the former alone he may trade in discourse all over Christendom. But the Greek, though not so generally spoken, is known with no less profit and more pleasure. The joints of her compounded words are so naturally oiled that they run nimbly on the tongue, which makes, though long, never tedious, because significant.

"3. *Hence he proceeds to Hebrew, the mother tongue of the world.* More pains than quickness of wit is required to get it, and with daily exercise he continues it. Apostacy herein is usual to fall totally from the language by a little neglect.

¹ Masson's *Milton*, i. p. 112.

² "An artist, in its earlier acceptation, was one who cultivated not the *fine*, but the *liberal* arts. The classical scholar was eminently the artist" (Trench, *Select Glos.* p. 9).

"4. Then he applies his study to *Logic and Ethics*. The latter makes a man's soul mannerly and wise ; but as for logic, that is the armoury of reason, furnished with all offensive and defensive weapons. They are *sylogisms*, long swords : *euthymines*, short daggers : *dilemmas*, two-edged swords that cut on both sides ; *sorites*, chain-shot ; and for the defensive, *distinctions*, which are shields ; *retortions*, which are targets with a pike in the *middest* of them, both to defend and oppose.¹ From thence he raiseth his studies to the knowledge of *Physics*, the great hall of nature ; and *Metaphysics*, the closets thereof ; and is careful not to wade therein so far, till by subtle distinguishing of notions he confounds himself.

"5. He is skilful in *rhetoric*, which gives a speech colour, as *Logic* doth favour, and both together beauty. Though some condemn rhetoric as the mother of lies, [speaking more than the truth in hyperboles, less in her meiosis, otherwise in her metaphors, contrary in her ironies : yet is there, excellent use in all these when disposed of with judgment. Nor is he a stranger to *Poetry*, which is music in words, nor to *Music*, which is poetry in sound.

"6. *Mathematics* he moderately studieth. . . .

"7. Hence he makes his progress into the study of *History*. Nestor, who lived three ages, was accounted the wisest man in the world. But the historian may make himself wise by living as many ages as have past since the beginning of the world. His books enable him to maintain discourse, who, besides the stock of his own experience, may spend on the common purse of his reading. This directs him in his life, so that he makes the shipwrecks of others sea-marks to himself : yea, accidents which others start from for their strangeness, he welcomes as his wonted acquaintance, having found precedents for them formerly. Without history a man's soul is purblind, seeing only the things which almost touch his eyes.

¹ Of Logic he has also thus written : "Logic of itself is of absolute necessity, with which St Paul could never have disputed 'two years' (no, not two hours) daily in the School of Tyrannus (Acts xix. 9). So highly did the Apostle prize it that he desires to be freed ἀπὸ τῶν ἀτόνων (from men who have no topics) from absurd men who will fix in no place to be convinced with reason" (*Hist. Univ. Cambridge*, Dedication). He here also alluded to the subjects taught in the University in his time as being useful in divinity ; and he defends them against "a late generation of people, professed enemies to all human learning. True Philosophy thus considered in itself is, as Clement Alexandrinus termeth it, *Æternæ veritatis sparagmon* (a spark or splinter of divine truth). *Res Dei ratio*, saith Tertullian, God Himself being, in a sort, the great grandfather of every *Philosophy Act*."

"8. *He is well seen in Chronology.*

"Thus taking these sciences in their general latitude he hath found the round circle or golden ring of the arts; only he keeps a place for the diamond to be set in, I mean that predominant profession of Law, Physic, Divinity, or State-Policy, which he intends for his principal calling hereafter."¹

It was by the aid of the course of training here indicated that young Davenant became so general a scholar that it was his insight into everything he had read, together with his thinking and meditative nature, made his fancy so nimble, that as soon as he heard any subject, he was able to speak to it, not taking overmuch time to recollect himself for his sermons.

While our young student is walking through the groves of academies, we may take a passing view of the condition of the town and University in his day. From Fuller's (Davenant's nephew) history of his Alma Mater we can only gather a few particulars for our purpose; for in that work the author deals with the years of his college life in a very perfunctory way, but in the *Church History* he is more gossipy and loquacious, and therefore there is more information to be gleaned.

The students formed a larger body now, and "exact" survey, taken in the year 1621, quoted in Fuller's *History*, gave 2998 as the full number.² The town population was about 8000. A writer speaks of the University as being a tedious horse-journey of two days from London, and destitute of any better conveyance of letters than its well-known carrier Hobson.³ It was, however, "still one of the great centres of the literature, the science, the talent, and, unhappily, the religious strife of the nation." Fuller thus concisely and felicitously hits it off in his *Worthies* :—

"Cambridge is the chief credit of Cambridgeshire, as the Univer-

¹ *Holy State*, pp. 65-8.

² § viii. ¶ 8, p. 163.

³ Ed. of Thorndyke's Works, vi. p. 170.

sity is of Cambridge. It is confessed that Oxford far exceeds it for sweetness of situation ; and yet it may be maintained that though there be *better air* in Oxford, there is *more* in the Colleges of Cambridge, for Oxford is an university in a town, Cambridge is a town in an university, where the Colleges are not surrounded with the offensive embraces of streets, but generally situated on the outside, affording the better conveniency of private walks and gardens about them."¹

It is evident from the various notices in the literature of the period, as well as from notices in Fuller's *History* of the University, that Cambridge was then by no means a *dull* place. The king, who used to spend much of his time in hunting at Newmarket and Royston, was "almost as often," says Herbert, "invited to Cambridge, where his entertainment was *comedies* suited to his pleasant humour." Dr Gauden informs us that the king made the learned exercises of scholars the greatest and best part of this royal entertainment.

In common with many other scholars, Davenant, in his juvenile days, must have derived great pleasure in attendance at the *Latin plays*, which, besides occurring in connection with royal visits, were allowed to be commonly acted by the students. Whether so grave a temperament allowed him so far to unbend and participate in them, we have no means of knowing. At all events it was a great dramatic age, and the parent of some of our greatest dramatists. Attempts were often made to abolish these theatrical entertainments—which received so much royal patronage and appreciation. When Davenant was studying at Cambridge, "some grave governours," records Fuller, "maintained the good use thereof, because in twelve days they more discover the dispositions of scholars than in twelve months before."

"There have been more in some one play,
Laughed into wit and virtue, than have been

¹ § Cambridge, p. 149.

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By twenty tedious lectures drawn from sin
And foppish humours."

But notwithstanding these College theatricals and other attractions, Davenant, with characteristic energy, plunged into those studious and theological pursuits which became the delight of his life. If he found these wearisome at first—for much study *is* a weariness to the flesh—they soon came to be (as they were to John Milton) "else so smooth, so green, so full of goodly prospect and melodious sound on either side that the harp of Orpheus was not more charming." That he was exceedingly diligent at this, as at all other periods of life, is shown by the early age (18) at which he took his first degree (1590). Like all other candidates he had to follow the usual series of studies. For this degree, moreover, students were required to take part in two public disputations before a Moderator. Each candidate had to be "Respondent," and to give in three propositions to be maintained in debate, in Latin, "Opponents," called also "Sophisters," being selected from other students; they were to appear twice as "Respondents," and twice as "Opponents." Other examinations in the public schools were required, and these included questions out of Aristotle's *Prior Analytics*. This and all other work being done satisfactorily, the candidates were pronounced by the Proctor on the Thursday before Palm Sunday to be full Bachelors of Arts.¹

Accordingly on Commemoration day, at the end of the Lent term 1590-1, Davenant's undergraduate career came to an end. Having creditably performed the prescribed duties, and subscribed his name in the University subscription book, to the newly introduced Thirty-nine Articles of 1571, he, with many other students of Queens', received his B.A. degree. It is expressly stated that he took it with unusual credit, and attracted the notice of some learned

¹ See Masson's *Life of Milton*, I. cap. iv.

theologians, and hence it showed that he had done good work, and being very assiduous in his studies. Nine or ten terms were before him before he could take the next higher degree.

Davenant commenced M.A. in 1594, after giving such testimony, and such an earnest of future eminence and maturity that the profoundly learned Dr Whitaker, Master of St John's, and Regius Professor of Divinity, hearing him dispute, uttered the prediction and pronounced that he would in time prove the honour to the University which afterwards came to pass, and as such we shall soon meet with him.

CHAPTER III

DAVENANT'S ACADEMICAL CAREER AT CAMBRIDGE (1594-1614)

“Epistles are the calmest communicating truth to posterity, presenting History to us in her night-clothes, with a true face of things, though not in so fine a dress as in other kinds of writings.”—FULLER'S *Worthies, Middlesex*, p. 129.

WHETHER Davenant was entered at Queens' College, and educated as a fellow-commoner, according to Fuller and Ball, or not, according to the high authority of Mr Searle, who, as fellow, has had the privilege of inspecting the College archives and muniments, he was soon offered a Fellowship in that society. But Fuller states the elder Davenant would not allow the young student to accept it, “as conceiving it a bending of these places from the direct intent of the founders, when they are bestowed on such as have ample means.” Fuller, however, expresses his opinion that “such preferments are appointed as well for the reward of those that are worthy, as the relief of those who want.”

Nevertheless, on 2nd September, 1597, Davenant became a member of the society, and was admitted apparently about Easter, 1598, but he inherited his father's objection, as the following anecdote will show. At a public election he gave a negative vote against a near kinsman (John Gore, Esq., Gilesden, Herts), afterwards knighted, and most excellent scholar. “Cousin,” said he, “I will satisfy your father that you have worth, but not want, enough to be of our society.”

"*In his election*, the good Master of a College [said Fuller afterwards, probably in reference to Davenant] *respecteth merit, not only as the condition, but as the cause thereof*. Not like Leofricus, Abbot of St Albans, who would scarce admit any into his convent, though well deserving, except he was a gentleman born. He more respects literature in a scholar than great men's letters for him. A learned Master of a College in Cambridge (since made a reverend Bishop, and to the great grief of good men, and great loss of God's Church, lately deceased) refused a mandate for choosing of a worthless man Fellow, and when it was expected that at the least he should have been ousted of his mastership for this his contempt, King James highly commended him, and encouraged him ever after to follow his own conscience when the like occasion should be given him."¹

It is probable that at the time, when Fellow, he was the College associate of the elder Fuller, who married his sister, Judith Davenant, and was the father of the witty Church historian. On his elevation to the episcopate Bishop Davenant gave to the elder Fuller, Rector of Aldwinkle (1622), the prebendal state of Highworth, Wilts, in the Cathedral of Sarum. Hence the Church historian, who also himself was made Prebendary of Salisbury, used to call himself Prebendarius Prebendarides, alluding to this coincidence.

When Davenant was ordained has not been ascertained, but it was probably about 1597. In 1597-8 he was examiner; in 1598-99 and 1599-1600, he was made Lector Græcus; and in 1600-1, Decanus Sacelli, but he does not seem to have held any other College offices.

He took his first degree in Divinity (B.D.) in 1601. Richard Parker, in his Sketches, states him to have been Rector of —, in the county of Lincoln, without giving the name of the parish. But Mr Gorham, in his Collections (now in Lord Spencer's library at Althorp), mentions him as Rector of Leyke (Leake), Nottinghamshire. He probably did not reside in College, as we find only two members of his family admitted pensioners under him,

¹ *Holy State*, p. 80.

George Davenant, 24th May 1602, and Edward Davenant, 18th December 1609.

On July 1608, Robert Cecil, Earl of Salisbury, being Chancellor of the University, wrote to the Vice-Chancellor to the following effect :—

“When I understand your permission to proceed to the election of the Divinity Reader of the Lady Margaret, though I have no purpose to prevent Mr Playfayer, formerly interested in the same, yet I have thought to recommend unto you one Mr Davenant, B.D. and Fellow of Queens’ College, well known among you, and do request that if the reputation of his parts and learning be equal with his competitor, you would acknowledge my inclination and suffrage with him, and make choice of him to the Readership.”

Of this, Thomas Playfere Fuller says : “The counsel of his foe, friends commending of him, and his own contesting of himself, made too deep an impress on his intellectuals.”

It added to his distemper that when his re-election to his place (after his two years end) was put into the Regent House, a great doctor said, *Detur digniori*. This was probably the time when Mr Davenant was his competitor. Dr Playfere had at this time outlived his great reputation, yet was he re-elected. However he did not long hold the professorship, as he died 2nd February 1608-9. On the following day, the Vice-Chancellor (Dr Jegon), master of Corpus Christi College, wrote to the Earl of Salisbury, announcing to him the death of Mr Playfere, and also that the University was well affected towards Mr Davenant for his successor, and he was accordingly elected Lady Margaret Professor on 13th February 1608-9. To this office he was re-elected 10th July 1612, and held it with great reputation till 1622, when he was succeeded by his old friend and colleague at Dort, the celebrated Dr Seth Ward.

In 1609 he was created D.D., and was one of the

University preachers, 1609-1612. On 31st March 1612, Dr Davenant was presented by the College to the Vicarage of Hockington (Oakington), Cambridgeshire, a village not far from the University, and was instituted 8th April. He, however, soon resigned it, as his successor was instituted 30th November the same year.

Thomas Fuller, Dr Davenant's nephew, relates the following amusing anecdote of him belonging to this period :—

“A reverend doctour in Cambridge, and afterwards bishop of Sarisbury, was troubled at his small living, Hoggington (Oakington), with a peremptory anabaptist, who plainly told him : ‘It goes against my conscience to pay you tithes, except you can show me a place of Scripture whereby they are due to you.’ The Doctour returned : ‘Why should it not go as much against my conscience, that you should enjoy your nine parts, for which you can show no place of Scripture?’ To whom the other rejoined, ‘But I have, for my land, deeds and evidences from my fathers, who purchased and were peaceably possessed thereof by the laws of the land.’ ‘The same is my title,’ said the Doctour ; ‘tithes being confirmed unto me by many statutes of the land, time out of mind.’ Thus he *drove that nail*, not which was of the strongest metal or sharpest point, but which would go best for the present. It was *argumentum ad hominem*, fittest for the person he was to meddle with, who afterwards peaceably paid his tithes unto him. Had the Doctour engaged in Scripture-argument, though never so pregnant and pertinent, it had been endless to dispute with him, who made clamour the end of his dispute, whose obstinacy and ignorance made him incapable of solid reason ; and, therefore, the worse the argument, the better for his apprehension.”¹

It was when Davenant held this living, and when yet a private fellow of Queens' College, as we remarked, he was chosen Margaret Professor of Divinity. He had become widely known as a writer of much research and erudition, and few excelled him even in that age of great divines.

¹ *Church History*, ii. 112.

This Margaret Professorship was founded 1502 by Lady Margaret, mother of Henry VII., and it is curious to notice how many Queens' men have filled this very important office. What the meaning of this may be, the writer cannot ascertain; but the first Professor was John Fisher, D.D., Queens', in 1502. In 1511, the erratic but accomplished Desiderius Erasmus was elected to the chair, and seems to have held it off and on for four years, when he was succeeded by J. Fawne, D.D., Queens', 1515, who held it till 1532. The next Queens' man who filled the office, and with such distinction, was John Davenant, B.D., Queens', 1609. When we consider what an important factor Erasmus was in the Reformation of the sixteenth century, and what the influence his Greek Testament and paraphrase on the New Testament, with his notes on the Gospels and Epistles produced at that critical era—and he was hard at work on these during his stay at Cambridge—we may safely say he was one of the most illustrious and interesting occupants of the chair.

We have already seen in a previous chapter that the College did not agree with him; but if we are to trust the late Mr Froude, Erasmus must have been very uncomfortable at Cambridge.

To Ammonius—an Italian agent of the Pope in London—Erasmus wrote on reaching London to the following effect:—

“I have no news for you except that my journey was detestable, and that the place does not agree with me. I have pleaded sickness so far as an excuse for postponing my lectures. Beer does not suit me either, and the wine is horrible. If you can send me a barrel of Greek wine, the best which can be had, Erasmus will bless you. Only take care it is not sweet. Have no uneasiness about the loan, it will be paid before the date of the bill. Meantime I am being killed with thirst. Imagine the rest. Farewell.”

The Cambridge letters generally are in the same tone. They show little interest in the University, or in Erasmus'

occupations, or the eminent persons whom he must have met. We have no intellectual *symposia* such as had delighted him at Oxford, no more Colets or Grocyns, though we can fancy he must at least have encountered Cranmer there, and possibly Latimer. He writes chiefly about his discomforts, and on the chance of getting away for a week or two to visit Colet in London. The Greek wine was duly sent, and paid for, with a set of ardently grateful verses. The cask was soon empty and the thirsty soul had, he said, but the scent of it left to console him.

He went up to London to see Mountjoy, but disappointed in the object of his journey, he returned to the University. There were highwaymen on the road, and though he escaped plunder, he did not escape a fright. A fresh supply of Greek wine was provided. The carriers found out its quality, drank half of it, and filled up the barrel with water. His only happiness was in his work. He lived, he said, as a cockle in his shell. Cambridge was in solitude. The plague was spread there, and the students had mostly gone down. Even if they had been in residence, he would have seen but little of them, for his lecture-room was thinly attended. The cost of living was intolerable. In the first five months of his stay he had spent 60 roubles, and had received but one.¹

Archbishop Warham was a great friend and patron of Erasmus—in short, his Mæcenas. But if Warham's ten angels had been ten legions of angels, as the Archbishop said he wished they had been, they would not have comforted the sensitive Erasmus for his captivity among the fogs and dons of Cambridge. He pined for Italy and Italian wines and sunshine, and cursed his folly for leaving Rome. The Cambridge purgatory lasted for many months, and the pain of it did not abate. His impatience bubbled over in restlessness.

An evident bitterness, says Mr Froude, runs through

¹ *Life and Letters of Erasmus*, by James Anthony Froude, 1894, p. III.

these Cambridge letters. He regretted Rome. He had been led, he said, to form extravagant expectations in England. He had looked for mountains of gold, and it had been all illusion. He was now poor as Ulysses, and like Ulysses, he was longing for a sight of the smoke from his own chimney.¹

The postscript of one of his letters (to Colet) contains the only glimpses which we have of Erasmus' intercourse with the Cambridge dignitaries. It is curious and characteristic.

"Here (he adds) is something to amuse you. I was talking to one of the masters about the junior teachers. One of them, a great man in his way, exclaimed, 'Who would spend his life instructing boys, if he could earn a living in any other way?' I said that instructing the young was an honest occupation. Christ had not despised children, and no labour was so sure of a return. A man of piety would feel that he could not employ his time better than in bringing little ones to Christ. My gentleman turned up his nose, and said if we were to give ourselves to Christ, we had better join a regular order and go into a monastery. 'St Paul,' I replied, considers that religion means works of charity, and charity means helping others. He would not have this at all. Religion meant *nos reliquimus omnes*, that was the only counsel of perfection. I told him that a man had not left everything, who refused to undertake a useful calling, because he thought it beneath him. And so our conversation ended. Such is the wisdom of the Scotists."²

It would appear that at that time Erasmus had not gained much of a footing at Cambridge, and that he was disappointed of making a position in England. Hence his bitterness—for he was as needy and impecunious as erratic. Yet he lived to change his note about England and all things English. During his sojourn at Cambridge he had been hard at work on his Paraphrase on the Gospels and Epistles, which were subsequently published. This it was which brought a hornet's nest about him, and made him famous in Europe.

¹ Froude's *Erasmus*, 110.

² Froude, p. 112.

He had attacked the monks, and the monks were ubiquitous, so that it would be useless for him to fly. There was no spot on the Continent where he could get away from their resentment. In England he had pined for Rome, or if not for Rome, for a sight of the smoke of the chimneys of his own land. He had left England, meaning never to see it again. He now looked back upon it with passionate regards, and would fain return to the land of freedom and truth.

“Oh, splendid England (he writes from Louvain¹ to his friend Dr Pace),² oh splendid England, home and citadel of virtue and learning? How do I congratulate you on having such a Prince to rule you, and your prince on subjects which throw such lustre on his reign. In no country would I like better to pass my days. Intellect and honesty thrive in England under the Prince’s favour. In England there is

¹The University of Louvain, founded in 1426, was regarded as the most famous in Europe in the 16th century, and the theological faculty in particular, for its inflexible adherence to the orthodox dogmas of the Church. The number of students is said to have exceeded 6000 at the period when the celebrated Justus Lipsius (1606) taught there. Under Joseph II. its reputation somewhat declined, but it continued to exist until the close of the last century. So extensive were its privileges that no one could formerly hold a public appointment in the Austrian Netherlands without having taken a degree at Louvain. After having been closed by the French Republicans, the University was revived by the Dutch Government in 1817, a philosophical Faculty was afterwards instituted, notwithstanding the determined attitude of the clergy, and complaints to which the innovation gave rise are said to have contributed in some degree to the Revolution of 1830. Since 1836, the University has been reorganised, and has assumed an exclusively ecclesiastical character. It possesses five faculties, and is attended by 1500 students, many of whom live in 4 large colleges (Pédagogies du St Esprit, Marie Thérèse, Adrian VI., and Juste Lipse). Most of the best of the R.C. Priests in England were, till recently, educated at Louvain.

We were assured by one of the Professors—who courteously entertained us and shewed us round the Establishment, the Rev. L. Abbé J. Leussen, Docteur en Sciences, Collège du Pape—in our recent visit (Sept. 1895), that the University still maintained its old reputation for orthodoxy, and never was there such eagerness on the part of the young men to enter the Priesthood. But the people, continued the Professor, are not “bons”—in fact, they are drifting into socialism and indifferentism, if not scepticism.

² Ep. ccxli.

no masked sanctimoniousness, and the empty babble of educated ignorance is driven out or put to silence. In this place I am torn by envenomed teeth. Preachers go about screaming lies about me among idiots as foolish as themselves." And again he writes, "The King of England invites me back, and his Achates the Cardinal of York."

All this is very different to what Erasmus had written before, but circumstances alter cases. And Erasmus, as Fuller reminds us, "was a badger in his jeers, when he did bite, he would make his teeth meet."

It must have been shortly after writing this above letter that Erasmus returned to England, and went for the third time to Cambridge, and resided. It was there he lectured as Lady Margaret Professor, and where he busied himself in his writings.

But it must not be forgotten that Erasmus was probably the *first* Regius Professor of Greek in Cambridge (date not given in the Calendar) before he held the Divinity Professorship. The date is uncertain, but he was invited then by Fisher, Bishop of Rochester, who was President of Queens' College (1505-1508), and Chancellor of the University in 1504, and he seems always when in Cambridge to have resided at Queens' College. "That great scholar but graceless man," writes J. H. Blunt, "was appointed to the Greek Professorship by Fisher's influence." There can be no doubt that the famous clerk, "Master Erasmus of Rotterdam," had a very potential influence upon the Reformation in England,¹ whether he had any hand in the preparation of the "Institution of a Christian Man" or no.

"The great yet vain and petulant Erasmus," says Mr Blunt, "undoubtedly deserves the credit of having aroused the educated world of Europe, and especially of our own country, from this torpor. It is an absurd mistake to suppose that he originated the study of Greek in England, for it was at Cambridge that he learned that language,¹ but his enthusiastic love for it stirred up the languid

¹ *Reformation of Church of England*, p. 65.

scholarship of both our Universities, and his enterprise in printing the text of the New Testament led many to study the original who would otherwise have been content with the Vulgate. The mind of Erasmus was, too, of a decidedly independent and original character; and to him we must trace the growth of that disposition to search deep into the foundations of received dogmas which had so great an effect upon the theology of the Church of England which were in the habit of settling down on a rather superficial tradition, and the habit became so strong that the spirit of enquiry began to be looked upon as identical with a spirit of heresy. Erasmus taught his generation the habit of looking below the surface; and notwithstanding the tone of irreverence and scornfulness with which his own writings are too much adulterated, and which his followers too often caught up, this habit of research and spirit of enquiry proved a gain to the theological world, as well as to the world of thought at large.

“It may be concluded that although it is difficult to point out any definite work by which Erasmus influenced the English Reformation beyond the publication of his Greek New Testament, he really did influence it in two particulars; first, by the revival of scholarship; and secondly, by stimulating men to the use of their reasoning powers. His influence was directly exerted only upon the higher clergy and a few of the higher laity; but it was of a kind which would soon extend downwards by these intermediate channels, and thus the results of it

¹ Mr Blunt is not correct in saying this. Erasmus learnt the Greek language, when he was a student at the University of Paris, at the age of twenty-five. “Greek was then a rare acquisition, and was frowned on by the authorities—but the disapproval of authorities sends young ardent students hunting after the forbidden. Erasmus learnt for himself the elements of Greek, and instructed his pupils in it. Young and old came about him to be helped over the threshold of the new intellectual world.”—*Froude*, p. 21.

Again, “He toiled harder than ever at his Greek in competition with his friends in England. He studied the Greek Christian Fathers, he translated Greek plays, translated Plutarch, and translated Julian, all under various difficulties.”—*Ibid.*, p. 54.

“There is proof that he was lecturing on Greek in Cambridge in 1506, though again we have no particulars of what he did then, or of how long he stayed.”—*Ibid.*, p. 78.

Again, “It must have been shortly after writing this letter (to Colet, cii.), that Erasmus went for a third time to England, about the close of 1505, and resided and lectured for some months at Cambridge.”—*Ibid.*, p. 82.

Lastly, Mr Froude says, “Of his earlier experience in 1506 we know nothing beyond the fact that he was some months resident and teaching Greek there.”—*Ibid.*, p. 105.

were spread over a much wider area than that traversed by the great scholar himself." ¹

Erasmus' connection with Cambridge lasted for some ten years off and on. During this period he visited the great Augustinian Priory of "our Lady of Walsingham" twice. His first visit (May 11, 1511) was productive of an elegant votive offering of a *Carmen*—a copy of Greek Iambics—which much mystified the sub-prior. This pious invocation to the Virgin in Greek Iambics he translated when he revisited Walsingham at the request of the sub-prior. No one could read it, and the Canons all thought it was Hebrew. "Iste quidquid non intelligunt, Hebraicum vocant," he says in his *Peregrinatio religionis ergo*.

In his letter to Ammonius—afterwards Latin secretary to Henry VIII.—Erasmus mentions his visit to Walsingham and this votive *Carmen*. It commences thus—

‘Ω χαίρ’ Ἰησοῦ μητέρα εὐλογημένη,

and it was printed by Frobenius as early as 1518. The first edition of the "Colloquies" appeared but a few years later, and even had it been otherwise, no one could venture to gainsay the freshness and truth of the description. In that spirited dialogue, "Peregrinatio religionis ergo," a quondam Augustinian Canon is drawing a picture of his fraternity, and after a lapse of more than three hundred years the numerous pilgrims to Walsingham can find no better handbook than that of the jesting Cantab. whilst enjoying his long vacation in 1513 or 1514. Among the Cambridge men whom he had made his friends, he mentions (Ep. cxlii.) the names of the following Fellows of Queens'. Henry Bullock (Bovillus), John Fawne (Phaunus), who succeeded him in his Professorship; John Vaughan (Vachunus) and Humphry (Umfridus) Walkeden.

Some ninety-four years after the Chair of the Margaret

¹ *Reformation*, p. 428.

Professorship of Divinity had been vacated by this illustrious scholar—during which time Erasmus' influence¹ was still being felt in the Church of England—and, taking 1571, as the date of the Elizabethan settlement, when the 39 Articles were put forth in their final shape—during which time the Anglo-Catholic theology was being reduced to a system, and technically formulated—another Queens' man, as we have seen, was elected to the same Chair, again become vacant.

It was in this capacity of Margaret Professor of Divinity that Davenant attracted such marked attention, and delivered those various lectures upon the most abstruse doctrines which can affect the Christian consciousness, which were the delight of his University, and the admiration of Europe, at least to all theologians, both friends and adversaries. His works, though in Latin, were read with the keenest interest by the members of the Reformed Church.

His Commentary on the Epistle to the Colossians soon became a standard text-book on the subject, more of which we shall see presently. His treatise on Righteousness is spoken of with approval by no less a person than Cardinal Newman in his learned work on "Justification," and is referred to as eminently trustworthy. Large quotations are made from it again and again, with a footnote to the effect that "Davenant's statement on the subject (*i.e.*, actual righteousness) may be entirely received," which has been added, I believe, to the re-issue of his works since he became a Roman Catholic. Hervey speaks of the perspicuity of its style and accuracy of method of his Exposition in his "Theron and Aspasia." Whereas Bridges, in his "Chris-

¹ A copy of Erasmus' paraphrase was ordered to be placed in the parish churches. Erasmus composed an "Institution of a Christian Man"—which was probably the germ of, if he had not a hand in, the "Institution" put out by convocation in 1536. And "as Erasmus and Colet were very intimate, it is not improbable," says Blunt, "that this Catechism (the latter part) may have originated with the former, who was a great authority at the time of the Reformation."—*Annotated Prayer Book*, p. 44.

tian Ministry," avers that he knew no Commentary "that will compare with it on all points." Other lectures which will be considered in their proper place on the "Death of Christ," the "Rule of Faith," Prælections on the "Office of the Civil Judge," "Determinations," and "Epistolæ," followed in quick succession, all of which produced a profound sensation upon the age in which he lived, and covered his Professorial duties with glory and success. A luxurious age like the present, which prides itself upon being unrelated to any severe theology, may affect to be amused at the heavy Divinity in vogue in those days, when there were theological giants, arguing the most abstruse subjects which are patient of discussion, and providing "strong meat" for those of riper years. The very terms then used have become almost obsolete, or at least "not understood of the people," in these degenerate days of shallow and popular divinity, in this age of unreasoning and unphilosophic religious thought. The backbone seems to have gone out of the old theology, and left a surface-like residuum of emotions and transitory impressions, a veneer of sound theology. Where is the learning of a Jeremy Taylor? where the true Catholicity of a Laud? where the analytical teaching of an Andrewes? the casuistry of a Sanderson? or the incisive logic and comprehensive grasp of a Davenant? The "doctrines of grace," as they were called, have now passed out of the arena of controversy and even discussion, and departed from the region of practical homiletics. And yet, if Davenant lectured upon these grand old verities of the Primitive Faith and original "deposit" with the luminousness of an Augustine, and almost with a dialectical skill of St Paul himself, it must be borne in mind that people themselves in those days took the keenest interest in all these deep things of God. But we have changed all that. They had all the "five points" at their fingers' end. They could hold their own either on the Calvinistic or Arminian platform.

The division between supralapsarian and sublapsarian was rigidly demarcated. Final perseverance and effectual calling were "familiar in their mouths as household words." Men in those days argued the points concerning "Justifying Faith" with the feverish excitement with which people now approach a question of ritual, and the discussion on predestination and election, original sin and particular redemption, on "God's sovereignty" and "man's free-will," was as hotly contested as the legitimacy of the "Court of Final Appeal for Ecclesiastical Causes" at the present time—by the common people as well as the clergy, by prince as well as professor or prelate. When the Royal Family visited Cambridge from time to time, whether it was James I. or Charles I., these theological disputations, according to the custom of the age, were always an invariable part of the programme mapped out for their entertainment. Foreign theologians, as in the case of the great Heidelberg Professor, Scultetus, would occasionally join these forensic and stimulating exercises, and dispute with the English divines, who, at that time, enjoyed a world-wide reputation. Davenant, owing to his official position of Margaret Professor, from his well-known fairness and assured efficiency in all matters connected with the theological sphere, was repeatedly called upon to act in the capacity of moderator on these occasions. He was selected to act as such at the Royal visit in 1613, on occasion of the marriage of the Princess Elizabeth with the Prince Palatine Frederic, and also again at the critical contest with the Heidelberg Professor, Abraham Scultetus, when the "temporal power of the Papacy," the "Rule of faith," and other cognate subjects came under discussion. The questions discussed, as we learn from Nicholl's *Progresses of James I.*, were these three: (1) *Nulla est temporalis Papæ potestas supra reges, in ordine ad bonum spirituale*; (2) *Infallibilis fidei determinatio non est annexa Cathedræ papali*; (3) *Cæca obedientia est illicita*.

It is amusing to hear the cordial and persistent animation with which the excellent but pedantic Bishop Hacket, in his *Life of Archbishop Williams*, records these academical feats. Speaking of one super-eminent disputant, Dr Collins, he thus proceeds (p. 26):—

“He was a firm bank of earth, able to receive the shot of the greatest artillery. His works in print against Eudæmon and Fitzherbert, sons of Anak among the Jesuits, do noise him far and wide. But they that heard him speak would most admire him. No flood can be compared to the spring-tide of his language and eloquence but the milky river of Nilus, with his seven mouths all at once disemboguing into the sea. Oh, how voluble! how quick! how facetious he was! What a Vertumnus when he pleased to argue on the right side, and on the contrary. Those things will be living to the memory of the longest survivor that ever heard him. In this trial, where he stood now to be tried by so many attic and exquisite wits, he strived to exceed himself, and shewed his cunning marvellously that he could invalidate every argument brought against him with variety of answers. It was well for all sides that the *best divine, in my judgment*, that ever was in that place, Dr Davenant, held the reins of the disputation. He kept him within the even boundals of the cause; he charmed him with the Caducæan wand of dialectical prudence; he ordered him to give just weight, and no more. Hnat, l. 1, od. 3: *Quo non arbiter Adriæ major tollere, seu ponere vult freta*. Such an arbiter as he was now, such he was and no less, year by year in all comital disputations: wherein whosoever did well, yet constantly *he* had the greatest acclamation. To the close of all this exercise I come. The grave elder opponents having had their courses, Mr Williams, a new-admitted Bachelor of Divinity, came to his turn last of all. Presently there was a smile on the face of every one who knew them both, and a prejudging that between these two there would be a fray indeed. Both jealous of their credit, both great masters of wit: and as much was expected from the one as from the other. So they fell to it with all quickness and pertinency: yet, thank the Moderator, with all candour; like Fabius and Marcellus: the one was the buckler, the other the sword of that learned exercise. No greyhound did ever give a hare more turns upon Newmarket Heath than the replier with his subtleties gave to the respondent. A subject fit for the verse of Mr Abraham Hartwell, in his *Regina literata*, as he extols Dr Pern’s arguments made before Queen Elizabeth: *Quis fulmine tanto tela jacet? tanto fulmine nemo jacet*. But when they had both done their best with equal

proWess, the marshal of the field, Dr Davenant, cast down his warder between them, and parted them."

It is not, therefore, to be wondered at that Davenant, being, as he was the centre and figurehead of all these academical feats, in which both prince and professor took such keen delight—to say nothing of the theological current setting in from all sides—found his opinions strongly tintured with the then prevailing tendency of the age. It was the very atmosphere in which he lived and had been brought up. It was the daily food of his matured theological being. We may say that he sucked in these ideas on the "Doctrines of Grace" with his mother's milk, and in them he "lived, moved, and had his being," from the circumambient bias of his early education and the force of his university surroundings and academical circumstances. It was what he "saw, heard, handled, looked upon and tasted" of the good "Word of Life." But if he leant so strongly to the "Doctrines of Grace" in his doctrinal views, we must not forget that he ever remained within the four corners of the 17th Article of our Church. Archbishop Lawrence has proved by the confession of the suggested Lambeth Articles that that crucial Article inclines rather to the confession of Augsburg than that of Geneva, to the teaching of Melancthon rather than Calvin's severer method; that it is Augustinian, if not Pauline. Our divine never came within even a measurable distance of the supralapsarian hypothesis, and if he was sublapsarian in his teaching, it was of an exceedingly mild character. He was all along a firm upholder of the Episcopal form of church government. He was a staunch and loyal son of his spiritual mother, the national church of this country. He inclined neither to Rome nor Geneva, but was abundantly satisfied with the Church in which he found his regeneration, purified upon the Reformation settlements. He firmly believed in the old Catholic Church of the country, and held to the doctrine of the Apostolical succession and

teaching of the Anglican Ordinal, as handed on to us in post-Reformation times. But beyond all this he had a thorough and comprehensive grasp of the position of the Anglican Church in her two-fold appeal—Scripture and primitive antiquity: Scripture as interpreted by primitive tradition—the unerring Word of God side by side with the concurrent testimony of the old Catholic Doctors and Fathers—the consensus of the universal and undivided church as formulated by that Vincentian apothegm, “Quod semper, quod ubique, quod ab omnibus.”

Fuller drank in his theology both from his father and his uncle Davenant, who were both of the same school of thought, and he eagerly listened to their conversation.¹ From the nephew's writings, therefore, we may get a clue to the doctrinal standpoint of Davenant as from an outside and independent witness. The writings of one are a sort of commentary on, or corollary from, those of the other. Of the nephew, Aubrey, who was very intimate with various members of his family, says: “He was a boy of a pregnant witt, and when the bishop (*i.e.*, Dr Davenant) and his father were discoursing he would be by and hearken, and now and yn putt in, and sometimes beyond expectation or his years.” Here, then, we have a clue to the bishop's divinity, for the nephew's opinions were much about the same as, and were in point of fact an echo of, those of both his father and uncle, who saw “eye to eye” in these matters. Collating, then, the works of the one with those of the other, we shall get a very fair idea of the theological

¹ “In the high topics of predestination, he adhered to the doctrines in which he was brought up, the doctrines taught in his youth at the University of Cambridge by his uncle Davenant, a man in whom piety and sound learning were united, and to a degree perhaps rarely excelled. For he moved not with the times, but pursued his upright and even path, as before God, and not to please men. He valued Episcopacy and the liturgy, and that equally with the clergy who preceded Laud, as Andrewes, Downane, Whitgift, Fulke, Ridley, and our English Reformers.”—Russell's *Memorials of Thomas Fuller, D.D.*, p. 203.

basis of Davenant's Professorial teaching, and his doctrinal position *all round*.

It may be thought that undue prominence was given to the "Doctrines of Grace," as they were called, and we must confess that the harmony or proportion of faith was not well kept in those days. There may have been a want of scale in their dogmatic teaching. Still, side by side with these there have been no more doughty champions for Episcopacy and the Church of England, as by law established, than the giants of those theological days. They were equal to all comers in the ecclesiastical encounters of the age, and utterly routed the Romanists on the one hand and the Brownists, Anabaptists, and Separatists on the other, by weapons which were not carnal.

Now, by referring to Fuller's essay on "The True Church Antiquary," in his "Holy State," we shall be able to get behind the theology of the divines of the period, and to see the sure foundation upon which they built up their system of dogmatic theology. We shall get at their principles, or springs of action, which gave such potential vitality to their dogmatic platform. We must discover their philosophic method to account for all this, and it will be found that it has the true Anglican ring about it. They endeavoured in point of fact the method of historical criticism, or the bifurcated appeal to the infallible Word of God as interpreted by primitive antiquity, by the decisions of the four first general councils and the creeds of the undivided Church—the only true method among all the various competing systems for discovering the old Catholic faith and the faith of the first six centuries, and which is coming into acceptance more and more every day. It will be also further seen that the Margaret Professor in those days adopted the same method as Dr J. J. Blunt has so successfully done in our own with such luminous perspicacity, and in that nervous style which was so peculiarly his own, in his lectures on the "Right use of the Early Fathers,"

“The Church of the First Centuries,” and the “Liturgy of the Church of England.”

“He is a traveller into former times, this true Church Antiquary, whence he hath learnt their language and fashions. If he meets with an old manuscript, which hath the mark worn out of its mouth, and hath lost the date, yet he can tell the age thereof either by the phrase or character.

“1. *He baits at middle antiquity, but lodges not till he comes at that which is ancient indeed.* Some scoure off the rust of old inscriptions into their own souls, cankering themselves with superstitions, having read so often *orate pro anima*, that at last they fall a-praying for the departed : and they more lament the ruine of monasteries than the decay and ruine of monk’s lives, degenerating from their ancient piety and painfulness. Indeed a little skill in Antiquity inclines a man to Popery, but depth in that study brings him about to our religion. A nobleman who had heard of the extreme age of one dwelling not farre off, made a journey to visit him, and finding an aged person sitting in the chimney corner, addressed himself unto him with admiration of his age, till his mistake was rectified. Oh sr (said the young old man) *I am not he whom you seek for, but his sonne, my father is farther of in the field.* The same error is daily committed by the Romish Church adoring the reverend brow and gray hairs of some ancient ceremonies, perchance of some seven or eight hundred years standing in the Church, and mistake those for their fathers, of farre greater age in the Primitive times.

“2. *He desires to imitate the ancient Fathers, as well in their piety as in their postures,* not only conforming his hands and his knees, but chief his heart to their pattern. O the holiness of their living and painfulness of their preaching ! How full were they of mortified thoughts, and heavenly meditations ! Let us not make the ceremoniall part of their lives onely canonicall, and the morall part thereof altogether apocrypha, imitating their devotion not in the fineness of the stuff, but onely in the fashion of the making.

“3. *He carefully marks the declination of the Church from the primitive purity,* observing how sometimes humble devotion was consented to be done, whilst proud superstition got on her back. Yet not only Frederick the Emperour but many a godly Father some hundreds of years before, held the Pope’s stirrup, and by their well-meaning simplicity gave occasion to his future greatness. He takes notice how their rhetorical hyperboles were afterwards accounted the just measures of dogmaticall truths : how plain people took them at their word in their funerall apostrophes to the dead : how praying

for the departed brought the fuel, under which after ages kindled the fires of Purgatory : how one ceremony begat another, there being no bounds in will-worship, wherewith one may sooner be wearied than satisfied : the inventions of new ceremonies, endeavouring to supply in number what their conceits want in solidity : how men's souls, being in the full speed and career of the historical use of pictures, could not stop short, but must lash out into superstitions : how the fathers veiling their bonnets to Rome in civill courtesie when making honourable mention thereof, are interpreted by modern papists to have done it in adoration of the idole of the Pope's infallibility. All these things he ponders in his heart, observing both the times and places when and where they happened.

"4. *He is not zealous for the introducing of old uselesse ceremonies.* The mischief is, some that are most violent to bring such in, are most negligent to preach the cautions in using them ; and simple people, like children in eating of fish, swallow bones and all, to their danger of choking. Besides, what is observed of horsehairs, that lying nine days in water they turn to snakes : so some ceremonies, though dead at first, in continuance of time quicken, get stings, and may do much mischief, especially if in such an age wherein the meddling of some have justly awaked the jealousie of all. When many Popish tricks are abroad in the countrey, if these men meet with a ceremonie which is a stranger, especially if it can give but a bad account of itself, no wonder if the watch take it up for one on suspicion.

"5. *He is not peremptory but conjecturall in doubtfull matters,* not forcing others to his own opinion, but leaving them to their own libertie : not filling up all with his own conjectures, to leave no room for other men ; nor tramples he on their credits, if in them he finds slips and mistakes. For here our souls have but one eye (the Apostle saith *we know in part*), be not proud if that chance to come athwart thy seeing side, which meets with the blind side of another.

"6. *He thankfully acknowledgeth those by whom he hath profited.* Base natured they, who when they have quenched their own thirst, stop up, at least muddy, the fountain. But our antiquary, if he be not the first Founder of a commendable conceit, contents himself to be a Benefactor to it in clearing and adorning it.

"7. *He affects not fanciful singularity in his behaviour,* nor cares to have a proper mark in writing of words, to disguise some peculiar letter from his ordinary character. Others, for fear travellers should take no notice that skill in Antiquity dwells in such a head, hang out an antique hat for the signe, or use some obsolete garb in their garments, gestures, or discourse.

"8. *He doth not so adore the Ancients as to despise the Moderns.*

Grant them but dwarfs, they stand on giants' shoulders, and may see the further. Sure, as stout champions of Truth follow in the rear as ever marched in the front. Besides, as one excellently observes,¹ *Antiquitas seculi juventus mundi*. These times are the ancient times, when the world is ancient: and not those which we count ancient, *ordine retrogrado*, by a computation backwards from ourselves."²

It was in the year 1614, just five years after he had been chosen Margaret Professor of Divinity, and made such a figure before the world in that rôle, both academical and collegiate, that he was unanimously elected by the Fellows of the Society to the Presidentship of Queens' College, and was admitted the same day (Oct. 20th). He succeeded on his death Dr Humphrey Tyndall (Dean of Ely), who had been Master for thirty-five years, his predecessor, again, being Dr William Chaderton, Regius Professor of Divinity, who was made Bishop of Chester, 1579, having been President for eleven years.

In Thomas Ball's Life of John Preston is the following curious and characteristic account of the way in which the election to the Presidentship, on the death of Dr Tyndall, was managed by him:—

"And so he (Preston) went on in his work untill Doctor *Tyndall* (Master of the Colledge) died. He was an old man, and that preferment of the Mastership of *Queens* was more accounted of than now it is. There were very many that had their eyes upon it, but Doctor *Mountain* in a special manner, who was often heard for to professe he would rather be Master of that Colledge than Dean of *Westminster*. But Master *Preston* had another in his eye. Doctor *Davenant* was a gentleman descended, and was a Fellow-Commoner when undergraduate, but very painfull, and of great capacity, and grew accordingly in learning and reputation, and for his work and parts was already chosen Margaret *Professour*, and read in the Schools with much applause those excellent Lectures upon the *Colossians* which are now printed. Him Master *Preston* pitched upon, but knew it must be carried very privately: for the *Mountain* was already grown into some

¹ Sir Francis Bacon's *Advancement of Learning*, p. 46.

² *The Holy State*, book ii., chap. 6.

bignesse, was one of parts, and first observed in acting *Miles Gloriosus* in the Colledge, and had been Chaplain unto the Earl of *Essex*, but like the *Heliotrope* or flower of the Sun, did now adore *Sir Robert Carr*, already *Viscount Rochester*, the only Favourite.

“When it was agreed among the Persians, that he should reign, whose horse first saw the rising sun, and neighed at it, one turned his horse head towards the mountains, believing the sun would first arise there ; but it fell not out so here. Master *Preston* having laid his plot beforehand, and seen what mountain was in his way, had taken care that word should be daily brought him how the old Doctor did, and when he found him irrecoverable, laid horses and all things ready ; and upon notice of his being dead, goes presently and was at *London*, and in *White-Hall* before any light appeared upon the mountain-top : the Court was quiet and he had some friends there. His businesse was only to get a free Election, which he made means for to procure : but knowing also with whom he had to do, makes some addresses unto *Viscount Rochester* in behalf of Doctor *Davenant*, who being unacquainted with his Chaplain’s appetite to that particular, was fair and willing to befriend a learned enterprise. So Master *Preston* returns unto the Colledge before the Master’s death was much took notice of : and assembling Doctor *Davenant*’s friends, acquaints them with what had passed at Court, and so they went immediately to Election, and it was easily and fairly carried for Doctor *Davenant*, who being called was admitted presently. But when Doctor *Mountain* understood that Doctor *Tyndall* was departed, he sends and goes to Court and Colledge for to make friends. But alas the game was played and he was shut out. Never did *Ætna* or *Vesuvius* more fume, but there was, no cure : only he threatens and takes on against the actors, but they were innocent and not obnoxious. This Doctor had made great promises, gave a very goodly piece of plate into the Colledge, with this inscription : *sic incipio*, but now he vowed it should be : *sic desino*. However the Colledge for the present was well paid, and grew in reputation very much : and because they wanted room to entertain the number that flocked to them, built that goodly fabrick that contains many fair lodgings both for Scholars and Fellows towards *King’s Colledge*.”—(Thos. Ball, Life of Dr John Preston in *Clarke’s Lives*, 1677.

Who the very many were that wished the place, as Ball says, or the “three others” before whom he was preferred, as Lloyd states, does not appear, with the exception of Dr George Mountain, and perhaps Dr George Meriton.

ACADEMICAL CAREER AT CAMBRIDGE 57

George Mountain, mentioned as Dr Davenant's competitor for the Presidentship, was born "honestis penatibus" at Cawood, Yorkshire, in 1569; was elected Fellow of Queens' College, 1592; he was Dean of Westminster, 1610, and Bishop successively of Lincoln, 1617, of London, 1621, of Durham, 1627, and finally Archbishop of York, 1628, in which year he died. He must have known of the death of Dr Tyndall almost as soon as Preston, as on the following day he addressed the following letter of condolence to the Society, in which, strangely enough, he recommends the same course to be taken as that adopted by Preston, viz.: procuring freedom of election to the fellows. The letter is preserved in the College.

Salutem in Xhro.

GENTLEMEN,

Having lived long in that Colledg, and brought up in the same under Dr Tindall, I could do no lesse than condole his death with youe, and y^e Colledg, from whome whilst I lived ther, not only myself but the whole Colledg receaved so much good, and therefore I am bold to entreat you all, as youe are all bound unto him so to strive every one how youe may best honor him, either by sepulture in the Chappell, or other funeral solemnities, w^{ch} as I will not prescribe unto youe, of whose wisdomes I am so well assured, so if you wil be pleased to let me understand what course youe think meet to be holden in the same, I wil be ready to joyne with y^e Colledg and wth you especially in the point of expens and chardg, for I desire very much to bring one stone myself unto his monument.

And because I have begun to write unto youe, I pray youe give me leave to proceede a little further and first to crave y^e good interp^tation for that I shall write, proceeding (I protest to God) of no other humor but a zeale I have for y^e good of youe all and of ye Colledg. If I were wishing to advise you, the first thing I would have done should be an humble supplication to his Ma^{tie} for a free election, w^{ch} who desires not loves not the Colledg, and then, if that be granted, I nothing doubt but God will bless the rest so as y^t w^{thout} all partiality and faction, he shal be chosen, w^{ch} is the likeliest most to advaunce y^e good of ye Colledg, w^{ch} I desire and wish with all my heart: and so craving pardon if I have been to bold to show my desires and zeale

for y^e good of that Colledg, I remain to that working society and Colledge

A faithful servant and friend,

GEORGE MOUNTAIGNE.

Westminster, this 13th of October, 1614.

To the Right Worshipp^l the senior fellow of Queenes Colledg now at home, and y^e rest of that worthy society d.d.

This Dr Mountain was Dean of Westminster, but he said he would be rather President of Queens' College. However he was not elected—the College preferring Dr Davenant as their new Master. Notwithstanding his resentment against the College, which Ball imputes to Montain, he was soon reconciled to it, as in 1618 he bestowed a house in Cambridge on it, for the purpose of endowing two scholarships.

Davenant was now forty-two years of age, and he was the sixteenth President of the College in order, the first Master being Andrew Docket, the founder of the Society, who held office in 1448 and following years, till 1484.

Davenant remained head of his College for seven years, during which he discharged his duties with exemplary faithfulness. His qualifications for the position were exceedingly high. By interesting himself in the progress of his students he acquired great influence among them. The secret of his great success is seen in a characteristic anecdote told by his nephew. He relates that

“taking his leave of the College, and one John Rolfe, an ancient servant thereof, he desired him to pray for him. And when the other modestly returned that he rather needed his lordship's prayers, ‘Yea, John,’ said he, ‘and I need thine too, being now to enter into a calling wherein I shall meet with many and great temptations.’ *Profuit qui profuit* was the motto written in most of his books, the sense whereof he practised in his conversation.”¹

During the mastership of Davenant, Queens' College was in a very efficient state, and ably officered in regard to its Fellows and Tutors. The College was crammed to over-

¹ *Worthies, London*, p. 207.

flowing, and it got so high a name that it was difficult to get rooms therein, which were mostly obtained through the kindness of the President himself. Davenant was connected long enough with the College to give it the reputation of a distinct theological tone. New buildings had to be erected towards King's College in the Walnut Tree Court for the accommodation of both scholars and Fellows. Like many of the Divines who received preferment during the reign of James I., Davenant had strong Calvinistic leanings, and had a great dislike to the doctrines of the Papacy, but was supposed at the same time, by some men, to have Arminian tendencies. Moreover, he treated the Puritans with kindness and tolerance, was a gentle presser of Conformity when Bishop, and, as a rule, kept to the old Canonical ceremonies of the early part of the reign of James I. He strongly advocated the doctrine of universal Redemption. His opinions were of a practical character, and he contrived to firmly implant them in Queens' College as its President, and in the University as Margaret Professor of Divinity. His nephew, Fuller, whose connection with his uncle throughout his boyhood and early manhood was pretty close, held him in great respect, entering Queens' College while he was still President; and to the Bishop's school of churchmanship he (with the very large circle of Davenant's connections), ever tenaciously clung, and did very much to perpetuate it. Mr Russell (Vicar of Caxton), one of Fuller's biographers, justly says of Davenant that he was "a man in whom piety and sound learning were united to a degree perhaps rarely excelled."

The Tutors at Queens' at this time were Mr Edward Davenant, nephew of the President, and Mr John Thorpe. With regard to the former he has been already noticed in the account of the Davenant family. He is described as "a great mathematician, and not only a man of great learning, but of great goodness and charity." Sir C. Wren

is also reported to have had a very high opinion of his mathematical abilities.

Probably Mr John Thorpe was the Classical Tutor, and young Fuller, who was under him as a student of the College, speaks gratefully of him about forty years after this time. For when speaking of Dr John Thorpe, a violent persecutor of the Wickliffites, he adds :

“ His name causeth me to remember his namesake of modern times, lately deceased, even Mr John Thorpe, B.D., and Fellow of Queens' College in Cambridge, my ever-honoured tutor : not so much beneath him in logic as above him in the skill of Divinity, and an holy conversation.”¹

Among the celebrities who were, or had been connected with Queens' College, in addition to those mentioned elsewhere, were also Weaver of the *Funeral Monuments*; John Fisher; and Mountaine (or Montaigne), Bishop of London (1621-7).

One of much note at this time was Dr John Preston, a Fellow whose name is found in after years in connection with Fuller. Preston's skill in philosophy was held in great respect. “ He was,” says his friend, “ the greatest pupil-monger² in England in man's memory, having sixteen fellow-commoners (most heirs to fair estates) admitted in one year in Queens' College, and provided convenient accommodation for them.” It was commonly said in the College that every time when Master Preston plucked off his hat to Dr Davenant, the College-master, he gained a chamber or study for one of his pupils; amongst whom one Chambers, a Londoner (who died very young), was very eminent for his learning. Being chosen (1622) Master of Emanuel College, he (Preston) removed thither with most of his pupils; and I remember when it was much admired where all these should find lodgings in that College which was so full already. “ Oh,” said one, “ Master Preston will carry chambers along with him.”

¹ *Worthies, Norfolk*, p. 257.

² Not used as a term of contempt.

At the time of Fuller's admission to the University, Preston had got into trouble, being suspected of inclination to Nonconformity. He became Preacher at Lincoln's Inn; and refused the Bishopric of Gloucester, preferring the preachingship at Trinity Church, offered him by the townspeople of Cambridge. From a reference made to him in a letter of Dr Davenant to Dr Ward, master of Sidney Sussex College, we may conclude that he was well acquainted with both uncle and nephew.

That fine-tempered controversialist, John Goodwin, a Locke before Locke, in respect of his advocacy of religious toleration, also belonged to Queens'. He was elected a Fellow in 1617, during Davenant's headship, and although they were not *en rapport* in their ecclesiastical opinions, there were many points in this old Independent's character that the latter could appreciate.

Another well-known pupil-monger at Queens' was pious Herbert Palmer, who became a Fellow in 1623, and ultimately President (1644) in place of the ejected Dr Martin. Though a Puritan, Palmer meanwhile had been presented by Laud to the Vicarage of Ashwell, Herts. "He took many pupils," says Clarke, "of whom he was more than ordinary careful, being very diligent, both in praying with them in his chamber, and instructing them in the grounds of religion; as also helping them to their studies, and the performance of disputations, and other exercises of learning privately in his chamber, besides the more public exercises required of them by the College, to the great benefit of those who were his pupils." Palmer became one of the assessors of the Assembly of Divines, in whose proceedings he figured very prominently. He is described as a man of uncommon learning, politeness and generosity. He died in 1647. Such are some of the worthies who adorned the College during the Headship of Dr Davenant, a few of those stars who revolved round that brilliant sun in the academical firmament.

As it is commonly believed, and with reason, that Fuller had his uncle Davenant in his eye, when he touched in that word-picture of "The good master of the Colledge," in his essay on that head, we will conclude this chapter with some quotations therefrom. He begins—

"The Jews, anno 1346, were banished out of most countrys of Christendome, principally for poysoning of springs and fountains. Grievous therefore is their offence, who infect Colledges, the fountains of learning and religion; and it concerneth the Church and State, that the Heads of such Houses be rightly qualified, such men as we come to character.

"1. *His learning, if beneath eminency, is farre above contempt.* Some-time ordinary scholars make extraordinary good masters. Even one who can play well on Apollo's harp cannot skilfully drive his chariot, there being a peculiar mystery of Government. Yea, as a little alloy makes gold to work the better, so (perchance) some dullnesse in a man makes him fitter to manage secular affairs; and those who have climbed up Parnassus but halfway, better behold worldly business, as lying low and nearer to their sight, than such as have climbed up to the top of the mount.

"2. *He not only keeps the Statutes in his study, but observes them.* For the maintaining of them will maintain him, if he be questioned. He gives them their true dimensions, not racking them for one, and shrinking them for another, but making his conscience his daily Visitour. He that breaks the statutes, and thinks to rule better by his own discretion, makes many gaps in the hedge, and then stands to stop one of them with a stake in his hand. Besides, thus to confound the will of the dead Founders, is the ready way to make living men's charity, *i.e.* (like Sir Hugh Willoughby in discovering the Northern passage) to be frozen to death, and will dishearten all future Benefactours

"3. *He is principal porter and chief chapell-monitour.* For where the master keeps his chamber alwayes, the scholars will keep theirs seldomer, and perchance, may make all the walls of the Colledge to be gates. He seeks to avoid the inconvenience when the gates do rather divide than confine the scholars, when the Colledge is distinguished (as France, into *cis et transalpina*) into the part on this and on the other side of the walls. As for outlodgings (like galleries, necessary evils in populous churches) he rather tolerates than approves them."

"6. *He is observant to do all due right to Benefactors.* If not piety, policy would dictate this unto him. And though he respects not

benefactors' kinsmen, when at their first admission they count themselves born 'heirs-apparent' to all preferment which the house can heap on them, and therefor grow lazy and idle, yet he counts their alliance, seconded with mediocrity of desert, a strong title to Colledge advancement.

"7. *He counts it lawfull to enrich himself, but in subordination to the Colledge good.* Not like Varus, Governor of Syria, who came poore into the countrey, and found it rich, but departed thence rich and left the Countrey poore. Methinks 'tis an excellent commendation which Trinity Colledge in Cambridge in her records bestows on Doctour Still, once master thereof. *Se ferebat Patrem-familias providum, ἀγαθὸν κουροτρόφον, nec Collegio gravis fuit aut onerosus.*

"8. *He disdaineth to nourish dissension amongst the members of his house.* Let Machiavill's maxim, *Divide et Regnabis*, if offering to enter a Colledge-gate, sink thorow the grate and fall down with the dirt. For besides that, the fomenting of such discords agrees not with a good conscience, each party will watch advantages, and Pupils will often be made to suffer for their Tutour's quarrells. *Studium partium* will be *magna pars studiorum*, and the Colledge have more rents than revenues.

"9. *He scorneth the plot to make only dunces Fellows, to the end he may command in chief.* As thinking that they who know nothing, will do anything, and so he shall be a figure among cyphers, a bee amongst drones, yet oftentime such masters are justly met with, and they find, by experience, that the dullest horses are not easiest to be reined, that our Master endeavours so to order his elections, that every scholar may be fit to make a Fellow, and every Fellow a Master."¹

¹ *Holy State*, book ii., chap. 14.

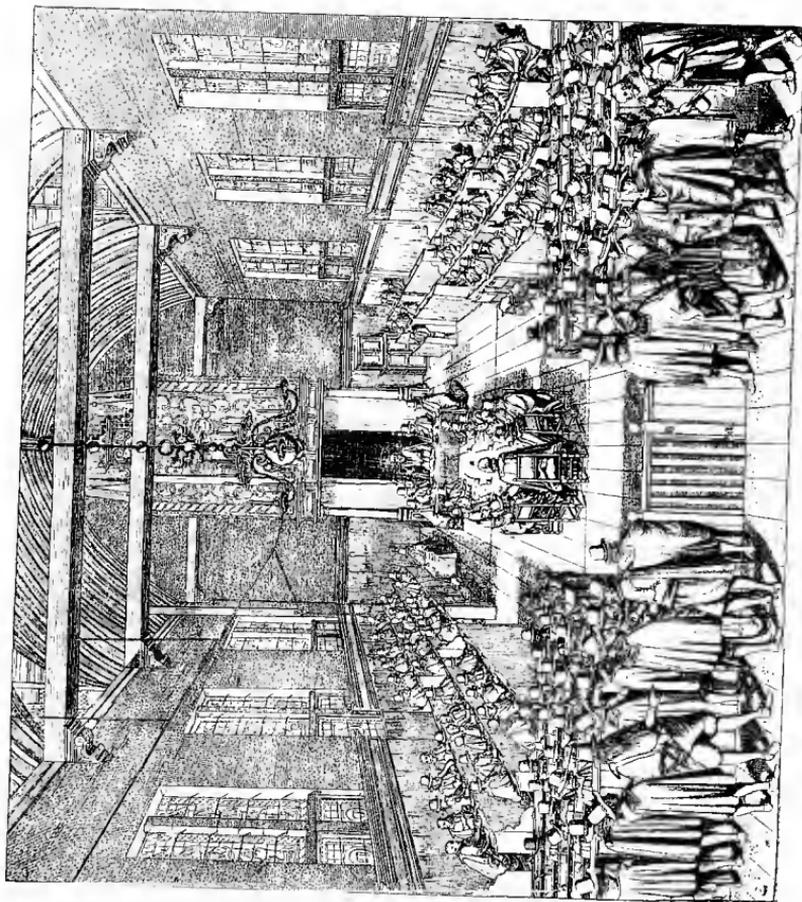
CHAPTER IV

THE SYNOD OF DORT OR DORTRECHT (I). (1618-9)

“(Hildegardis) never learned word of Latin, and yet therein would she fluently express her Revelation to those notaries that took them from her mouth ; so that throwing words at random, she never brake Priscian’s head : as if the Latin had learned to make itself true without the speaker’s care. And no doubt, he that brought the single parties to her, married them also in her mouth, so that the same spirit which furnished her with Latin words, made also the true syntaxis.”—FULLER’S *Holy State*, p. 38.

ABOUT four years after he had been chosen President of his College, and standing now in the highest rank of English Divines for learning, eloquence, and judgment, Dr Davenant was selected in 1618 by King James I., with four other theologians of the first name in the Kingdom, to represent the British Church, and assist at the deliberations of the Synod of Dort ; to which assembly His Majesty had been requested to send deputies.

This may be regarded in modern days as a great stretch of the Royal Supremacy, but we must not forget the high-handed methods of the Tudor Kings and their successors even in ecclesiastical affairs. Elizabeth frequently acted the tyrant towards the Church. The suspension of Grindal, the famous letter to Cox, are cases in point. James I. took a leading part in deciding the questions at issue with the Puritans at the Hampton Court Conference. He sent, as in this case, English Bishops and Divines by his own authority to the Calvinistic Synod of Dort. Charles I. issued the declaration prefixed to the articles by Royal authority alone. During the irregularity of Archbishop Abbot, he authorised



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other Bishops to exercise the metropolitan jurisdiction by Royal authority alone. Besides which the Sovereigns in those days took a more personal interest in the National Church than they have seemed to do in later times. It is the change from this which has made the strain upon the alliance between Church and State in our day. For the Church, which formerly enjoyed her privileges under the personal influence of the Crown, is now virtually under the control of Parliament, which so far from consisting of members of the Church, is by successive changes of the law, no longer even an exclusively Christian body. Yet the above are merely instances of high-handed proceedings on the part of Kings over the Church, some prompted by good motives, some by bad, of which the pages of history are full: and they do not in the least really affect the question of the nature and extent of the Royal supremacy, though they are frequently used by controversialists for that purpose. And if it is urged that the timid and supine acquiescence of the Church in this high-handedness proclaims her subserviency as well as her cowardice, it should be remembered that that is a gibe little felt by a Church which stood in the forefront of the Constitutional battle at the end of the century, when James II. was endeavouring to overthrow the Constitution in Church and State alike, by an exaggerated use of the Royal supremacy. It was by means of the ecclesiastical supremacy of the Crown that James attempted to re-establish the High Commission Court, and publish the Declaration of Indulgence. It was by her opposition to such a use of the supremacy, that the national Church saved the liberties of Englishmen.

That Davenant was most helpful to that assembly, in restraining the extravagant action of some of its members, and in firmly upholding the regimen of his own Church and the episcopal order, is allowed on all hands, and his deportment thereat much enhanced his growing

reputation. In fact, Davenant appears to have been peculiarly eminent in these proceedings. Speaking of him, Hacket says, "What a pillar he was in the Synod of Dort, is to be read in the judgments of the British divines inserted among the public acts: his part being the best in that work; and that work being far the best in the compliments of that Synod."

And here it will be necessary to take a general survey of the circumstances which led to the convening of that famous Council—a council which not only affected the future of the reformed Churches on the Continent, but which marked the dividing line and point of departure between those Churches and the reformed Anglican Church.

The States of Holland had no sooner established their freedom from the Spanish yoke, than they began to be embroiled in theological disputes which soon became intermingled with political cabals. The mysterious and awful doctrines anent the Divine decrees, had been formulated by the Belgic Confession and Catechism, in common with most of the other creeds of the Reformed Churches, in the sacred and undefined simplicity of the Scriptures themselves. But in the post-Reformation period, the prying curiosity of man, anxious to be wise above what is written, rashly proceeded to the vain attempt of accurate and precise explanation, not to say definition, of what is, from the nature of the case, inexplicable. God's sovereignty and Man's free-will—both clearly revealed in Holy Scripture—the two opposite poles of the same truth, how can the finite capacity reconcile these? Parallel lines they cannot meet in this world, but we doubt not they will be seen to meet in the next. When, therefore, the supralapsarian scheme began to take the place of the moderate system hitherto adopted, it was vehemently opposed on the other side by those who, in their eagerness to sustain the freedom

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of the human will, dangerously entrenched on the freedom of Divine grace.

“The disputes,” says Lingard, in his *History of England*, “which divided these theologians” (Arminians and Gomarists, *i.e.*, high Calvinists) “were not more useful; they were certainly less innocent than the subtleties of the ancient school-men. For the subjects of their studies they had taken the doctrines of grace and predestination, universal redemption and free-will; and plunging fearlessly into the abyss, persuaded themselves that they had sounded the depth of mysteries which no human understanding can fathom. Had they indeed confined themselves to speculative discussion, the mischief would have been less; but the heartburnings, the excommunications, the persecutions to which these controversies gave birth, were evils of the most alarming magnitude. In Holland the first Reformers had established the Calvinistic creed in all its rigour. Arminius, the pastor of the great church of Amsterdam, and afterwards Professor at Leyden, had adopted another system, which he deemed more conformable to the benevolence of the Deity, and less revolting to the reason of man. War was soon declared between the partisans of these opposite opinions: each sought the support of the temporal power; and the followers of Arminius addressed a remonstrance, the rigid Calvinists a contra-remonstrance, to the States of Holland.”¹

These technical disputes, upon such abstruse points of theology, however, led up to no important consequences, till in the year 1591 they centred in, and gathered round the person of, the famous Professor of Divinity in the University of Leyden, alluded to, a man of a clear and acute judgment, joined to unquestionable piety and meekness of spirit. This divine had obtained no slight eminence by the talent with which he had extricated the doctrines of Christianity from the dry and technical mode in which they had been hitherto stated and discussed. But his very celebrity placed him in a situation ill-suited to his habits and temper. As one of Beza’s pupils, he had accepted more extreme views to which that divine had carried the

¹ Lingard’s *History of England*, vol. vii., p. 78.

tenets advocated by the powerful pen of Calvin. It so happened that one Coornhert had advanced some opinions, which, if not loose in themselves, were externalized in a most unguarded way. To these a reply was published by the ministers of Delft, in which the moderate and generally received *sublapsarian*¹ hypothesis was sustained; which gave little less offence to the high Calvinists (*i.e.*, those who held *supralapsarian* views) than did the heterodox language of Coornhert. Arminius, therefore, as the most talented divine of the day, was applied to, by both sides, to take up his pen. On the one hand, his friend, Martin Lydius, solicited him to write a vindication of the *supralapsarian* views of his former tutor, Beza, against the reply of the ministers of Delft; and, on the other, he was invited by the Synod of Amsterdam to defend this same reply against Coornhert. Placed in this ambiguous and compromising situation, Arminius felt it incumbent upon him to enter into an examination of the whole question—all along the line of debate—and was induced to change his sentiments, and to adopt that view of the Divine Dispensation, which now bears his name. His change, however, was very gradual, but appears to have been hastened by the publication in Holland of the *Aurea Armilla* of Perkins, a very powerful *supralapsarian* divine of the Church of England. This alteration of opinion would not have led to any very serious consequences, had Arminius and the moderate part of the Church been left to themselves. The fundamental point of justification by faith, with the doctrine of assurance, and even of final perseverance, were held by him to his death; and his exemplary piety and humility secured for him the attach-

¹ So called from their different views on the *lapsus* or Fall of Man. The first held that God only permitted the Fall, and that His predestination of individuals dates from thence. The other ascending higher, that God had absolutely predetermined and decreed the Fall. The latter are therefore called "high Calvinists."

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ment even of those who, when the dispute subsequently extended, became his most zealous opponents. The following are the famous five points of Arminius, containing the views of his followers :—

(1) That God from all eternity determined to bestow salvation on those whom He foresaw would persevere unto the end in their faith in Christ Jesus : and to inflict everlasting punishment on those who should continue in their unbelief, and resist unto the end His Divine succours.

(2) That Jesus Christ by His death and sufferings made an atonement for the sins of all mankind in general, and of every individual in particular ; that, however, none but those who believe in Him can be partakers of their divine benefit.

(3) That true faith cannot proceed from the exercise of our natural faculties and powers, nor from the force and operation of free-will : since man, in consequence of his natural corruption, is incapable of thinking or doing any good thing : and that, therefore, it is necessary to his conversion and salvation that he be regenerated and renewed by the operation of the Holy Ghost, which is the gift of God through Jesus Christ.

(4) That this Divine grace or energy of the Holy Ghost, which heals the disorders of a corrupt nature, begins, advances, and brings to perfection everything that can be called good in man, and that, consequently, all good works, without exception, are to be attributed to God alone and the operation of His grace : that, nevertheless, this grace does not force a man to act against his inclination, but may be resisted and rendered ineffectual by the perverse will of the impenitent sinner.

(5) That they who are united to Christ by faith are thereby furnished with abundant strength, and with succours sufficient to enable them to triumph over the seduction of Satan and the allurements of sin and temptation : but that the question whether such may fall from

their faith, and forfeit finally this state of grace, has not yet been resolved with sufficient perspicuity, and must, therefore, be yet more carefully examined by an attentive study of what the Holy Scriptures have declared on this important point.

With regard to the last article, the Arminians subsequently held the positive sentiment that "a man may fall from a state of grace."

The five points of Calvinism, as they are called, are:—

(1) Predestination, including Predestination or election to life eternal: and Reprobation (*the* supralapsarian tenet) or Predestination to damnation.

(2) Particular Redemption, *i.e.*, that Christ died only for a chosen few.

(3) Original sin.

(4) Irresistible grace, or effectual calling, the opposite to which is Free-will.

(5) Final Perseverance.

It will be now seen at a glance where the two systems were bound ultimately to collide.

The demands of the Arminians were moderate enough, and the points in dispute had not been settled by any dogmatic utterance in any of the Reformed Churches. But the heat of the less discreet part of the Church, and the dangerous opinions of some of the Arminians, who leaned to the Socinian and Pelagian heresies, such as Episcopius, Grotius, Limborch, and Barneveldt, being, as is no uncommon case at present, confounded with the tenets of Arminius, led up to some violent and uncharitable controversies, by which the peace of the Church was grievously broken in upon. Still the question might have been amicably settled, but that, at the annual meeting of the Synods in 1605, the Class of Dort unwisely fanned the embers into a flame, by transmitting the following grievance to the University of Leyden. "Inasmuch as rumours

are heard that certain controversies have arisen in the Church and University of Leyden, concerning the doctrine of the Reformed Churches, this Class has judged it necessary that the Synod should deliberate respecting the safest and most speedy method of settling these controversies: that all the schisms and causes of offence which spring out of them may reasonably be removed, and the union of the Reformed Churches preserved inviolate against the calumnies of adversaries.

When this officious document reached Leyden, it gave offence, as might have been expected, to the moderate men of both sides, and met with the following reply from the Professors there:—"that they wished the Dort Class had, in this affair, acted with greater discretion, and in a more orderly manner: that, in their own opinion, there were more disputes among the students than was agreeable to them as Professors; but, that among themselves, the Professors of Theology, no difference existed that could be considered as affecting, in the least, the fundamentals of doctrine; and that they would endeavour to diminish the disputes among the students." This was signed by Arminius, then Rector of the University, by Gomarus and others.

From the signature of Gomarus to this reply, it is evident that his subsequent bitterness against the Remonstrants at the Synod of Dort, was the outcome of that acrimony which controversy so often generates: and that at the period before us, he neither considered the views of his colleagues as affecting the vitality of their faith, nor even interrupting their friendships; although unhappily, afterwards, he denounced the former, as upsetting the basis of the gospel: spoke of the latter, when deceased, in very harsh and uncharitable terms—forgetting the golden maxim, *de mortuis nil nisi bonum*, and fomented these persecuting measures against his followers, which have rendered the name of the Synod of Dort so odious, and

earned for it the sobriquet of "disgraceful"¹ from the pen of Robert Southey, in his *Book of the Church*.

This "meddling and muddling" action on the part of the Class of Dort having brought the whole question before the public, kindled a flame through the United Provinces, which it was difficult to extinguish. In the height of it, Arminius died, in the year 1609, with a spirit completely crushed by the calumny and rancour with which he had been assailed. There is certain in all such cases to be a deflection from the original platform, and disciples either abandon tenets or push forward pretensions which the master never dreamt of. It was so in this case. His followers abandoned many of the views which Arminius held in common with Calvin, particularly on the vital point of Justification. They became also, *par consequence*, universally lax, both in their opinions and their society: and, that which has been the frequent result, aversion from Calvinism, became a general bond of union. Having presented a strong remonstrance to the States General in 1610, they became known by the name of *Remonstrants*, and their opponents having presented a counter-remonstrance, were called *Contra-Remonstrants*.

"At this time," says Fuller, in his quaint language, "began the troubles in the Low Countries, about matters of religion, heightened between two opposite parties, *Remonstrants* and *Contra-Remonstrants*: their controversies being chiefly reducible to five points: of *Predestination*, and *Reprobation*, of the *Latitude of Christ's Death*, of the *Power of Man's Free-will, both before and after his conversion*: and of the *Elect's perseverance in grace*. To decide these difficulties, the *States of the United Provinces* resolved to call a *National Synod at Dort*." But at first they were not so minded. To settle these disputes, the *Remonstrants* demanded a general Council of the Protestant Churches, in a Protestant Synod. This the States

¹ Southey's *Book of the Church*, p. 433.

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refused, but it was at length determined by four out of the seven Provinces that a National Synod should be held at Dort, or Dordrecht—a town eminent for its hostility to the Arminians.

Dordrecht occupies an important page in the History of Holland, and especially that of the Protestant Faith. In 1572, the first Assembly of the Independent States of Holland was held there, and resulted in the foundation of the Republic of the United Dutch Provinces. A century later, William III., Prince of Orange, was appointed Stadtholder, Commander-in-Chief, and Admiral of Holland for life, by the States at Dordrecht. In 1618 and 1619, the Dutch Protestant Theologians assembled at a great Synod at Dordrecht, with a view to effect a compromise between the adherents of the austere tenets of Calvin (Gomarists) and those of the milder doctrines of Zwingli (Arminians). In 1610 the latter had addressed a "Remonstrance" (whence their name "Remonstrants," which is still used by the States General), in defence of their doctrines. Differences of opinion existed between the two sects regarding the doctrine of Divine Grace—the Gomarists held that the greater part of the human race was excluded from grace, which the Arminians denied. Although these differences were now to be discussed, the Calvinists, who formed the great majority of the Assembly, refused to give the Remonstrants a hearing, and unanimously condemned them. Deputies from England and Scotland, Germany and Switzerland had been invited to assist at the meeting, which lasted nearly seven months, and is said to have cost the States a million florins. The resolutions of the Synod were long regarded as the law of the Dutch Reformed Church.¹

The great Bogerman said, at its conclusion, of this "famous Synod" which was to settle, once and for all, the knotty question of Predestination and Grace—that "its

¹ Baedeker's *Holland*, p. 393.

miraculous labours had made Hell tremble"; but a witty and caustic epigram composed at the time took another view of its results—

“Dordtrechti synodus, nodus : chorus integer æger ;
Conventus ventus, sessio stramen, Amen.”

Letters were sent to the French Huguenots, and to the different Protestant States of Germany and Switzerland, requesting them to send deputies to assist at the deliberations. “And to give the more lustre,” says Fuller, “and weight to the determinations thereof, desired some foreign Princes to send them the assistance of their divines for so pious a work.” Among others the King of England, James I., was solicited in the same manner, and he, partly from political motives, and partly from his love of theological controversy, which characterised our kings in general in those days, and in particular James I., complied with the request, and selected for this purpose five of the most eminent theologians in his realm. “Especially, they requested,” continues Fuller, “our King of Great Britain to contribute his aid thereunto; (being himself as forward to do, as they desire anything conducive to God’s glory and the Church’s good), who out of his own princely wisdom, and free favour, made choice of five of the most eminent theologians of his realm :—

Dr George Carleton, Doctor of Divinity, then Bishop of Landaff, and afterwards Bishop of Chichester.

Dr Joseph Hall, Doctor of Divinity, then Dean of Worcester, and afterwards Bishop of Exeter and Norwich.

Dr John Davenant, Doctor of Divinity, then Margaret-Professor, and Master of Queens’ College, in Cambridge, afterwards Bishop of Salisbury.

Dr Samuel Ward, Doctor of Divinity, then Master of Sidney College in Cambridge, and Arch-Deacon of Taunton.

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Subsequently they were joined by *Walter Balcanqual*,¹ a presbyter of, and to represent, the Church of Scotland, and when Dr Hall returned home on account of ill-health, the vacancy was filled up by Dr Goad, Precentor of St Paul's, and Chaplain to the Archbishop of Canterbury, and Primate, Abbot.

These selected divines, according to their summons, repairing to His Majesty (James I.), at Newmarket, received from him these following instructions,² concerning their behaviour in the Synod, and therein especially is seen his high-handedness. The Archbishop also gave his directions, or concurred in these instructions:—

“1. Our will and pleasure is, that from this time forward, upon all occasions, you inure yourselves to the practice of the *Latin* tongue; that, when there is cause, you may deliver your minds with more readiness and facility.

“2. You shall, in all points to be debated and disputed, resolve amongst yourselves before-hand, what is the true state of the Question, and jointly and uniformly agree thereupon.

“3. If, in debating the cause by the learned men there, anything be emergent, whereof you thought not before, you shall meet and consult thereupon again, and so resolve among yourselves jointly, what is fit to be main-

¹ “On 16th December, *Gualter Balcanquall*, Bachelor of Divinity, and Fellow of Pembroke Hall, came into the Synod, where his credential letters from King James were publicly read. Whose pleasure it was that he should be added to the four *English* Colleagues, in the name of the Church of Scotland. The President of the Synod welcomed him with a short Oration, which by Mr Balcanquall was returned with another, and so was he conducted to his place: a place built for him particularly, as one coming after all the rest, so that his seat discomposed the uniformity of the building, exactly regular before. But it matters not how the seats were ordered, so that the judgements of such as sate therein, were conformed to the truth of the Scriptures.”—Fuller's *Church Hist.*, Bk. x. p. 79.

² Fuller says, in a note: “These instructions I saw transcribed out of Dr Davenant his own Manuscript.”—*Church Hist.*, Bk. x. p. 77.

tained. And this to be done agreeable to the Scriptures, and the doctrine of the Church of England.

“4. Your advice shall be to those churches, that their ministers do not deliver in the Pulpit to the people, those things for ordinary doctrine, which are the highest points of schools, and not fit for vulgar capacity, but disputable on both sides.

“5. That they use no Innovation in Doctrine, but teach the same things which were taught twenty or thirty years past, in their own churches; and especially that which contradicteth not their own Confession, so long since published and known unto the world.

“6. That they conform themselves to the public Confession of the neighbour-reformed churches, with whom to hold good correspondency shall be no dishonour to them.

“7. That if there be main opposition between any, who are over-much addicted to their own opinions, your endeavour shall be, that certain Propositions be moderately laid down, which may tend to the mitigation of heat on both sides.

“8. That, as you principally look to God's glory, and the peace of those distracted churches; so you have an eye to our honour, who send and employ you thither, and consequently, at all times consult with our Ambassador, there residing, who is best acquainted with the form of those Countreys, understandeth well the Questions and differences among them, and shall from time to time receive our Princely directions, as occasion shall require.

“9. Finally, in all other things which we cannot foresee, you shall carry yourselves with that advice, moderation, and discretion, as to persons of your quality and gravity shall appertain.”

These royal instructions were judicious, and appear to have been carefully acted upon. The gravity and moderation of the English deputies were of the utmost value in

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the synod, and went far towards preventing some of the wild extravagances into which the heated controversialists were eager to run.

Doctor *Davenant* and Dr *Ward* presented themselves again to His Majesty, at Royston, October the 8, where His Majesty vouchsafed his familiar discourse unto them, for two hours together, commanding them to sit down by him, and at last dismissed them with his solemn prayer that *God would bless their endeavours*, which made them cheerfully to depart his presence.

Addressing themselves¹ now with all possible speed to the seaside they casually missed that *Man of Warre*, which the States had sent to conduct them over (though they saw him on sea at some distance), and safely went over in a small vessel, landing October 20, at Middleburgh. We are writing, it must be remembered, of days long before the introduction of steam navigation. There was not then, as now, daily communication between the East Coast and Belgium, between Harwich and the Hook of Holland. On the 27th of the same month they came to Hague, where they kissed the hand of his Excellency, Grave Maurice, to whom the Bishop (*Davenant*) made a short speech, and by whom they were all courteously entertained. Hence they removed to *Dort*, where, November 3, the *Synod* began, and where we leave them with the rest of their fellow-divines when first every one of them had taken this Admission-Oath at their entrance into the Synod.

"I promise before God, whom I believe and adore, the present Searcher of the heart and reins, that in all this Synodal action, wherein shall be appointed the examination, judgment, and decision, as well of the known five Articles

¹ Edward Davenant, Fellow of Queens', and nephew of the President, went with his uncle, as the following order implies :—

Octob. 6th, 1618.—Leave granted Mr Davenant to go into Holland, and all his allowances till his return, as yf hee wer at home.—J. D. (Old Parchment, reg. fo. 9. b.)

and difficulties therein arising, as of all other Doctrinals, that I will not make use of any Humane Writing, but only of God's Word for the certain and undoubted Rule of Faith, and that I shall propound nothing to myself in this whole cause, besides the glory of God, the peace of the Church, and especially the preservation of the purity of Doctrine therein. So may my Saviour Jesus Christ be merciful unto me, Whom I earnestly pray, that in this my purpose, He would always be present with me with the grace of His Spirit."

"I say, we leave them here with their fellow-divines. For, should my pen presume to sail over the sea, it would certainly meet with a *storm* in the passage, the censure of such who will justly condemn it for meddling with transmarine matters, especially doctrinal points, utterly alien from my present subject. Only a touch of an historical passage therein, confining ourselves to our own countrymen ;" so writes the witty Church Historian.

On their arrival in Holland and first public audience, Bishop Carleton addressed the States-General and the Prince of Orange, in an eloquent and impressive speech, urging them to the preservation of truth, and the cultivation of peace and unity. In all the documents and histories of this Synod, it is allowed that the British divines conducted themselves with equal talent, dignity and judgment. It had been strictly enjoined them before their departure, both by the King and Archbishop Abbot, to allow of no meddling with the doctrine or discipline of the English Church, and to be peremptory on the point of introducing into the decisions of the Synod, the Universality of Christ's Redemption. To this they religiously adhered, and were extremely tenacious of the honour of their own Church, enforcing her moderation as a model on these subjects.

"These four divines had allowed them by the states *ten pounds sterling* a day: *threescore and ten pounds* by the

week: an entertainment far larger than what was appointed to any other foreign Theologues (theologians); and politically proportioned, in grateful consideration of the greatness of His Majesty who employed them. And these English divines, knowing themselves, sent over, not to gain wealth to themselves, but glory to God, and reputation to their Sovereign, freely gave what they had freely received, keeping a *Table* general, where any fashionable foreigner was courteously and plentifully entertained.

“They were commanded by the King to give him a weekly account (each one in his several week, according to their seniority) of all memorable passages transacted in the *Synod*. Yet it happened that for a month or more, the King received from them no particulars of their proceedings, whereat His Majesty was most highly offended. But afterwards, understanding that this defect was caused by the countermands of an higher King, even of Him *who gathereth the wind in his fist*, stopping all passages by contrary weather; no wonder if He, who was so great a *peace-maker*, was himself so quickly pacified; yea, afterwards highly pleased, when four weekly despatches (not neglected to be orderly sent, but delayed, to be accordingly brought) came altogether to His Majesty’s hands.”¹

Our theologians were thus handsomely treated by the states and with the greatest consideration. Meanwhile, Sir Dudley Carlton, English Ambassador at the Hague, dispatched his Chaplain, Mr John Hales, Fellow of Eton, to be present at their discussions, soon after the opening of the Synod. It is from his letters and those of Mr Balcanquall (subsequently sent to the Synod to represent the Church of Scotland), that we glean the fullest information touching the proceedings of the conclave. It was not till after the Synod had been opened for a considerable time that the Arminian divines put in an appearance; indeed, at first, it was very doubtful if they would come

¹ Fuller’s *Church History*, Book x. p. 79.

at all. They had their forebodings that they were not summoned to take their part in the Synodal proceedings, or to have any real voice in the decisions, but simply to be put on trial for their tenets and to have them condemned. It was probably a salutary fear only which brought them to Dort.

“The Calvinists,” says Heylin, “had been invited from all parts of Christendom, and yet, not thinking themselves strong enough to suppress their adversaries, they first disabled some of them by ecclesiastical censures, from being chosen members of the Synod.”¹

For the assistance of the able allies thus disqualified, the Arminian party petitioned when they had come to the Conference, but they were not allowed to obtain their request; and to while away the time, pending their arrival, the Calvinistic divines discussed the preliminaries for a new translation of the Bible, catechizing and catechism.

On November 29, “the Synod being met together, Mr Dean of Worcester (Hall) made in the Synod-house a polite and pathetic sermon on Ecclesiastes vi. Mr Præses (Bogerman) had requested the foreigners that they would be pleased to bestow in their courses some Latin sermons to entertain the Synod till the Arminians made their appearance. My Lord Bishop refused it because of the sudden warning, but Mr Dean would needs undertake it.”²

“Meantime,” says Mr Motley, “the Synod had met at Dordrecht. The great John Bogerman, with fierce handsome face, beak and eye of a bird of prey, and a deluge of curly brown beard reaching to his waist, took his seat as President. Short work was made with the Arminians. They and their five points were soon thrust out into outer darkness.

“It was established beyond all gainsaying that two forms of Divine worship were forbidden by God’s Word, and that henceforth, by the

¹ Heylin’s *Presbyterians*, p. 403.

² Mr Hale to Sir D. Carlton.

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Netherland Law, there could be but one religion, viz., the Reformed or Calvinistic Creed.”—(Motley’s *Life and Death of John Barneveld*, p. 309.)

At length, on December 6, the long expected Arminians arrived. They could see at a glance the treatment they might expect. “There is in the midst of the Synod-house¹ a long table set as it would seem for them: for it hath hitherto been void, no man sitting at it; here chairs and forms being set, they were willed to sit down.” Then Episcopius, upon whom the mantle of Arminius had fallen, Professor of Divinity at Leyden, a man of much learning and great eloquence, stood up and made a speech on behalf of the new comers, declaring that according to the words of their citation, they were now come “to hold a Conference.” This word “Conference” was the spark that quickly ignited the smouldering elements. “It is good that they should be informed,” says Polyander, “that they come not to Conference, but to propose their opinions, with their reasons, that the Synod judge of them.” Not only were they not allowed the same footing as the other divines, but even the Utrecht deputies, who were supposed to have Arminian proclivities, were told that they were summoned to be tried, not to judge; and they were compelled to range themselves on the side of the Arminian

¹ There is a fine picture of this famous Synod of Dordrecht by *P. Weyts*, which the writer saw in his recent visit to Dort (September 1895)—but it is not to be found in the *Stadhuis*, as Bædeker says, in his Handbook, 392—but in the Museum of *Antiquities*, though in a bad light. No engraving of this picture could be obtained at Dort, but through the courtesy of the President, Mr S. Van Gyn, his large private collection of engravings of the Synod was placed at our disposal from which a photograph has been taken. Since this visit the writer was fortunate in procuring from Messrs Muller (of Amsterdam) a few engravings with the names of the representatives appended. Our illustration is taken from the best of these. It will be seen that Bogerman and five of his colleagues occupy seats at the head of the Synod Hall. The Remonstrants all stand in the centre at the long table—and the British deputies are in the right hand corner of the picture by themselves.

party. Finding that everything had been carefully arranged for the condemnation and not the lawful hearing of the Arminians, Episcopius, in their name, delivered a long speech, denouncing the Calvinists as guilty of schism in separating themselves off from their brethren, and initiating a hard and fast, and tyrannical conformity; reproving them for acting the rôle of judges upon points they had already decided, and concluding by giving his ideal sketch of a truly national Synod, to the definitive sentence of which the Arminians would "bow and obey." For this speech the President warmly reproved Episcopius, and the Arminians were given to understand that no further delay would be tolerated, and that they must at once proceed to give in their written opinions on the *Five Points* and then the Synod would proceed to examine them. Thus pressed, they gave in opinions, or theses, upon the *first* point, and afterwards on the other, signed by the whole body.

Another plan, however, was now hit upon. The Calvinistic party were determined to examine the Arminians on their theses *one by one*. It would appear that this was a design for displaying a contrariety of sentiment between the different divines, and for causing the timid and less learned to falter or blunder, which would not fail to be turned to the prejudice of their cause. This plan, therefore, was resisted manfully. Being called upon for their considerations on the Catechism, they handed in a paper, signed by six of their number, professing that all agreed in their wording. Several others, however, gave up single replies; but neither these nor the theses satisfied the requirements of the Synod. "Two things were disliked," says Mr Hales: "First, their propounding so many negatives; secondly, their urging so much to handle the point of *Reprobation*, and that in the first place." Here was the real difficulty, for the Calvinists wished to keep their sweeping tenets on this subject in the background. They

were well aware that they were not fit for the care of the uninitiated, and their tendency was to fearful consequences. On the other hand, Episcopius knew the strength of their cause lay here, and that his opponents would scarcely venture to defend the logical conclusions of their teaching on this head. And it was upon this ground he hoped to snatch his triumph. But the Calvinists were too wary. They ruled that not his, but their method, was to be followed, and that the first point of discussion was the doctrine of election. Being asked by the President if they would submit to this method, the Arminians replied that they would not. This certainly looks like being over contentions; but they had examined their grounds, and evidently thought that their only hope of success lay in handling that tenet first. There was much to say for the one, what defence could be set up for the other? But Gomarus, the great enemy of the Arminians, could now no longer contain himself, and cried out: "Episcopius hath falsified the tenet of Reprobation: no man teaches that God has absolutely decreed to cast away men without sin; but as He did decree the *end*, so did He decree the *means*—that is, as He predestinated man to *death*, so He predestinated him to *sin*, the only way to death." "And so he mended the question," says Hales, "as tinkers mend kettles, and made it worse than before."¹

Upon this they determined to put certain interrogations to the Arminians on the five points, drawn up by the President, and to require their separate answers. "This thing they much disdained, as being too pædagogical." Matters were, in point of fact, coming to a synodal dead-lock. The Calvinists were determined to make the Arminians answer in their way. The Arminians were equally resolved

¹ Mr Hales to Sir D. Carlton. "It is meet that God, when men will be too curious in prying into His secrets, should involve them in errors inextricable, or give them over *eis ἀδόκιμον νόον, adoranda nonscrutanda mysteria.*"—Dr Young to Dr Ward.

to choose their own way. It was in vain the foreign divines tried to smooth over and facilitate matters. A bitter quarrel had broken out between the rival disputants which nothing would appease. It was therefore resolved to dismiss the Arminians as incorrigible, and to put a good face on it, the President, Bogerman, artfully made a catspaw of the foreign divines. "The foreigners," says Hales, "think themselves a little indirectly dealt with, in that it being proposed to the whole Synod to pass their judgment concerning the behaviour of the Arminians, the provincials were not at all required to speak: and by these means the envy of the whole business was derived upon the foreigners; whereas, on the contrary, when the like question was proposed formally, and the foreigners had spoken very favourably in the Arminians' behalf, the provincials stepped in, and established a rigid sentence against the foreigners' liking." "The trick that was put upon us," said Mr Balcanqual,¹ "was only too palpable. The *Theologici exteri* gave suffrages for their dismissal. Only one, to wit, Steinsius, gave a bitter sentence, and their voices being asked only who are not above a third part of the Synod, the Arminians were called in, and dismissed with such a powdering speech, as I doubt not your Lordship hath heard with grief enough: I protest I am much afflicted when I think of it." The violence of the President did not escape censure even from some of his own followers; but it is possible that he worked himself up into a passion designedly to avoid giving temperate reasons. "It was a bitter oration," says Heylin,² "uttered with fiery eyes and most virulent language."

Having thus got rid of their troublesome opponents, the Calvinists then proceeded to discuss, and of course to condemn, their opinions. The plan they adopted was to read extracts out of the Arminian works and invite dis-

¹ Mr Walter Balcanqual to Sir D. Carlton.

² Heylin's *Presbyterians*, p. 403.

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cussion, which could only end in one way. A fierce passage of arms took place between Martinus of Buden and Gomarus, who lost all self-control. The English Divines were "still the most moderate, reasonable and charitable of the assemblage."¹ Dr Hall² had been obliged to go home on account of ill health, and the Precentor of St Paul, Dr Goad, had taken his place. The four English and the Scotch Deputy (Balcanquall), formed a College, and agreed upon joint opinions among themselves, which they proposed to the Synod.³ As a rule their

¹ The learned William Bedell had written to them this good advice. "Consider if it be not the best course, contenting yourselves to set down in the very words of Scripture the confessed doctrine, and inhibiting all new-fangled forms : for the rest, to give as much scope to opinion as maybe."—Bedell to Ward.

² "Doctor Joseph Hall, being at the Synod of Dort, and finding much indisposition in himself, the air not agreeing with his health, on his humble request obtained His Majesty's leave to return home. Whereupon composing his countenance with a becoming gravity, he publicly took his solemn farewell of the Synod with a speech. Thus returned Dr Hall into his own country, since so recovered (not to say revived) therein, that he hath gone over the graves of all his English colleagues there, and (what cannot God and good air do?) surviving in health at this day, three and thirty years after, may well with Jesse *go amongst men for an old man in these days*, and living privately, having passed through the Bishoprics of Exeter and Norwich, hath now the opportunity in these troublesome times, effectually to practise there his precepts of *patience and contentment*, which his pen hath so eloquently recommended to others."

"On the 7th January, Thomas Goad, Doctor of Divinity, chaplain to George, Archbishop of Canterbury, came into the Synod, sent thither by His Majesty of Great Britain. The President entertained him with a solemn oration, highly commending King James's care, not recalling one divine till he had substituted another. The Doctor requited him with a pithy oration, promising the utmost of his assistance to the general good. A promise by him well performed, giving afterwards ample testimony of his general learning and solid judgment in Divinity, nothing being wanted in him, but that he came hither too late to this employment."—Fuller's *Church Hist.*, book x. p. 80.

³ Upon most points they seem to have been pretty unanimous. Upon the "Extent of Redemption," however, they differed. Bishop Carleton and Dr Goad held that Christ died only for the elect ; Drs Davenant and Ward, that he died for the whole world. See Bishop of Llandaff's letter to Sir D. Carlton ; Dr Davenant on *Extent of Redemption* ; Appendix to Hale's *Golden Remains*.

views seem to have been received with marked deference. Gomarus, however,—whom nothing could daunt, and seems to have acted the rôle of the *enfant perdu*—gave an irreverent answer to the Bishop of Llandaff, who ventured to remind him that there was such a thing as charity and moderation: but this appears to have been generally condemned. The other divines were also formed into colleges according to their country, and composed in common written judgments on the several points, which were read publicly in the Synod. However, when it came to the making and promulging of canons, the English Deputies were by no means pleased with the method adopted. The President formulated the canons, and proposed them to the Synod to vote *placet* or *non placet*. As he had an obedient following of provincial deputies, by this means he could carry anything he pleased. It was the *clôture* he had unwittingly adopted, and he applied the gagging method when required, that is, when he liked. Mr Balcanquall writes to Sir D. Carlton, entreating him to interfere. “If your lordship do not procure good counsel to be sent here for the constructing of canons, we are like to make the Synod a thing to be laughed at in after ages.¹ They would have their canons so full charged with catechetical speculations, as they will be ready to burst.” Again, “They are so eager to kill the Arminians that they would make their words have that sense which no grammar can find in them. All I can say is, me thinketh it is hard that every man should be deposed from the ministry who will not hold every particular canon: never did any Church of old, nor any reformed Church, propose so many articles to be held ‘sub pœna

¹ His Majesty will cause letters to be written to his Ambassador there, to signify his pleasure to the Synod, as you desire, that in their canons they would have a special eye to the definitions of ancient councils against the Pelagians, and the constitution of other reformed Churches.”—Dr Young to Dr Ward.

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excommunicationis.” Yet this drastic piece of persecution was carried out to the letter.

“Presently, upon the ending of the Synod, the Arminians were required to subscribe to their own condemnation: and for refusing to do so, they were all banished by a decree of the States-General, with their wives and children (to the number of seven hundred families or thereabouts), and forced to beg their bread even in desolate places.”¹

Such was the first attempt at a Pan-Protestant Conference, let us hope when next all the Protestant Churches shall “come together into one place” to take synodal action, greater wisdom, moderation and charity will characterise the proceedings of a Council, whose fiat may go forth with the good old canonical words, heard for the first time in the Council of Jerusalem, “It seemeth good to the Holy Ghost and to us.”

“It is almost unnecessary,” says Mr Perry,² “to say that the decisions of the Synod do in no way bind the English Church. The divines who attended it from England were merely deputed by the King, and not commissioned by the Church, or empowered to act for it. Nor was it possible for them consistently to agree with all the proceedings of the Synod, even supposing them not to dissent on the matters of predestination and grace. The Belgic Confession of Faith was brought in, in one of the sessions, to be subscribed by the Dutch, and approved by the foreign Divines. In this Confession of Faith it is distinctly asserted that the Ministers of Christ have all the same ‘character, jurisdiction, and authority.’ This of course could not be admitted by members of an Episcopal Church. Accordingly, Bishop Carleton formally protested in the Synod against “the strange conceit of parity of ministers”; and afterwards in a conference, which he held with some divines of the Synod, told them that the cause of all their troubles was having no Bishops. To

¹ Heylin's *Presbyterians*, p. 405.

² Perry's *History of the Church of England*, vol. i. 277.

this (according to Bishop Carleton¹) their reply was, "That they heartily wished that they could establish themselves on the model of the Church of England, but they had no prospect of such a happiness : and since the civil government had made their desires impracticable, they hoped God would be merciful to them."¹

This has been the usual remark among the Continental Reformed Churches, that they would have had Bishops if they could. They could not, because none of the Continental Bishops joined the Reformation, which was almost wholly on the part of the laity. With ourselves, however, the case is widely different, all "orders and estates" of men joined the Reformation, Clergy and Laity, and so we Anglicans have conserved the episcopal regimen, and handed on the apostolical succession. "The good sense of the English," says De Maistre, "hath preserved the Hierarchy." With regard to *doctrines* the difficulty at the Synod was greater. The determination of the British Deputies to have general Redemption admitted into the decrees, or else to withdraw from the Synod, led to some heated discussion. Carleton came into direct collision with Gomarus upon the subject of our seventeenth Article, and upon other points. The testy Hollander could not help exclaiming, *Reverendissime Præsul non auctoritate sed ratione agendum est* : for which intemperance an apology was afterwards exacted. However, the doctrine of Redemption as a blessing to be universally proposed and offered to all men, was so little

¹ Collier's *Church History*, vii. 416.

² Carleton, having consulted with his colleagues, entered unexpectedly into a direct refutation of it ; observing that the assertion was in opposition to the example of Christ, and to the precedent of the age, of that of the Apostles, and of every subsequent period ; and that the argument by which it was defended was singularly inconclusive : for the twelve apostles and the seventy disciples were *all equally ministers of Christ*, "yet the latter had not *equal power and authority* with the former." And though *all men are equally men*, yet it follows not that one man has not *justly power and authority over another*. To these observations no reply was made.

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relished by the Synod of Dort, that it is clear, nothing but the threatened loss of the English deputies induced its insertion. In fact it led to so much unpleasant discussion that it appears that once Bishop Carleton would have given way, but Dr Davenant declared he would sooner cut off his hand than rescind any word of it: in which he was supported by Ward, and it was ultimately agreed to. Our author, who was looked upon as "the pillar of the Synod," assigned his reasons at length; and they are reprinted in John Hale's "Golden Remains" at the end of the "letters concerning the Synod of Dort." The following important epistle about Dr Davenant is from Balcanqual in Hale's letters:—

To the Rt. Honourable Sir D. Carlton, L. Ambassador.

MY VERY GOOD LORD,

Doctor Davenant his coming to your L. saveth me the trouble of writing any news here: for he will perfectly relate them to your L. We are full of trouble about things altogether unnecessary—for they are so eager to *kill* the Remonstrants that they would *make their words have that sense which no grammar can finde in them*; upon Tuesday in the afternoon we had a Session in wh. were read the canons of the first and second Article, and were approved, except the last of the second Article, which we never heard of till *that houre*, and the second heterodox in that same article, what they were Dr Davenant will inform your L. *The last was such as I think no man of understanding would ever assent unto.* On Thursday morning we had another Session in which nothing was done, but it was reasoned whether that last heterodox should be retained: our College in that whole Session maintained dispute against the whole Synod. They condemned the thing itself as a thing most curious, and yet would have it retained only to make y^e Remonstrants odious, though they find the very contrary of that they would father upon them in their words. . . . Yesterday there was no Session, but the Deputies met for taking orders about y^e preface and epilogue of the Canon, and mending these things in the Canon which were thought fit to be amended, and have sent them worse than they were—in case we stand, and what need of counsel we have, this worthy Dr will sufficiently inform your L.—Your L. in all true respect, and service,

WALTER BALCANQUAL.

DORT, this 1^o of April.

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which is the Palatine's, as containing no dogmata repugnant to the Word of God, and a decree against Vorstius's doctrine, chiefly that in his book *De Deo*, were dismissed. In our approbation of the Belgic Confession, our consent was only asked for doctrinals, not for matters touching *discipline*. We had a solemn parting in the Synod, and all was concluded with a solemn feast.

"On 23rd April 1619, the Canons were signed by all the members of the Synod. Arminians were pronounced heretics, schismatics, teachers of false doctrines. They were declared incapable of filling any clerical or academical post. No man was thenceforth to teach children, lecture to adolescents, or preach to the mature, unless a subscriber to the doctrines of the unchanged, unchangeable orthodox Church. On the 30th April and 1st May, the Netherland Confession, and the Heidelberg Catechism, were declared to be infallible, no change was to be possible in either formulary, schools and pulpits were inexorably bound to the only true religion (p. 310).

"On the 6th May," continues Mr Motley, "there was a great festival at Dordrecht in honour of the conclusion of the Synod. The Canons, the sentences, and long prayers and orations in Latin by President Bogerman, gladdened the souls of an immense multitude, which were further enlivened by the decree that both Creed and Catechism had stood the test of several criticisms, and come out unchanged by a single hair. Nor did the orator of the occasion forget to render thanks to the most magnanimous King James of Great Britain, through whose godly zeal, fiery sympathy, and truly royal labour God had so often refreshed the Synod in the midst of their toil.

"The Synod held 180 sessions between 13 Nov. 1618 and 29 May 1619, all the doings of which have been recorded in chronicles innumerable, so there need be no further mention of them here."—(Motley's *Life and Death of John of Barneveld*, vol. ii. p. 311.)

Thus far the historical Synod. But the strife which our Anglican divines were sent to Holland to quell, soon burst out and began to rage in England, and the unwise interference, although solicited, in the unhappy disputes of our Continental neighbours, soon brought these hopeless questions of Calvinism and Arminianism to be the subject of fierce quarrels among ourselves, breeding discord, and leading up, among other causes, to the civil troubles of the coming age.

CHAPTER V

SYNOD OF DORT OR DORDRECHT (II.). (1618-19)

“Lofty fancies in young men will come down of themselves, and in process of time the overplus will shrink to be but even measure.”—FULLER’S *Holy State. Of Phancie*, p. 165.

WE have been induced to enter somewhat largely into the proceedings of an assembly whose results were alike disgraceful, and injurious to the cause it was designed to support. For, first there is a good deal of ignorance about the Synod in general, and in particular much misapprehension exists as to the expediency of members of an Episcopal Church fraternizing with those of a body where such regimen did not obtain, and in fact, the question has been asked, what business they had to be there at all? From what has been said, it will be seen that our divines attended as a matter of fraternal courtesy, having been solicited to send deputies by the “powers that be,” and hoping to be helpful, as indeed they were, to their brethren of the Reformed Churches. The subject, too, under discussion was no matter of *discipline*, but one of *doctrine*, or rather, speculative thought, on questions which might well agitate the members of both the Roman and Reformed Communion. Nor did the cause of Episcopacy, or their “reverend mother the Church,” to quote their own words, suffer in their hands. On the contrary, they liberated their souls on that subject, spoke out the truth in love, showed their brethren a more excellent way, and truthfully pointed out that most of their troubles were owing to the absence of the Episcopal form of church government, set them longing for what they had not got, and desiderating that which the

NOMENCLATOR SYNODI NATIONALIS Ecclesiarum in Belgio-Retio: DORDRECHTI, AN. 1618 REVIVIT.	NOMENCLATOR SYNODI NATIONALIS Ecclesiarum in Belgio-Retio: DORDRECHTI, AN. 1618 REVIVIT.	NOMENCLATOR SYNODI NATIONALIS Ecclesiarum in Belgio-Retio: DORDRECHTI, AN. 1618 REVIVIT.	NOMENCLATOR SYNODI NATIONALIS Ecclesiarum in Belgio-Retio: DORDRECHTI, AN. 1618 REVIVIT.	NOMENCLATOR SYNODI NATIONALIS Ecclesiarum in Belgio-Retio: DORDRECHTI, AN. 1618 REVIVIT.
<p>1 EK GELDIRIA ET ZVTHANIA. 2 D. B. DELEGAT. 3 M 4 EK HOLLANDIA & WESTFRISIA. 5 EK PROVINCIA VITAELECTINA. 6 EK TRANSISVLANIA. 7 EK TRANSSILVANIA. 8 EK VINCING & OMTINDIA. 9 EK BELGII. 10 EK GELDIRIA & ZVTHANIA. 11 EK HOLLANDIA & WESTFRISIA. 12 EK PROVINCIA VITAELECTINA. 13 EK TRANSISVLANIA. 14 EK TRANSSILVANIA. 15 EK VINCING & OMTINDIA. 16 EK BELGII.</p>	<p>18 EK GELDIRIA & ZVTHANIA. 19 EK HOLLANDIA & WESTFRISIA. 20 EK PROVINCIA VITAELECTINA. 21 EK TRANSISVLANIA. 22 EK TRANSSILVANIA. 23 EK VINCING & OMTINDIA. 24 EK BELGII. 25 EK GELDIRIA & ZVTHANIA. 26 EK HOLLANDIA & WESTFRISIA. 27 EK PROVINCIA VITAELECTINA. 28 EK TRANSISVLANIA. 29 EK TRANSSILVANIA. 30 EK VINCING & OMTINDIA. 31 EK BELGII.</p>	<p>32 EK GELDIRIA & ZVTHANIA. 33 EK HOLLANDIA & WESTFRISIA. 34 EK PROVINCIA VITAELECTINA. 35 EK TRANSISVLANIA. 36 EK TRANSSILVANIA. 37 EK VINCING & OMTINDIA. 38 EK BELGII. 39 EK GELDIRIA & ZVTHANIA. 40 EK HOLLANDIA & WESTFRISIA. 41 EK PROVINCIA VITAELECTINA. 42 EK TRANSISVLANIA. 43 EK TRANSSILVANIA. 44 EK VINCING & OMTINDIA. 45 EK BELGII.</p>	<p>46 EK GELDIRIA & ZVTHANIA. 47 EK HOLLANDIA & WESTFRISIA. 48 EK PROVINCIA VITAELECTINA. 49 EK TRANSISVLANIA. 50 EK TRANSSILVANIA. 51 EK VINCING & OMTINDIA. 52 EK BELGII. 53 EK GELDIRIA & ZVTHANIA. 54 EK HOLLANDIA & WESTFRISIA. 55 EK PROVINCIA VITAELECTINA. 56 EK TRANSISVLANIA. 57 EK TRANSSILVANIA. 58 EK VINCING & OMTINDIA. 59 EK BELGII.</p>	<p>60 EK GELDIRIA & ZVTHANIA. 61 EK HOLLANDIA & WESTFRISIA. 62 EK PROVINCIA VITAELECTINA. 63 EK TRANSISVLANIA. 64 EK TRANSSILVANIA. 65 EK VINCING & OMTINDIA. 66 EK BELGII. 67 EK GELDIRIA & ZVTHANIA. 68 EK HOLLANDIA & WESTFRISIA. 69 EK PROVINCIA VITAELECTINA. 70 EK TRANSISVLANIA. 71 EK TRANSSILVANIA. 72 EK VINCING & OMTINDIA. 73 EK BELGII.</p>

LIST OF REPRESENTATIVES OF THE REFORMED CHURCHES ATTENDING THE SYNOD OF DORT.

EK GELDIRIA & ZVTHANIA.	EK HOLLANDIA & WESTFRISIA.	EK PROVINCIA VITAELECTINA.	EK TRANSISVLANIA.	EK TRANSSILVANIA.
<p>1. G. J. van der Grinten, Moderator. 2. J. van der Grinten, Secretary. 3. J. van der Grinten, Secretary. 4. J. van der Grinten, Secretary. 5. J. van der Grinten, Secretary. 6. J. van der Grinten, Secretary. 7. J. van der Grinten, Secretary. 8. J. van der Grinten, Secretary. 9. J. van der Grinten, Secretary. 10. J. van der Grinten, Secretary.</p>	<p>11. J. van der Grinten, Moderator. 12. J. van der Grinten, Secretary. 13. J. van der Grinten, Secretary. 14. J. van der Grinten, Secretary. 15. J. van der Grinten, Secretary. 16. J. van der Grinten, Secretary. 17. J. van der Grinten, Secretary. 18. J. van der Grinten, Secretary. 19. J. van der Grinten, Secretary. 20. J. van der Grinten, Secretary.</p>	<p>21. J. van der Grinten, Moderator. 22. J. van der Grinten, Secretary. 23. J. van der Grinten, Secretary. 24. J. van der Grinten, Secretary. 25. J. van der Grinten, Secretary. 26. J. van der Grinten, Secretary. 27. J. van der Grinten, Secretary. 28. J. van der Grinten, Secretary. 29. J. van der Grinten, Secretary. 30. J. van der Grinten, Secretary.</p>	<p>31. J. van der Grinten, Moderator. 32. J. van der Grinten, Secretary. 33. J. van der Grinten, Secretary. 34. J. van der Grinten, Secretary. 35. J. van der Grinten, Secretary. 36. J. van der Grinten, Secretary. 37. J. van der Grinten, Secretary. 38. J. van der Grinten, Secretary. 39. J. van der Grinten, Secretary. 40. J. van der Grinten, Secretary.</p>	<p>41. J. van der Grinten, Moderator. 42. J. van der Grinten, Secretary. 43. J. van der Grinten, Secretary. 44. J. van der Grinten, Secretary. 45. J. van der Grinten, Secretary. 46. J. van der Grinten, Secretary. 47. J. van der Grinten, Secretary. 48. J. van der Grinten, Secretary. 49. J. van der Grinten, Secretary. 50. J. van der Grinten, Secretary.</p>

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force of circumstances had deprived them of. Our representatives carried themselves in a very dignified attitude, and the rationale of the Anglican standpoint did not receive detriment in their keeping. They were true to their principles. They proved themselves worthy exponents of the English Re-formation Settlements, and evidently their labours, and especially those of Davenant,¹ were much appreciated by their confrères in synod assembled. This is illustrated by the ovation they received from the States themselves, and the special welcome accorded them by the king on their return, and the leading office-bearers of the realm, both in Church and State.

The Synod indeed was objectionable in its constitution, and overbearing² and persecuting in its proceedings. It was not to be heard, but to be condemned, that the Remonstrants were summoned, and this was scarcely attempted to be concealed. The council had been packed, and consisted mainly of those whose views were well known. Bogerman, its President, had long been distinguished for his extreme bitterness against the followers of Arminius, and the bitterness between Calvinist and Arminian is proverbial, exceeding even that of Romanist and Protestant; and the official details of the Synod are palpably regardless, not merely of charity, but candour. Whilst this is fully allowed, for truth requires no less, it must also be admitted that the Remonstrants gave their opponents every advantage by insisting that the crucial doctrine of Reprobation should be first discussed, and afterward that they should proceed to that which is the leading point—

¹ "Bogerman" (the President) "confessed that Dr Davenant's experience and skill in the laws and histories gave them directions for the better ordering of their debates and votes."

² "The proceedings of this Synod were very disgraceful, and they are represented, perhaps, even worse than they were. Brandt's *History of the Reformation of Holland* treats fully of it. What was here done had probably a considerable effect in changing the opinions of the people of England, and introducing greater moderation."—Bp. Short's *History of the Church of England*, p. 301.

the doctrine of Election. Persisting in this demand, they were driven out of the Synod with much anger and violence. Whereupon the Synod commenced to frame their own decrees, with the rejection of the errors of their opponents. And here let it be remembered to our credit that the work of the British Deputies happily terminated, as they had no share in the subsequent transactions. The Synod fell to persecution after the fashion of all mechanical majorities, and immediately followed up its decision by a sentence against the Remonstrants, depriving them of all their offices, and interdicting them from all ecclesiastical services and academical functions. Borrowing a page out of Rome's book, they appealed to the secular arm to enforce these canons in the States-General. Nor was the recommendation allowed to slumber, for politics had got mingled up with their proceedings. Grave Maurice, the Prince of Orange, who had so graciously received the Anglican deputies, was aiming at despotic authority, and found the Arminians the principal hindrance in the way of the accomplishment of his designs. Maurice was really an Arminian at heart, but he sided with the Synod, and from secular motives of "high politics" seconded their views. Thereupon followed a series of disgraceful persecutions, as we have seen, in which some of the most virtuous and patriotic blood of Holland was shed, and this doubtless contributed to make the Synod itself generally odious, and by a reflex action upon ourselves helped to promote that decline of *doctrinal* Calvinism—which we may call it for want of a better name, and we might almost call it Augustinianism, which is so commonly said to have been the logical outcome of that Convention.¹

¹ Of an Assembly of which so little commendable may be said, it must be noted that they ordered a new translation of the Bible, with annotations, "In which work they were assisted by many eminent and able divines, from most of the Reformed Churches, and particularly from England by Dr G. Carleton, Bishop of Chichester; Dr J. Davenant (our author), Bishop of Sarum; Dr Hall, Bishop of Exeter; and Dr Samuel Ward of Cambridge; by whose great

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“Of all assemblies,” says the Rev. Josiah Allport, in his short sketch of Bishop Davenant prefixed to his exposition of St Paul’s Epistle to the Colossians, “Religious Councils are most likely to be misrepresented. As few were more open to attack, so there are scarcely any which have been more grossly and unfairly assailed than the Synod of Dort. By a series of authors in succession, a treacherous copy of its decrees, under the shape of an abridgment, has passed current. For instance, the Synod cap. I, art. I, asserts that ‘*God hath elected out of the common mass of sinners a certain multitude of men—quorundam hominum certa multitudo, &c.*, but that he hath left the rest to condemnation, *not only on account of their infidelity, but also their other sins—non tantum propter infidelitatem sed etiam cetera omnia peccata,*’ &c. The popular copy thus states this: that God hath elected to salvation ‘*a very small number of men,*’ &c., and appointed the rest to condemnation ‘*without any regard to their infidelity and impiety.*’” This garbled statement, or rather “deliberate falsehood,” as it has been correctly termed, originated with Daniel Tilenus, who, being a Remonstrant, and harshly used in common with his friends, repaid his sufferings by falsifying the documents of his enemies, and publishing his desperate effort under the cloak of a “favourable abridgment.” From him it was copied by Bishop Womack, from Womack by Heylin, and from Heylin by Bishop Tomline; and thus passing current through so many hands it continued to exasperate the enemies of the Synod, and even to excite the unqualified condemnation of its friends. Thus the late Mr Scott, in the first edition of his reply to Dr Tomline, not doubting

and assiduous labour, jointly for many years together, the said Annotations were completed and came forth in print, first, ann. 1637.”—A. Wood’s *Athenæ*, 4to, iv. 279. This Bible, with the notes, was translated into English and published 1657, in two vols. folio, by Theodore Haak, under the title of “The Dutch Annotations upon the whole Bible: together with the Translation, according to the direction of the Synod of Dort, 1618.”

the genuineness of the decree, exclaims, "Who told these presumptuous dogmatists that the elect were 'a very small number of men'?" However, in 1804, the University of Oxford published the *Sylloge Confessionum*, being a Collection of Confessions made about the period of the Reformation; at the end of which are subjoined the genuine Canons,¹ in full, of the Synod of Dort, as a contrast to the moderation of the early Protestant Churches, and of the length to which "men, even publicly and solemnly assembled, may proceed, when inflamed by long controversy and embittered hatred." From this publication the corruption was discovered, and exposed. Yet in a much later publication by Dr Copleston, late Bishop of Llandaff, in his "Enquiry into Necessity and Predestination," the forged copy is given, with the observation that "in order that the wide disagreement between these (*i.e.* the Calvinistic) doctrines and the Articles of the Church of England may be seen at one view, I have subjoined in a note the Lambeth Articles, together with that summary of the decrees of the Synod of Dort, which Heylin has given from Tilenus, as the most moderate and impartial account of their proceedings." This is evident enough, that the interpolation is not yet sufficiently public, since it had escaped the notice of this learned and candid Prelate. And here one cannot but feel surprise that Mr Nicholls, whilst discussing these points in the notes to vol. I of his edition of the *Works of Arminius*, and inveighing against every flaw in the conduct and opinion of ancient and modern Calvinists, should not utter a single sentence of disapprobation of one of the

¹ "Whatever opinions the reader of this work may entertain on any of these abstruse topics, I am convinced that every Christian mind will agree that the decisions of this Synod are far too peremptory, inasmuch as they define beyond what the revealed word of God has declared. Whoever will compare them with the corresponding Articles of our Church will have abundant reasons for admiring the cautious manner in which the same subjects are there laid down, and for approving the nearer approach to the spirit of the Bible, which her tenets exhibit as they are there publicly displayed."—Bp. Short's *History of the Church of England*, p. 301.

most audacious corruptions (abundant as they are) which literary history presents, and should complain of the querulousness of Mr Scott on a subject which ought to excite the indignation of every honest man, especially the advocate of one who was himself the victim of calumny and injustice.

On the other hand, it ought not to be concealed that the account of the Synod of Dort, published by Mr Scott, is a mere translation of the Synod's own narrative of its proceedings: and their whole conduct entitles them to little respect when stating their own cause, even were it less evident that truth is not very strictly adhered to. The venerable editor was probably not deeply acquainted with the history of the Council, nor well versed in the volumes of Carleton, Hales, and others who were present; or, in the detailed, though perhaps somewhat prejudiced, account of Brandt. Yet agreeing, as he undoubtedly did in the main, with the Canons of the Synod, and receiving their statement with a partial eye, his concluding observations are characteristic of the piety and good sense of that admirable man.

Speaking of the persecuting conduct of other Churches, he finally remarks—"The proceedings of the Synod of Dort, and of the rulers of Belgium at that season, were more exceptionable than those of any other; at least as far as I can judge."

It is in truth a melancholy reflection, that in reading the history of religious convocations, as well ancient as modern, Protestant as well as Papal,¹ we cannot but

¹ How truly these words apply to the late Vatican Council, which decreed Papal Infallibility and the Syllabus. And it must be so where only a fraction of Christendom is represented and deliberates. Not till there be a *fair representation of the whole of Christendom* coming together into one place, can we expect a different state of things, not till then will the Holy Spirit speak in His fulness, and the Council be enabled to sum up its deliberation in the old conciliar language of Primitive antiquity, "It seems good to the Holy Ghost and to us."

observe how little equity, not to say sacred truth, has been regarded in their proceedings; how few proofs appear of the presence of the Holy Spirit in such assemblies; and how difficult it is for a candid mind to avoid approving the conclusion of an ancient Father of the Church: "*I never saw any good in ecclesiastical councils and am well nigh inclined to attend no more.*"¹

To compress the whole of our author's concerns with the Synod of Dort, we must now turn to an attack which was made sometime afterwards for their conduct at that Conference. At this time Davenant was holding the See of Sarum, to which he had been subsequently preferred; Carleton that of Chichester, which he held at the Synod, and Balcanquall the Deanery of Rochester, likewise subsequently promoted. It is well known that King James in his declining years modified many of his opinions on religious matters. Among the rising divines of that period was Dr Richard Montague,² a very learned and able theologian, but as opposed to Puritanism as Laud himself. In a controversy with the Papists he had let fall some disparaging remarks upon the doctrines advocated at Dort. Thereupon two English clergymen, Yates and Wood, gathered out of his writings sundry propositions, which they presented to the House of Commons, as impugning the Established Faith, and savouring of Popery, Arminianism, &c., and cognate errors. Upon this, Montague was summoned to the House of Commons, and held to bail. He then betook himself to King James, who was quarrelling with his Commons, and obtained leave to appeal from

¹ Allport's *Life of Davenant*, p. 20.

² This Dr Richard Montague was the one who applied to the Homilies the soubriquet of Homely—*Homely Homilies*. He seems at one time to have laboured at a project of a Church History, but was unable to mature it. "Had it been finished," says Fuller, "we had had Church annals to put into the balance with those of Baronius, and which would have swayed with them for learning, and weighed them down for truth" (*Worthies, Bucks*, p. 132). He was, however, a moderate Calvinist, having declared himself ready to assent to Bishop Hall's *Via Media*.

them to his Majesty. In consequence of this permission he prepared a defence; but the King dying before the book was published, permission was again sought and granted by his successor, Charles I., and it came out addressed to him, under the title of "*Appello Cæsarem, a just appeal against two unjust Informers.*" In this work, not content with attacking the doctrine established at Dort, he positively asserts, with an attempt at proof, that "the discipline of the Church of England was condemned in that Assembly."

One bishop (Carleton) instantly replied to this gross and unprovoked attack; but, as the whole of the British Deputies were affected by that charge, they united in a distinct denial and refutation of it. This was printed with their several signatures appended, and being a scarce document on an important subject, we have thought it would not be unacceptable to the reader in this place, having been copied out some time ago verbatim from the archives of the Bodleian Library, in "which the pen of our author and divine will be distinctly read between the lines."

"A joint attestation of several Bishops and learned Divines of the Church of England, avowing that her Doctrine was confirmed, and her Discipline was not impeached, by the Synod of Dort.

"It behoveth him that pretendeth to frame a *just appeal from unjust informers* therein to keep himself clear from the just imputation of unjust informing. Yet the Author of the Treatise styled *Appello Cæsarem* hath rashly, and without ground, cast a foul blow upon the Synod of Dort in general; and consequently, in common reputation, upon all the members thereof; among whom those Divines that were by King James sent thither, and concurred in the conclusions of the National Synod, are particularly aimed at, as having betrayed or impeached the government of their *reverend mother*. 'The discipline of the Church of England,' saith he, 'in that Synod is held unlawful,' and again 'the Synod of Dort in some points condemneth, by the bye, even the discipline of the Church of England.'

“Was that distressed Church,¹ in the midst of her distraction about matters of doctrine, so wily in her intentions, as to make preposterous use of their neighbour’s assistance, and to draw them in for concurrence, in matters of discipline, with a foreign sister against their *own mother*? were those that then aided that Church, *tam naris obesæ*, so dull of apprehension, as not to perceive the interest of their own? or did they demean themselves, *tam sublesta fide*, so perfidiously, as to suffer the government of this renowned Church, so much as ‘*by the bye*’ to be condemned by others there, and to sit down by it?”

“Had there been any color for such surmise, it might have pleased the Appearer or Appeacher, before he recorded in print such his odious information, tendered to his Majesty’s own hands, to have demanded, in private, such a question of some of those, from whom, in all likelihood, he might have received particular satisfaction. Civil correspondence required no less of him, towards those whose persons he professeth to respect, for ancient acquaintance, and other causes.

“The best is, though himself, for his own part, doth often salute with the Compliments called in Rhetoric *χλευασμὸς* and *μνητησιασμὸς*, ‘non equidem invidio,’ and such flowers strewed along his treatise: yet, in his indulgence, he giveth others as cause, so leave, to speak on their own behalf, ‘let them look to it, and answer for it whom it concerneth’: and again, ‘let them that are interested plead for themselves.’ We, therefore, who have hereunto subscribed our names, being ‘interested’ in that Synod, and withal deeply in this crimination of ‘Puritanism,’ can do no less than answer, and clear, in some public manner, this slander published against us.

“And first, *in general*, to remove the often objected suspicion of complication between ‘Foreign Doctrine’ and ‘Foreign Discipline’: whereby is intended that there is a kind of natural consanguinity between that Doctrine which odiously he styleth ‘Foreign,’ subscribed unto by that Synod, and the Presbyterian Discipline established in that and other Foreign Churches:

“We answer, that in the Netherlands, the party opposite to that Synod, and most aggrieved with the conclusions thereof, concerning the points controverted, are, notwithstanding, as vehement and resolute maintainers of *Ministerial Parity*, as any that concluded or accepted the judgment of that Synod.

“Moreover, in our private conversation with the most eminent of the Ministry there, we found, divers times, upon occasion of our declaring to them the order and manner of our Church Government, that they were more ready to *deplore* than *defend* their own condition:

¹ Meaning the Belgic Church.

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and *wished* rather than hoped, to be made like the Church of England. Nor were these, therefore, the less ready to concur for the Dort Conclusions, but were rather of the principal and forward actors therein.

“Secondly, *in special*, we plead against a supposed act of condemning our own Episcopal discipline : which indictment, in a fair accusation, should have been laid more particularly. What action, what session, what conclusion now are we put to seek, not so much our defence as our fault? And for such surmise, we can find no other footing than possibly in the approbation of the Belgick Confession, propounded to the consideration of the Synod, about a week before it broke up.

“This Confession, composed anno 1550, and received in their Church and in the Walloon Churches, ever since the first Reformation of Religion is unto them, for consent in doctrine, a rule, not much unlike to our Article of Religion here established. Which, as it was formerly, anno 1583, accepted and approved by the French Church, in a National Synod at Vitry, so upon the opportunity of this National Synod, the State and Church there recommended the same to more public judgment for further Establishment.

“And because two or three articles thereof concerned Church discipline, and avowed a parity of ministers, they, prudently foreseeing that the British Divines would never approve, but oppose the same, did, therefore, provide that, before the examination or reading thereof, protestation should be made by the President of the Synod, that nothing but the doctrinal points was to be subjected to their consideration and suffrages, and, for the surer preventing opposition or dispute, the articles concerning discipline were accordingly retrenched and suppressed in the reading of that Confession in the Synod.

“If, therefore, the British College had, in their suffrages, only answered *ad quæsitâ* concerning doctrine, and uttered no opinion at all *de non quæsitis* concerning discipline, they think they had not herein been wanting to their Synodal duty and calling ; the rather for that,

“1. They were sent to endeavour peace and composure of that distracted Church, by expressing their judgments in the points here already controverted, not by intruding in matters not at all questioned among them.

“2. Among the instructions given them by His Majesty, they had none to meddle with the discipline there established : but had charge to use moderation and discretion and to abstain from multiplying of questions beyond necessity.

“3. In that subject there was no hope or possibility of prevailing by argument or persuasion : especially in that Church, where the civil

government is popular, and so compete more easily with ecclesiastical parity.

“Yet we thought not fit to content ourselves with warrantable silence ; but upon our return from that Synodical Session to the place of our private collegiate meeting, we diligently perused the Confession, not only for points of doctrine referred to our judgments, but also for those accepted (excepted) articles touching discipline ; and consulting together what was fit to be done in delivering our opinions next day, we jointly concluded, that howsoever our church discipline had not been synodically taxed, nor theirs avowed, yet it was convenient for us, who were assured in our consciences, that their presbyterial parity and laical presbytery was repugnant to *the discipline established by the Apostles and retained in our own Church*, to declare, in a temperate manner, our judgment, as well concerning that matter, though by them purposely excepted, as the other expressly referred to us.

“Accordingly, the next morning, when suffrages were to pass concerning the doctrine comprised in that Confession, we, having by our place the prime voice in the Synod, gave our approbation of the substance of the doctrinal articles, with advice touching some incommodious phrases ; and withal, contrary to the expectation of the whole Synod, we added express exception against the suppressed articles, with some touch also of argument against them. Which our contestation, or protestation, for so it may be styled, was principally performed by him, whom for priority of age, place and dignity, it best became ; and from whose person and gravity it might be better taken, by the civil deputies of the States then present.

“Therein he professed and declared our utter dissent on that point ; and further shewed, that by our Saviour a parity of ministers was never instituted ; that Christ ordained 12 apostles and 70 disciples : that the authority of the 12 was above the others ; that the Church preserved this order left by our Saviour : and therefore when the extraordinary authority of the apostles ceased, yet their ordinary authority continued in Bishops who succeeded them ; who were by the apostles themselves left in the government of the Church to ordain ministers, and to see that they who were so ordained should preach no other doctrine ; that, in an inferior degree, the ministers that were governed by Bishops, succeeded the 70 disciples ; that *this order* hath been *maintained in the Church from the time of the apostles* ; and herein he appealed to the judgment of *antiquity*, or of any learned man now living, if any could speak to the contrary.

“In giving our several suffrages, the same exception was seconded by the rest of us colleagues, partly by other allegations, and partly by brief reference to this declaration, made *Communi nomine* by our

leader. To this our exception and allegation, not one word was answered by any of the Synodicks, either strangers or provincials : so that herein we may seem to have had either their consent implied by silence, or, at least, approbation of our just and necessary performance of our bounded duty to that Church whereunto they all afforded no small respect, though differing in government from their several Churches.

“ Herein, perhaps by some we might be deemed to have gone too far in contestation and upbraiding, *quasi in os*, the Civil Magistrate and ministry there, with undue form of government of that Church, whose doctrine only was offered to our opinions.

“ But on the contrary part, it had been suggested here at home by some, that herein we came short of our duty ; that we ought to have stepped yet farther, by exhibiting in writing a formal Protestation, to be entered and kept by the actuary of the Synod :—whereto we answer,

“ First, that the course there taken, for the manner of delivering our judgment, was not, as in the fifth question, controverted by subscription, but only by vocal suffrage ; which gave no opportunity of putting in a written protestation ; whereas if we had submitted our names unto that Confession, we would infallibly have added, with the same pen, our exception against the articles concerning discipline.

“ Secondly, in that vocal proceeding, had we been overborne by the multitude of their voices, or received any grievance or affront from them, touching discipline, we would have relieved our just cause, either by written protestation or better means. But whereas neither the Civil Magistrate, in whose hearing our exceptions were constantly uttered, did gainsay us, nor any of the divines in the Synod once opened their mouths, either in offence of our government, or defence of their own, what needed we to redouble our stroke upon those that turned not upon us

“ ‘ Rixa suum finem, cum silet hostis, habet.’

“ Peradventure some hot spirits would not have rested in a formal recorded protestation neither, but would have charged those Churches to blot those articles out of their Confession, and forthwith to reform their government : otherwise not have yielded approbation to any article of doctrine, as there comprised : but renounced the Synod, and shaken off from his feet the dust of Dort—‘ I have nothing to do with your conclusions, I have no part nor portion in them : what ends you have, how things are carried, I cannot tell, nor care.’

“ We confess we were and are of another mind : our own dispositions, and the directions of our blessed peace-making King, kept us from kindling new fires where we had work enough to quench the old. We then thought, and so still in our consciences are confident

that we forgot not our duty to our *venerable and sacred mother*, the Church of England, but took a course conformable to the rules as well of filial obedience, as of Christian moderation.

“And even then according to our custom of weekly transmitting into England brief narrations of the proceedings in each several session, to be imparted to His Majesty, we, by the next messengers, sent our relation hereof, as no whit ashamed of our department herein : which, because it was then framed when we did not imagine that any quarrel would be picked against us, for more impartial and impassionate attestation, is here inserted, as much as concerneth the particular.

“1619, April 29, Stilo novo, Sessione 144, Pomeridiana.

“Gregorius Martin, unus ex politicis ad Synodum delegatis. Hagà jam, recens reversus, narrat quanto Domini ordines gaudio afficiantur, de singulorum in canonibus sancendis unanimi consensu. Eo nomine Theologis cum exteris tum provincialibus gratias habere eorum Dominationis ob labores Synodicos exantlantos. Proximo in loco postulare ut Confessio Belgica perlustretur ; ita tamen ut sine gravi causa nihil immutetur, nec phrasium grammaticarum argutiis curiose insistatur. In eadem judiciis synodicorum subjiciuntur tantum ea quæ doctrinam spectant, omissis prorsus eis quæ disciplinam. Intercurrit quæstio de authentico exemplari ; sumitur illud quod in ecclesiasticarum reformatarum confessionibus habetur. Totum perlegitur prætermisissis qui disciplinam ecclesiasticam attinent articulis.’

“Sessio. 145, April 30, Antemeridiana.

“Rogantur de hac confessione suffragia. Dom. Episcopus Landavensis omnia doctrinæ capita probat, interea tamen de disciplinâ paucis monet ; “nunquam in ecclesia obtinuisse Ministrorum paritatem : non tempore Christi ipsius : tum enim duodecim Apostolos fuisse discipulis superiores : non Apostolorum ætate, non subsecutis sæculis ; nec valere rationem in hac confessione usurpatam, nempe quia omnes sunt æque ministri Christi : nam et 70 discipuli erant Ministri Christi æque ac Apostoli, non tamen inde Apostolis æquales : ut omnes omnino homines sunt æque homines, non inde tamen homo homini non debet subesse.” Hæc non ad harum ecclesiarum offensionem, sed ad nostræ Anglicanæ defensionem, se substurnuisse professus est. Et reliquis Britannis non nulla alia sunt subnotata de libero arbitrio, de passiva Christi obedientia : præsertim vero de phrasi nimis durâ et generali, cum dicatur de canonicis libris nullam unquam fuisse controversiam ; quæ quidem incommoda phrasis vitio interpretis irrepserat, cum originale *Gallican*¹ bene se habeat. Item exceptioni

¹ Evidently the Latin original of our Articles is the document referred to.

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de disciplinâ adjicitur a reliquis Britannis similis exceptio, siquid contra legitimos ritus externos generaliter ibidem statuatur. Britannorum interpellationi a synodicis responsum ne *γρῦ* quidem.'

"About a year after our return, the acts of the Synod were published in print: wherein, among other particulars, the Belgic Confession is at large set down in 37 Articles, whereof two or three contain matter of discipline received in those churches; these belike our censurer viewing, *prout jacent in terminis*, thereupon without any further search, concluded that Synod guilty and condemnable, as concerning 'the discipline of the Church of England.' But still we hold ourselves to stand clear, and therefore prosecute our appeal from the rash sentence of this Appellant, alleging for ourselves,

"1. Though all and singular the articles there comprised had passed synodical scrutiny, and been approved canonically, yet will it not follow that all and every one of the Synodicks there gave consent thereto. For this approbation might have passed by the votes of the major part, *etiam reclamantibus Britannis*, who for number were not considerable among so many others, both strangers and provincials, and so a favourable construction might have exempted the British divines from being thought to reach forth their hand to the striking *their mother*.

"2. We deny that, upon view of these synodical acts, we, by presumption in law, need to be put upon purgation herein, as members involved in a capitular decree of the whole body. For, in point of discipline, there followed no act at all; there was no proposition made, as evidently appeareth by the same book of the "Synodical Acts" in the narration of the proceedings about this Belgick Confession, where the matter, subjected to deliberation, is recorded with limitation—first, *positive*, 'quæ ad dogmata et doctrinæ essentiam pertinerent': *points dogmatical, and pertaining to the essence of doctrine*; then, *exclusive*, 'Monitum proinde fuit eo tempore articulum trigesimum primum et secundum non esse examinandum, quia in utroque de ordine ecclesiastico quem extero nonnulli a nestro diversum habent, ageretur.' *Declaration was accordingly made at the same time that the thirty-first and second Articles were not to be examined, because in them ecclesiastical order or Church government was handled, wherein some strangers, namely, the Church of England, differ from ours, namely, from that of the Church of the Netherlands.* This recorded testimony of so expressly withdrawing from the eye of the Synod all view of Church discipline, might demonstrate to any indifferent peruser of those acts, that whereas no possibility of Synodical condemning, so much as *by the bye*, the discipline of the Church of England, in such examining the Belgick Confession.

"As for our manner and judging thereof, though it be not so par-

ticularly set down in the said printed acts as we could have wished and would have provided for had we been made acquainted with any intent of their publication ; yet is it in some sort touched in the same page in that very narration of the next session, testifying a cautelous delivery of our judgments. ‘Declarant clarissimi Magnæ Britannicæ Theologi, se confessionem Belgicam diligenter examinasse, nihilque in ea deprehendisse, quod ad fidei quidem dogmata attineret, quod verbo Dei non consentiret.’ *The very illustrious divines of Great Britain declared that they had diligently examined the Belgick Confession, and that therein, for as much as concerned dogmatical points of faith, they found nothing that agreed not with the Word of God—* which reservation implieth that somewhat else which did not ‘concern points of faith,’ but other matter, received not their approbation, it may be said, and so we ourselves say, that the disposers and publishers of these Synodical acts had done more right to the British divine if special mention had been made of other matter not approved by them, and of their particular exception against the articles which concerned Church government.

“But it seemeth, as in most other local passages in this Synod, the actuary here intended abridgment in what he set down, and meant not to express in particular what was said by any, concerning points not propounded to Synodical deliberation, especially touching upon so tender a thing as the open impeachment of their own established discipline ; and so they think they have given us our due herein : partly by thus pointing afar off to what we did in our own defence, leaving the reader to find it by implication ; and partly by recording that all Synodical proposition and approbation of this Confession was confined to matter of doctrine only.

“According to reserved form of expression, the President of the Synod, in the great Church of Dort, immediately after the publication of the Synod’s judgment upon the five controversies notifying the approbation of this Confession, said, not that the whole and every parcel was approved, but ‘*Doctrinam in Confessione comprehensam, in Synodo relectam atque examinatam, ut orthodoxam fuisse approbatam.*’ Which style of speech excludeth whatsoever is there comprised, not concerning doctrine, but discipline ; whatsoever was not examined Synodically, nor so much as read in the Synod ; whatsoever in common understanding admitteth the title of orthodox, which attribute is proper to dogmatical points. In this sense, and of this subject, they did, and well might there alledge the concurring judgment, ‘*omnium tam exterorum quam provincialium Theologorum.*’

“Nor had we cause to expect that, in such publication of the whole Synod’s doctrinal consent, they should trouble their own people, with expressing the dissent of some few of the exteri in the matter of

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Church discipline: which dissent of ours they have delineated in their record of their acts, though over-veiled for their own peace, yet transparent enough for their own defence.

“But it was our misfortune, perhaps, that he who turned over all the leaves of the Belgic Confession there set forth, to find the articles concerning discipline, could not extend to cast his eye upon the page next foregoing that Confession, to view the limited manner of both propounding and approving that body of articles. Which limitation had he seen and considered, so confident are we of his ingenuity, he would not have cast this hard imputation upon us.

“And now being better informed by this our true account of the carriage of that business, he that hath traduced us will, we hope, make some competent satisfaction by acknowledging his oversight, and recalling what he hath unadvisedly written to our prejudice.

“As for ourselves, in the ingenuity of our conscience, we herein do not decline the judgment of any indifferent impassionate man; and such we hope this true and plain narration will satisfy. But above all, according to our duty and desire, we humbly submit this and all other our actions, concerning our calling, to the judgment of our *most venerable mother the Church of England, from whose sacred rule we vow that we have not swerved*, nor any whit impeached her discipline, or authorized doctrine, either abroad or at home. And as in that Synod our special care and perpetual endeavour was, to guide our judgments by that *sound doctrine which we had received from the Church of England*; so were we far, and ever shall be, from *usurping our mother's authority*, or attempting to obtrude upon her children any of our Synodical conclusions, as obligatory to them; yet remaining ourselves nevertheless resolved, that whatsoever there was assented unto, and subscribed by us concerning the five Articles, either in the joint synodical judgment, or in our particular Collegiate suffrage, stiled in the acts of the Synod, ‘Theologorum Magnæ Britannicæ sententiæ,’ and at large extant there, is not only warrantable by the Holy Scriptures, but also conformable to the received doctrine of our *said venerable mother*; which we are ready to maintain and justify against all gainsayers, whensoever we shall be thereunto called by lawful authority.

“GEORGIUS, Cicestrensis Episcopus.

“JOHANNES, Sarisburiensis Episcopus (Davenant).

“GUALTERIUS BALCANQUAL, Decan. Roff.

“SAMUEL WARD, Pub. Profess. Theol. in Acad.
Cant. et Coll. Sid. Prefect.

“THOMAS GOAD, Sacræ Theol. Doctor.”

We have given this rare and interesting document *in extenso*, as it is possible for the reader to come to only one conclusion upon its perusal—that our Anglican representatives' department at the Synod of Dort was all that could be desired. On their part there was no paltering or hesitancy when the discussion turned on first principles.¹ The decree of that Council affected doctrine *not* discipline, *i.e.*, Church polity or regimen, nor did their synodical decisions bind the Church at home. Their helpful action was one of paternal courtesy only. Moreover, it is evident that neither did the cause of the English Church nor Episcopacy suffer in their keeping. With our deputies this latter was not a mere ornamental or decorative appendage, but a living fact, and potential energy; nor was the Church with them, more than 250 years ago, a sort of ideal abstraction or department of the Home Office, but a breathing sentient organism, of which they formed constituent parts. What their Church principles were, such phrases scattered up and down this "Apologia" abundantly illustrate—"the government of our reverend mother," "our venerable and sacred mother, the Church of England," "striking their mother." The Church government they affected was "the discipline established by the apostles and retained in our Church." They averred that "this order hath been maintained in the Church from the time of the apostles," and appeal herein was made "to the judgment of antiquity, and with regard to their action and teaching they bow to the authority of the Church," "we humbly submit this and all our other actions, concerning our calling, to the judgment of our most venerable mother the Church of England, from whose sacred rule we vow that we have not swerved

¹ At the same time Davenant's eagerness to establish union among the Reformed Churches may be inferred from the animated language with which he has expressed himself on this subject. "I had rather a millstone were hanged about my neck and I cast into the sea than that I should hinder a work so acceptable to God, or should not with my whole mind support it."—Zouch's *Walton*.

nor any whit impeached her discipline and authorized doctrine"; and again, "it was our special care to guide our judgments by that sound doctrine which we had received from the Church of England, so were we far, and ever shall be, from usurping our mother's authority." This is the true Church's imprimatur. It has got the old Anglican ring about it. It is quite Vincentian. And lastly our divines not only frankly explained the difference between the standpoint of the Anglican Church and that of the Reformed Churches abroad, explaining clearly the dividing line of demarcation between the Churches, to the provincials of Holland, but they set them thinking and desiderating and longing for that which they had lost, and which they could not regain, owing to the political action of the civil power, the divine order of Church government by "Bishops, Priests, and Deacons" which orders it is evident, as the preface to our Ordinal says, "unto all men diligently reading Holy Scripture and ancient authors, that from the Apostles' time there have been"; and to conclude this chapter in the words of Robert Southey:—

"When the first National Synod of the Protestants was held at Dort, it was owing to the influence of the English divines that its sanctions were not given to the monstrous doctrine of the Supralapsarians. The proceedings of the Synod were sufficiently disgraceful without coming to such a conclusion; nevertheless, the abominable doctrine that the Almighty has placed the greater part of mankind under a fatal necessity of committing the offences for which He has pre-determined to punish them eternally, from that time lost ground. But it became the distinguishing tenet of the Nonconformists; it increased their strength, because those clergy who agreed with them at first in this point alone, gradually became political, as well as doctrinal puritans; and it exasperated the implacable spirit of dissent, by filling them with a spiritual pride as intolerant as it was intolerable; for fancying that they were the favourites and elect of the Almighty, they looked upon all who were not with them as the reprobate; and presuming that heaven was theirs by sure inheritance, they were ready on the first opportunity to claim the earth also by the same title."¹

¹ *Book of the Church*, p. 433-4.

CHAPTER VI

DAVENANT'S RETURN (1620)—MADE BISHOP OF SALISBURY (1621)

“Our minister compounds all controversies betwixt God’s ordinances by praising them all, practising them all, and thanking God for them all. He counts the reading of Common Prayer to prepare him the better for preaching; and as one said, if he did first toll the bell on one side, it made it afterwards ring out the better in his sermons.”—FULLER’S *Holy State, The Faithful Minister*, p. 74.

AFTER an absence of seven months at the Synod of Dort and in the Netherlands, Davenant returned with the other members of the British College to England, where they soon met with their well-merited rewards. They had been decorated with a golden medal, representing the Synod in Session, before their departure, and more substantial rewards, in the shape of early Church preferment awaited them at the hands of their gratified and well-satisfied king on their home-coming. When Davenant came back to Cambridge, he betook himself to his “constant labours in the schools” in connection with his Professorial duties in the Chair of his Margaret Professorship, in addition to the magisterial duties of his “Collegiate Cure,” as President of Queens’. His Divinity Lectures and masterful labours were more than ever—as we might have expected in the case of one of such theological eminence, and who had returned home flushed with success, and with an assured European reputation—appreciated and attended with an eager crowd of listeners. He potentially impressed his hearers with his own views.

"I was present," said a gentleman of the period, "oftentimes also in the public lectures in the schools, upon points of controversy, especially those of Dr Davenant . . . in which he most clearly confuted the blasphemies of Arminius, Bestius, and the rest of that rabble of Jesuited Anabaptists; by all which my knowledge was much increased."¹

The College more than ever got the reputation of a distinct theological tone, with strong Calvinistic proclivities, although withal combined with sound if moderate Churchmanship. He valued Episcopacy and the liturgy. Then were delivered with a rare charm of predicatorial eloquence those profound and, to his enraptured auditory, fascinating discourses, which were subsequently touched up and published during the intervals of his episcopal leisure. His lectures would naturally, after his recent experience at Dort, become flavoured with a more distinct utterance against the platform and conclusions of the Professors at Leyden. Yet with his strong feelings against the Arminians, he was powerfully advocating the doctrine of Universal Redemption. If, too, he was inclined to treat the Puritans with kindness and tolerance, allied as they were doctrinally as well as disciplinary with the Presbyterate of the Dutch and other Reformed Churches, he was a stickler for conformity, and held fast to those ritualistic observances and canonical ceremonies in vogue in the Anglican Church at that epoch. Yet he ever evinced a strong dislike to everything distinctly Roman or foreign, and his connection with the Cathedral Church of St Osmund, would naturally incline him to the Sarum or national rite—the famous Use of the pre-Reformation era. The influence he had upon the students is evidenced by the fact that he so won their respect, and that of the large circle of friends and connections, including young Fuller (afterwards to be celebrated as the "Church Historian" and writer of the *Worthies*,

¹ *Autobiography*, i. 120.

who came up to his uncle's College of Queens' just at this time), that they not only ever clung tenaciously to Davenant's School of Churchmanship, but did a great deal to perpetuate it.

"For in the high topics of predestination," says Mr Russell, "he (Fuller) adhered to the doctrine in which he was brought up, the doctrines taught in his youth at the University of Cambridge by his uncle Davenant, a man in whom piety and sound learning were united, and to a degree perhaps rarely excelled. For he moved not with the times, but pursued his upright and even path, as before God, and not to please men."¹

Indeed, in his *Essays in the Holy State*, the author has graphically touched in some word-pictures from his uncle's different and many-sided related attitudes, taking him for his inspiring model and stimulating original. Brought up in a very atmosphere of theological controversy, and being a frequent listener to the conversations of his uncle and father—who were bosom friends—in which were discussed the great political and theological questions of the day in general, and the recent Synodical conclusions of Dort in particular, no wonder the nephew was able in after days to sketch from the living model his ideal of "the Controversial Divine," selections from which we now propose to transfer to our pages for the edification of our readers.

"He is Truth's Champion to defend her against all adversaries, atheists, heretics, schismatics, and erroneous persons whatever. His sufficiency appears in opposing, answering, moderating and writing.

"1. *He engageth both his judgment and affections in opposing of falsehood.* Not like country fencers, who play only to make sport, but like duellers indeed, as if for life and limb; chiefly if the question be of large prospect, and great concernings, he is zealous in the quarrel, yet some, though their judgment weigh down on one side, the beam of their affections stands so even, they care not which part prevails.

"2. *In opposing a truth he dissembles himself her foe, to be her better friend.* Wherefore he counts himself the greatest conqueror when truth hath taken him captive. With Joseph, having sufficiently sifted the matter in a disguise, he discovereth himself. *I am Joseph your*

¹ *Memorials*, 303.

brother, and then throws away his vizard. Dishonest they, who though the debt be satisfied will never give up the bond, but continue wrangling when the objection is answered.

"3. *He abstains from all foul and railing language.* What make the muses, yea the graces scold. Such purulent spittle argues exulcerated lungs. Why should there be so much railing about the body of Christ, when there was none about the body of Moses in the act kept between the devil and Michael the archangel.

"4. *He tyrannizeth not over a weak and undermatched adversary*, but seeks rather to cover his weakness if he be a modest man. When a Professor pressed an answer (a better Christian than Clerk) with a hard argument: *Reverend Professor* (said he), *ingenue confiteor me non posse respondere huic argumento.* To whom the Professor, *Recte respondes.*

"5. *In answering he states the question and expounds the terms thereof*, otherwise the disputants will end where they ought to have begun, in difference about words, and be barbarians each to other, speaking in a language neither understand. If the question also be of historical cognizance, he shews the pedigree thereof: who first brewed it, who first broached it, and sends the wandering error with a passport home to the place of its birth.

"6. *In taking away an objection, he not only puts by the throat, but breaks the weapon.* Some rather escape than defeat an argument; and though by such an evasion they may shut the mouth of the opponent, yet may they open the difficulty wider in the hearts of the hearers. But our answerer either fairly resolves the doubt, or else shews the falseness of the argument, by beggaring the opponent to maintain such a fruitful generation of absurdities as his argument hath begotten; or lastly, returns and retorts it back upon him again. The first way unties the knot: the second cuts it asunder: the third whips the opponent with the knot himself tied.

"7. *What his answers want in suddenness they have in solidity.* Indeed the speedy answer adds lustre to the disputation, and honour to the disputant; yet he makes good payment who, though he cannot presently throw the money out of his pocket, yet will pay it, if but going home to unlock his chest. Some that are not for speedy may be for sounder performance. When Melancthon at the disputation of Ratisbon was pressed with a shrewd argument by Ecchius, 'I will answer thee,' said he, 'to-morrow.' 'Nay,' said Ecchius, 'do it now, or it's nothing worth.' 'Yea,' said Melancthon, 'I seek the truth, not mine own credit, and therefore it will be as good if I answer thee to-morrow by God's assistance.'¹

¹ Melchior Adam, in *Vitis Germ. Theolog.*, p. 339.

"9. *In writing, his Latin is pure so far as the subject will allow.* For those who are to climb the Alps are not to expect a smooth and even way. True it is that schoolmen, perceiving that fallacy had too much covert under the nap of flourishing language, used threadbare Latin on purpose, and cared not to trespass on grammar, and tread down the fences thereof, to avoid the circuit of words, and to go the nearest way to express their conceits. But our Divine, though he useth barbarous school-terms, which like standers are fixed to the controversy, yet in his moveable Latin, passages and digressions, his style is pure and elegant.

"10. *He affects clearness and plainness in all his writings.* Some men's heads are like the world before God said unto it, *Fiat lux.* These dark lanterns may shine to themselves, and understand their own conceits, but nobody else can have light from them. Thus Matthias Farinator, Professor at Vienna, assisted with some other learned men, as the times then went, was thirty years making a book of applying Plato's, Aristotle's and Galen's rules in philosophy, to Christ and His prophets.¹ And it is called *lumen animæ*; quo tamen nihil est caliginosius, labore magno, sed ridiculo et inani. But this obscurity is worst when affected; when they do as Perseus, of whom one saith,² *Legi voluit quæ scripsit, intelligi noluit quæ legerentur.* Some affect this darkness that they may be accounted profound, whereas one is not bound to believe that all the water that is deep is muddy.

"11. *He is not curious in searching matters of no moment.* Captain Martin Forbisher fetched from the farthest northern countries a ship's lading of mineral stones, as he thought, which afterwards were cast out to mend the highways.³ Thus are they served and miss their hopes, who long seeking to extract hidden mysteries out of nice questions, leave them off as useless at last. Antoninus Pius, for his desire to the least difference, was called *lumini sector*, the carver of cummin seeds. One need not be so accurate; for as soon shall one scour the spots out of the moon, as all ignorance out of man, When Eunomius the heretic vaunted that he knew God and his divinity, St Basil⁴ gravels him in twenty-one questions about the body of an ant, or pismire; so dark is man's understanding. I wonder, therefore, at the boldness of some, who, if they were lord marshals of the angels, place them in ranks and files. Let us not believe them here, but go to heaven to confute them.

¹ Mercator Atlas in the Description of Austria.

² Scaliger de Arte Poet, lib. 6, c. 6.

³ Cambden's *Elisab.*, Anno 1576.

⁴ Epist. 169, quæ est ad Eunomium.

"12. *He neither multiplies needless, nor compounds necessary controversies.* Sure they light on a labour in vain¹ who seek to make a bridge of reconciliation over the μέγα χάσμα betwixt Papists and Protestants: for though we go ninety-nine steps, they (I mean their Church) will not come one to give us a meeting. And as for the offers of Clara's² and private men, besides that they be more of the nature of baits than gifts, they may make large proffers without any commission to treat, and so the Romish Church is not bound to pay their promises. In Merionethshire, in Wales, there are high mountains, whose hanging tops come so close together that shepherds on the tops of several hills may audibly talk together, yet will it be a day's journey for their bodies to meet, so vast is the hollowness of the valley betwixt them.³ Thus upon sound search shall we find a grand distance and remoteness betwixt Popish and Protestant tenets to reconcile them, which at the first view may seem near, and tending to an accommodation.

"13. *He is resolute and stable in fundamental points of religion.* These are his fixed poles and axle-tree about which he moves, whilst they stand immoveable. Some sail so long on the sea of controversies, tossed up and down, to and fro, pro and con, that the very ground to them seems to move, and their judgments grow sceptical and unstable in the most settled points of Divinity. When he cometh to preach, especially if to a plain auditory, with the Paracelsians he extracts an oil out of the driest and hardest bodies; and, knowing that knotty timber is unfit to build with, he edifies people with easy and profitable matter.⁴

The author of this Essay entered his uncle's College during the last year of his Mastership, and therefore had many opportunities of observing the subject of our memoir not only in private, in his father's rectory at Aldwinckle, but also in public, both as to his department in the College, and his bearing and carriage in the Schools—as Divinity Professor—where he was the beau ideal of a "Controversial Divine."

But at the time when Fuller's college life began, Dr Davenant, the President of Queens', very probably, or

¹ See this illustrated by Dr Pusey's "Eirenicon, the Truth and Office of the English Church," in a letter to the author of *The Christian Year*.

² Sancta Clara's (Ch. Davenport's) Exposition of the XXXIX Articles.

³ Giraldus Camb. in Descrip. of Wales.

⁴ *Holy State*, p. 54.

soon after, had become Bishop-designate of Salisbury, so that they were not a great many months, possibly not more than a year, together at Queens'. However, Dr Davenant was thoroughly acquainted with his nephew's brilliant parts, and before leaving the University, he would naturally interest himself, in conjunction with his brother-in-law, the "painful and pious" priest of St Peters, in providing for the efficient supervision of the future studies of this promising young scholar, showing himself as ready now as heretofore to foster his already remarkable talents. It was doubtless owing to Davenant's connection with Queens' that Dr Fuller, though formerly Fellow of Trinity, entered his son as a member of that royal and religious foundation. This "hopeful slip" must have gone up to Cambridge somewhere about the time of the death of his uncle Townson, Bishop of Sarum, and he had been educated by Rev. Arthur Smith (who subsequently became Vicar of Oundle), at a private school kept by him in his native village. He went up to the University at the early age of twelve, and when he entered his uncle's College he was placed under the tutorship of Mr Edward Davenant (his cousin, the accomplished scholar and mathematician) and Mr John Thorpe.¹ Another member of the Bishop's family, George Davenant, was entered at Queens', admitted pensioner under him, 24th May 1602.

Before quitting Cambridge with our Bishop-designate

¹ "Thomas Fuller filius Thomæ Fuller, SS. Theol. bacal. et quondam Collegii S. et indiv. Trinitatis apud Cantabrigienses Socii. Rectoris Ecclesiæ Sth Petri in villa de Aldwinckle in Comitatu Northamptoniensi, literis grammaticis in Schola privata in dicta paræcia præceptore Mro. Arthuro Smith, Oundaliensis Ecclesiæ post vicario per quadrennium plus minus institutus, admissus est in Coll. Reginali Ann. 1622 sub tutela Reverendissimi viri Jo. Davenantii, SS. Theol. professoris, Sarisburiensis et Collegii magistrî avunculi sui : usus dein tutoribus Mro. Edvardo Davenantio, et Mro. Thorpe. Ibidem gradu baccalaureatus primo, postea magisterii in artibus insignitus admissus est in hoc collegium ad convictum sociorum Ann. 1629. Nov. 5. Tutore et fidejussore Reverendo Collegii præfecto Samuele Ward, SS. Theol. Professore."—(Sidney-Sussex College Register.)

of Salisbury, it may not be uninteresting to refer to a few of the leading events which are referred to in the Annals of the College during his Mastership. On 7th March, 1614-5, James I., accompanied by his son Charles, Prince of Wales, visited the University and remained in Cambridge till the 11th. Acts in divinity, law, physics and philosophy were held, and four plays were performed in the hall of Trinity College, which was arranged to accommodate 2000 persons. In the divinity act, Bishop Harsnet, the Vice-Chancellor, was moderator, Dr John Davenant, Lady Margaret Professor, was respondent, and Dr Richardson, Regius Professor of Divinity, and others, the opponents. One of the questions was "Nulla est temporalis Papæ potestas supra leges, in ordine ad bonum spirituali?" The negative was maintained in the negative concerning the excommunication of kings. Dr Richardson vigorously pressed the practice of St Ambrose excommunicating of the Emperor Theodosius; insomuch that the King in some passion returned, "Profecto fuit hoc ab Ambrosio insolentissime factum." To whom Dr Richardson rejoined, "Responsum vere regium et Alexandro dignum. Hoc non est argumentum dissolvere sed dissicare," and so, sitting down, he desisted from any further dispute.¹

In the philosophy act Dr Matthew Wren, afterwards Bishop of Ely, was respondent, and John Preston (Fellow of Queens') first opponent. The subject was, whether dogs could make syllogisms. The opponent urged that they could: "An *Enthimeme*," said he, "is a lawful and real *Syllogisme*, but dogs can make them": He instanced in an hound who had the major proposition in his mind, namely, *The Hare is gon either this or that way*; smels out the *Minor* with his *Nose*, namely, *She is not gon that way*; and follows the conclusion, *Ergo, this way*, with open mouth." The instance suited with the auditory. The respondent, drawing a distinction between the sagacity and the

¹ Fuller, *Worthies, Cambridgeshire*.

“sapience” of dogs, Preston replied with another syllogism, and the King was so excited with the sport, that when the moderator interposed his authority and silenced Preston, he stood up for the reasoning power of dogs, and speaking of one of his own dogs who showed great sagacity in procuring assistance while pursuing a scent, asked “what the Moderator could have done in that case better? and desired him that either he would think better of his dogs or not so highly of himself.” The moderator contrived to bring the argument to an end with a compliment to the King, “That he would consider how his illustrious influence had already ripened and concocted all those arguments and understandings, that whereas in the morning the reverend and grave *Divines* could not make *Syllogisms*, the *Lawyers* could not, nor the *Physitians*, now every dog could, especially his Majestie’s,” and the King went off well pleased with the businesse.

In this act Preston acquitted himself so well, that his preferment in the Church would have been certain, had not his inclination to Puritanism in royal eyes been a bar in his way. Having received some strong religious impressions from a sermon by John Cotton, fellow of Emmanuel, a Puritan preacher, which had the effect of making him all his life a strong adherent of Calvinistic tenets and Puritan church-forms, he made it his business to train up the young men committed to his charge in the same principles, and became conspicuous in the University by the Puritan tone of his public lectures and sermons.

“On the second night (8 March) was a comedy at Clare Hall, with the help of two or three good actors from other houses.” This was the celebrated Latin Play of Ignoramus, by George Ruggles, Fellow of Clare Hall, “wherein David Drummond, in a hobby horse, and Francis Brakin, the recorder of the town (who had made himself obnoxious to the University by the part he took with reference to the dispute between the Vice-Chancellor and the Mayor as to

precedency), under the name of Ignoramus, a common lawyer, bare great part. The thing was full of mirth and variety, with many excellent actors, among whom the Lord Compton's son, though least, was not worst, but more than half marred with extreme length."

In this play the following Members of Queens' College took part :—

Dulman,	Mr Towers.
Rosabella, virgo,	Mr Morgan.
Dorothea, uxor Theodori, matrona,	Mr Norfolk.
Surda, nana ancilla, }	Mr Compton.
Vince, puer Dorotheæ, }	

Mr Compton was the Hon. Spencer Compton, afterwards second Earl of Northampton. He was born 1601, and so was at the time about 14 years of age. He was killed fighting on the king's side at the battle of Hopton Heath, 19 March 1642-3.

Mr Towers was Fellow of Queens' and afterwards Bishop of Peterborough. Many years after, when King James heard him preach at Castle Abbey, he recognised behind the episcopal habit one of the actors in his favourite play.

Mr Morgan was Thomas Morgan, who was admitted Fellow - Commoner under Preston, being then B.A. Of Mr Morgan's acting on this memorable occasion we find the following notice in Ball's *Life of Preston* :—

"Men thought him meet for to be trusted with the care of youth : and many had their eyes upon him, for their Sons or Friends. Master *Morgan* of *Heyfords* had been some time dead, and had left his son and heir an orphan, in trust with some that were his Kinsmen, and like to manage his Estate to most advantage. This Master *Morgan's* son, under whose shadow these *Prestons* had for some time lived, was by his *Guardians* now commended to his care ; not only for that relation he had to *Heyfords*, his native town, and to the Family, but also that by that means the young Gentle-man might be preserved from the influence of his other friends, who were many of them *Popish*. King James had been so well pleased at the Commencement held before him lately, that he resolves upon another visit. The Heads agree to

entertain him with a Comedy. There was one, *Ruggles of Clare Hall*, that had made a jeering Comedy against the lawyers called, *Ignoramus*. This was resolved on to be acted before the King, and great care was taken for to furnish, and all parts with Actors answerable. Master *Morgan* was a comely modest gentleman, and it was believed would well become a woman's dresse, and accordingly his Tutor (Master Preston sent to) that he would give way and all encouragement unto the service. He liked not the notion, could not believe that his Friends intended he should be a Player, and so desired to be excused. But the *Guardians* were not so exact and scrupulous, but thought if he played this Game well he might win more than could be hoped for elsewhere ; and so Master *Morgan* was allowed by his *Guardians* to play his part, and afterward removed unto *Oxford*, and suffered to play what part he would, and so relapsed into *Poperly*, which hath proved fatal and unfortunate to him and his."

The king indeed was so pleased with the Comedy of *Ignoramus*, that he desired to see it again, and being unable to prevail upon the actors to come to London, he made a second visit to Cambridge, arriving Saturday, 13 May, and departing on Monday, 15 May 1615. *Ignoramus*, with the same actors, was represented on Saturday evening, and on Monday an act was performed. "Mr Roberts Trinitatis," one of the disputants, is supposed to be William Roberts, Fellow of Queens' and ultimately Bishop of Bangor. Another disputant was Edward Bigland, B.D., Fellow of Queens'. The others were Th. Comber, afterwards Master of Trinity College, and Wm. Chappell of Christ's, afterwards Bishop of Cork.¹—(Cooper, Ann. iii. 85-89.)

From this time John Preston became a notable member of the University, and a leading man among the Puritans. He continued residing uninterruptedly in the College, chiefly occupied with pupils and with preaching, but taking little share in College or University business. "This faithfulness to Master *Morgan* . . . increased his reputation in the country, so that now he was accounted the only Tutor, and was careful to read unto them and direct their studies."

¹ Searle's *History of Queens' College*, p. 433.

“He was,” says Fuller, “the greatest pupil-monger in England in man’s memory, having sixteen Fellow-commoners (most heirs to fair estates) admitted in one year in Queens’ College, and provided convenient accommodation for them. As William the popular Earl of Nassau was said to have won a subject from the King of Spain to his own party, every time he put off his hat; so was it commonly said in the College that everytime when Master *Preston* plucked off his hat to Doctor Davenant the College-Master, he gained a chamber or study for one of his pupils.”¹

Respecting which paragraph Mr Searle observes—

“The above statement of Fuller it has not been found possible entirely to verify, however, between 18 April 1618 and 28 April 1619, he entered in the College books as his pupils 13 Fellow-commoners, 5 pensioners and 2 sizars. This number of Fellow-commoners, however, was quite exceptional. Among the Fellow-commoners were Sir Henry Slingsby and Sir Arthur Capel, both beheaded during the Civil Wars.”²

In the diary of Sir Henry Slingsby of Scriven, bart., edited by the Rev. Daniel Parsons, M.A., we find several letters written by him to his father from Queens’ College, and by his father to him. He was admitted Fellow-commoner on 2 January 1618-9, and his letters belong to that year, except one of 1621. Unfortunately his letters are very short, a fact of which his father complains, and we are in consequence deprived of what might have been a source of much valuable information as to the studies and habits of the undergraduates of the time of James I. In a letter of 3 May 1621, his father had requested him to find out whether *Preston* would take a young man, Robert Talbot of Worcestershire, who was connected with the Slingsby family, as his pupil; and on 13 June he wrote as follows on this point:—

“As for that Gentilman you writt of, I have spoken to my Tutor about him, and he gave me this answer, that he never tooke Pupill

¹ Fuller, *Worthies, Northamptonshire*.

² Searle’s *Queens’ College*, p. 474.

but upon two conditions. First, that they should be an elder brother, secondly, of a stayd sober cariage: upon these two conditions he is ready to doe him all the good he can."

This corroborates Fuller's statement.

In 1616 Dr Davenant caused an account of the foundation of the College and of its Endowments to be drawn up. Of this there are several copies in the University Library and in Queens' College Library.

Sir Capel Bedel of Huntingdonshire, grandson of Sir Arthur Capel of Hadlam, Hertfordshire, was admitted Fellow-commoner of Queens' College on 5 July 1617, being matriculated in March following. He was Preston's pupil, as many of Sir Arthur's sons had been. He got acquainted with Jane, the daughter of Dr Newcome, "a civilian, and Commissary to the Chancellor of Ely," who lived in St Botolph's parish, "a very proper well-bred gentlewoman." As it seemed likely they might very shortly become contracted, Preston took Sir Capel and other Fellow-commoners, his pupils, for a journey to Saffron Walden and Audley End, and either by design or accident one of the young men proposed to go on to Hadham, Sir Arthur's seat, where Preston told him the circumstances. On his advice the grandfather, who was also his guardian, kept Sir Capel back, and then persuaded him to go abroad upon his travels.¹

In 1617, Dr George Mountain, Dean of Westminster and formerly Fellow of Queens' College, became Bishop of Lincoln, being elected 20 October, and consecrated. Notwithstanding the resentment against the College for not electing him to the vacant Mastership of the Society, in 1614, on the death of the President, Dr Tyndal, and preferring our author, which Ball imputes to Mountaigne, he must have been soon reconciled to it, as four years afterwards, in 1618, we find him bestowing a house in Cambridge

¹ Searle's *History of Queens' College*, p. 435.

on it, as we have seen, for the purpose of endowing two scholarships.

On 13 March 1617-8 died Dr John Jegon, Bishop of Norwich. He had been Fellow of Queens' College from 1572 to 1590, and was chosen Master of Corpus Christi College 1590. Some of his pupils removed with him from Queens' College to Corpus. During his Mastership, and under his discipline and good management, the College was in a very flourishing condition. He became Bishop of Norwich in 1603.

During the term of Dr Davenant's Mastership the increasing number of students induced the College in 1618 to erect a new building for their accommodation—both for scholars and fellows. It was built on some of the land formerly belonging to the Carmelites, and is described as "in the friars." The architect of the new buildings was Mr Gilbert Wigge, who was one of the architects of the second court of St John's College, in 1602.

In 1618 John Scot, notary public, drew up an account of the foundation of the University, with a catalogue of the founders, benefactors, officers and members of the several Colleges. A copy, with the coat of arms beautifully drawn in proper colours, was inscribed to the President (Davenant) and the whole society, and is preserved in the College archives.

The number of members of the University was 2998. The number of students in Queens' College from 1600 to 1612 was, on an average, 28 a year: while Preston was Fellow, and under the Presidentship of Dr Davenant from 1612 to 1622, the average rose to 41: the number of admissions for the year Michaelmas 1618 to Michaelmas 1619 being 55, viz., 20 Fellow-commoners, 16 pensioners, and 19 sizars; while from 1622 to 1640 the average was 30. This was the period when Fuller, the Church historian, was member of the College. Of the 454 students entered in Preston's time, 104 were entered as his pupils.

In Ball's *Life of Preston* we find the following account of his labours as Dean and Catechist, College offices which he held in the year 1618-9:—

“It was not long before it came to Master Preston's course for to be Dean and Catechist, which he resolved to improve by going through a Body of Divinity: For it was not his opinion that others should do as he had done—that is, peruse the schoolmen first, and then come to the modern writers: but first read *Summes* and *Systemes* in Divinity, and settle their opinions and judgments, and then read *Fathers*, schoolmen, or what they had a mind to. This being known, and some honest Townsmen hearing him at first by chance, there came the next day every man for to hear him, and the next day more, both Townsmen and Schollars from other Colledges, so that the outward Chappel would be often full before the Fellows came. Master Preston was of a very meek and quiet spirit, never resented injuries, nor provoked any unto aversness, yet had some enemies: *Si injuria multos libi fecit inimicos faciet invidia multos*. What had *Paul* done (Acts xiii. 4, 5) for to deserve so sharp an opposition, but envy moved them. There had been other Deans and Catechists before this gentleman, yet no such crowding. Complaint was made to the Vice-Chancellor of this unusual kind of Catechizing: it was assured not only that Townsmen and Scholars mingled, but other Colledges intruded also, that the Fellows for the crowd and multitude could not get through, and come to Chappel to their places: that it was not safe for any man to be thus adored, and doted on, unless they had a mind to cry up *Puritanisme*, which in short time would pull them down: that the *Crosier* staff would not support them long, if such assemblies were encouraged: *Obsta principiis, sero medicina paratur, &c.*

“Well, upon the whole an order was agreed on in the Consistory, and sent unto the Colledge, that the Scholars and Townsmen should be confined to their proper preachers, that no stranger, neither Townsman nor Scholar, should presume, on any pretence whatsoever, to come unto these Lectures, which were proper only to the members of the Colledge. The Edict was observed punctually, and the Auditory by it much impaired. Had strangers still been suffered to attend, those sermons had been printed as well as others; for there were divers that exactly noted, and wrote out all fair, unto the time of this restraint, but no one after that could go on with it, and so it rests. But he went on and was assiduous unto the year's end, and waded through it, which was a great help unto many of his pupils, who made the greater benefit of these things, because they were not common and in print.”

It should be mentioned that the old Ante-Chapel is only 20 feet wide, and is now but 17 feet long. In 1773 it was shortened 2 or 3 feet to lengthen the Chapel, but the present passage to the Walnut-Tree Court, before alluded to in connection with Dr Davenant's new buildings towards King's College, must have existed at the date of Preston's Deanship, as his new buildings, under the superintendence of the architect Mr Gilbert Wigge, were finished by May 1619. The handsome new Chapel by Bodley—on the King's College side of the Walnut-Tree Court—has been opened lately during the late Master's time—Rev. Canon Campion, D.D., who preached an admirable sermon on the memorable occasion.

On the death of Queen Anne in 1619, the University published a collection of verses, entitled *Lacrymæ Cantabrigienses in obitum ser. Reginae Annæ*. It contains some verses by John Goodwin, Fellow of Queens', the celebrated Arminian controversialist.

The following two extracts are the last we find with Davenant's name appended as Master of the College, in the archives of the Society:—

"Sept. 2nd, 1619.—It was agreed that only fellowes and Masters of Arts in fellowes comōns should be tied to execute Chappel, and that the fellow comōners should bee free from that burden, w^{ch} for some years past by Custome they were liable unto.—J. DAVENANT."

It was decreed by the Master and Fellows, January the 19th, 1620,

"That the bachelor Comēncers shall make no breakfast at all, but only to allow for the fellowes and Master of Arts upon the friday at dinner two shillings a messe, and a quart of wine over and above to every messe.—JOHN DAVENANT. (Old Parch. Reg. fo. 11 b.)

Enough, we trust, has been said to show that the College under the Presidentship of Davenant was in a most efficient state, officered with particularly able tutors and lecturers, was in a very flourishing condition, and reached such a

climax of success, which has never since been surpassed, or even equalled.

We have now come to the time when Dr Davenant had to sever his connection with Cambridge, to resign the Presidentship of his College, and lay down his office as Margaret Professor. It is not to be wondered at that a man of such theological eminence, one who had been so successful in ruling a College, and distinguished in the discharge of the professorial duties, should have been marked out for higher preferment. He was evidently much admired at Court by the royal family, and King James seems to have had a very sincere regard for him. Moreover, his successful bearing at the Synod of Dort secured him, with his other colleagues, quick and substantial rewards, on their return from the Conference. Bishop Carlton was translated from Llandaff to Chichester. Dr Hall was selected for the Bishopric of Exeter, and subsequently translated to Norwich. Dr Balcanquall was made Dean of Rochester, and Dr Davenant was raised to the Episcopate as Bishop of Salisbury (1621). This necessitated, as a matter of course, the severance of his connection with the College. Dr Davenant had now been President since 1614, and upon his advancement he seemed at first disinclined to entirely break off this connection with the College, for he desired to retain the Presidentship with his Bishopric, and wrote to Dr Ward to that effect; and even when made Bishop he sends (Nov. 7, 1621) directions for the Moderation at the approaching commencement, so deeply attached was he to the Foundation which he had dominated so many years, and with such marked success.

Bishop Davenant was a great benefactor to his College.

“The good Bishop,” says Fuller, “*is thankful to that College whence he had his education.* He conceiveth himself to hear his mother-College always speaking to him in the language of Joseph to Pharoah's butler. *But think on me, I pray thee, when it shall be well with thee* (Gen. xl. 14). If he himself hath but little, the less from him is the

more acceptable : a drop from a sponge is as much as a ton of water from a marsh. He bestows on it books, or plate, or lands, or building ; and the houses of the prophets rather lack watering than planting, there being enough of them if they had enough."¹

In 1626 he gave £100 for the use of the librarian, with which 130 volumes were purchased, and in 1637 he gave rent-charge on an estate at Eastchurch, Isle of Sheppey, out of which two scholars were to be maintained, and, besides, £10 per annum out of the same estate to be employed in increasing the library. The library of Queens' is now a very valuable one, and contains some very old manuscripts, missals, and other service books. It is served by a librarian, who gives out books twice a week, to which is attached Clark's Scholarship, an office kindly bestowed by the President and Fellows upon the writer during his undergraduate career, in consideration of his descent from the illustrious subject of this memoir, and his nephew. In addition to this, he gave to the College in 1637 two livings, the Rectory of Cheverell Magna, Wiltshire (exchanged in 1774 for the Rectory of Seagrave, Leicestershire), and the Rectory of Newton Toney, Wiltshire, one of the best in the gift of the Society, and usually held by one who had been Tutor or Prælector of his College.

Dr Davenant's portrait is in the lodging of the President of Queens' College. It represents him full face, in the episcopal habit, with a skull cap and small double ruff, with beard and moustache. It has been engraved by Garner. Looking at it, we may indeed say that his very form drew the eye. That square forehead, large and lustrous eyes, fine aquiline nose, and expressive countenance, all suggest the ideal of a thoughtful theologian and grave divine.

Taking leave of the College, and of one John Rolfe, an ancient servant thereof, he desired him to pray for him ; and when the other modestly returned that he rather

¹ Fuller's *Holy State* (The Good Bishop, p. 270).

needed his lordship's prayers: "Yea, John," said he, "and I need thine too, being now to enter into a calling wherein I shall meet with many and great temptations." "Præfuit qui profuit," adds his nephew, "was the motto written in most of his books; the sense whereof he practised in his conversation." "John Rolfe is probably a missprint," says Mr Searle, "for John Roise or Rosse, who had been in the service of the College for more than twenty years."

Thus our good divine left his College, resigned his Mastership, and quitted, at least officially, his Alma Mater. He was succeeded in his Margaret Professorship by Dr Ward, Master of Sidney-Sussex College, his great friend and former colleague at the Synod of Dort. Naturally synchronizing with his theological proclivities, he would perpetuate Dr Davenant's views and opinions in the Chair of Divinity. They remained ever after the best of friends, and we shall hear more of Dr Ward presently, in the correspondence between him and the Bishop, respecting the Fellowship which Dr Davenant was anxious to obtain for his nephew. It was in accordance with the wish of Davenant himself, that Dr Samuel Ward should be chosen to succeed him as Professor, and he was elected 23 Feb. 1622-3, before Dr Davenant resigned his Mastership. His mind was therefore put at rest that the same teaching, and especially on the doctrines of Grace, would go on just as before, upon his leaving Cambridge.

SIR,—I am pfitly weary of London, and yet know not how to get out. The next week (as I suppose) y^e answerer for y^e Bachelors of Divinity is chosen, & propounds his Questions. Let my absence bee no cause of delay, in y^e appoynting of y^e questions. I hope to bee at Cambridg vppon Saturday or moonday, come senight at y^e fartherst. Yf for surenes sake you provide your selfe of a Moderator against y^e second day, I shall be glad of it. But yf you bee vnprovided, and I can possibly bee ther by Moonday come senight, I will vndertake it. The Saturday before you shall hear from mee againe. Now y^e speech goes y^t y^e Bishop of Lincoln shall have London, y^e Dean of Westminster Lincolne, and Doctor Laud Westminster. The Bishop

of Saint Davids shall goe to Carlile. Doctor Gwin to Saint Davids, and Mr Sinews shall be Master of Saint Johns. My Sister y^e last week set out towards Yviechurch, and came thither vppon Saturday. I hope y^e change of air, company of her children, and howshould busines, will bee a good means to recover her health, & to refresh her minde. I dined yesterday with my Lord of York, who is now in very good health, and did kindly remember you. Thus wth remembrance of my love to your selfe, & y^e rest of my good freinds I comit you to God.

Your very loving freind

JOHN DAVENANT.

Westminster, June y^e 7th, 1621.

This letter was no sooner written, but Mr Mikelthwait delivered mee yours. I pceav it is lost labour to write news vnto Cambridg; for you know it sooner there, then wee do heer. ffor y^e reteining of my Mastership awhile, as also of my Lecture, wee will advise further at our meeting. I pray send the Questions. Mine own men come vphither vppon Wednesday.

[*Endorsed* :—] To y^e Right woor¹ his very loving freind Doctor Ward Vicechancelor & Master of Sidney Colledg in Cambridg give this.

June 7, 1621.

My L. Bp. of Sarum his Lett^r.

When Dr Davenant was made Bishop of Salisbury,¹ there was at first a report that Dr Balcanqual was to be the new master of Queens' College, but afterwards it was believed that the king would grant the Fellows a free election in the choice of their president.

Dr Walter Balcanqual was a "Scottish man," Fellow of Pembroke Hall, 1611. Ordained deacon, 20 Sept. 1612, at Downham, and priest, 18th Dec. 1614, at Ely House, by Lancelot Andrews, Bishop of Ely. He was Vicar of Harston, 1615, and of Waterbeach, 1617. This living he resigned on being sent to the celebrated Synod of Dort as representative of the Church of Scotland, and seems to

¹ "Electus die Junii 1621, confirmatus, 17 Nov. et die crastino consecratus in Capella infra Palatium Episcopale, London: ab. Epis. London: Wigorm: Elien: Cicestr. and Oxon. virtute commissionis ab Asepo, data 17 Nov. 1621." Reg. Abbot.

have had decided views upon theological questions. He was Chaplain to King James, 1618, Master of the Savoy, 1619, succeeding the Dean of Westminster, Dr Mountain, when he was made Bishop of Lincoln; Dean of Rochester in 1624, and of Durham, 1639.

“His promotion was, no doubt, owing to his fidelity to Buckingham, of which he makes boast in a letter to Conway in 1627, and to his persistence in asking. He was always asking; and by dint of flying at high game, succeeded in pitching upon the lower at last. In 1626, Conway, the Secretary of State, wrote to Balcanqual, then Master of the Savoy, calling his attention to information given that there was a place within the Savoy, ‘where mass is usually sayd, and much resort of people to it.’ The Master is desired to find out the truth of the report, to cause the priest or other ecclesiastical persons to be apprehended, and to seize upon ‘all the Popish bookes and massing stuff that shall be found there.’”¹

He was a staunch royalist, and was forced to fly from the pursuit of the parliamentary party. In his wanderings from place to place, he caught a disease of which he died on Christmas day 1645, and was buried at Chirk, Denbighshire.²

“The appointment of Davenant to the bishopric of Salisbury created Master *Preston’s* cares. Doctor Davenant had been his constant and faithfull Friend, and gives countenance upon all occasions to him and all his pupils. But now who should succeed? and when should Master *Preston* find another shelter? The Fellows for the most part were not his Friends, envied his numbers, and great relations, and there was no man like so to befriend him. Besides, the *Margaret* Professors place would be void also by this remove, and many able stirring Batchelors in Divinity proposed unto him that place, and assured him the Election would be easily carried for him. The truth is, he had no great hope to do any great good in the Election of the Master of the Colledge, and one Doctor *Mansel* being named, a very moderate good natured man, he let that care fall, and was more anxious about the Professor’s place. He had a long time been successful in the way of pupils, but Doctor *Davenant’s* leaving of the Colledge

¹ *Memorials of the Savoy*, by Loftie, p. 142.

² Walker’s *Sufferings of the Clergy*, ii. 19.

troubled him. A great Tutor hath much occasion to use the Master's influence, for accommodation and advancement of his pupils, which now he saw he could not promise unto himself."¹

John Mansel was of the County of Lincoln, entered Queens' College, 1594; was B.A. 1597-8, was made scholar, 1598, and elected fellow of the College, 13 June 1600. He was descended from an ancient family.

"I have seen," said Weeves, "a pedigree of the Mansels from Philip de Mansel, who came in with the Conqueror, untill our times. Of this name and familie is that orthodoxall sound Divine and worthy master of Queenes Colledge in Cambridge. *John Mansel*, Doctor of Divinitie, and a general scholar in all good literature.

"He commenced M.A. in 1601, and was B.D. in 1609. From the year 1604 to the year 1617 (during Davenant's Presidentship) he seems to have been in residence, as he held various College offices and College lectureships in every year of that period. He was senior bursar for the two years 1609-10 and 1610-11. He was Vicar of Hockington from 2 Sept. 1614 to May 1616. He vacated his Fellowship in the course of the year 1616-17, receiving his stipend for 3½ weeks in the third quarter, so that he ceased to be fellow towards the end of July 1617. He became D.D. in 1622. He was elected President of his College, 29 April 1622."²

When Davenant finally quitted Queens', he left his young nephew under Dr Mansel's care and tuition, but for some unexplained reason the Doctor does not seem to have befriended young Fuller, for he would not elect him to a vacant fellowship, in spite of the Bishop's repeated instigations to that effect. A new President had arisen who knew not Joseph (our Thomas), and he continued so during Fuller's residence. His name, it will be seen, occurs in unfavourable connection with Fuller, whose prospects in life he could not be induced to advance.

¹ Ball's *Life*, 921.

² Searle's *Queens' College*, 412.

CHAPTER VII

BISHOP OF SALISBURY (1621-1641)

“Reader, for the matter what I have written, I require thee in God’s name do me justice : for the manner, method, or words thereof I request thee, as I am a man, show me favour. Think not the worse of the Truth for my sake, but think the better of me, for the Truth’s sake, which I have defended. And conceive me not to be of a brawling and controversial disposition, who so desire and will pray for an agreement from my soul, so long as my speech shall serve me. Yea, if I should chance to be stricken dumb, I would with Zacharia ‘make signs for table books,’ and write that the name of that which I desire above all earthly things is Peace. God send it.”—FULLER’S *Truth Maintained*, pp. 77-8.

THE elevation of Dr Davenant to the Episcopate was the necessary result of his theological eminence. “He had for twelve years,” says his animated eulogist Hachet, “been public reader in Divinity in Cambridge, and had adorned that place with such learning that no Professor in Europe did better deserve to receive the labourer’s penny at the twelfth hour of the day.” Accordingly, in 1621, he was nominated to the See of Salisbury, vacant by the premature death of his brother-in-law, Dr Robert Townson, through the influence of Dr John Williams, then only Dean of Westminster, but soon after he became Bishop of Lincoln, and Lord Keeper. Fuller (who in his commendation of those who were dear to him, may as usual be relied upon, since his affection does not render him partial) expresses his indignation at a passage in Welldon’s *Court of King James*, “a satire” (he terms it) “rather than a history,” where Townson and Davenant are spoken of as being preferred gratis to blow up the Buckingham party, paying nothing in fine or pension : it being customary for

the Bishops to pay certain fees to the King on receiving their Sees :—¹

“ Now, although both these persons here praised were my god-fathers and my uncles, and although such good words seem a rarity from so railing a mouth ; yet shall not these considerations tempt me to accept his praises on such invidious terms as the author doth proffer them. Oh ! were these worthy bishops now alive, how highly would they disdain to be praised by such a pen, by which King James, their lord and master, is carelessly traduced ! How would they condemn such uncharitable commendations, which are (if not founded on) accompanied with the disgrace of others of their order. Wherefor I, their nephew, in behalf of their memories, protest against this passage, so far forth as it casteth lusteth on them, by eclipsing the credit of other prelates, their contemporaries. And grant corruption too common in that kind, yet were there besides them at that time many worthy bishops raised to their dignity by their deserts without any simoniacal compliances.”²

He was one of four, whose advancement Williams, “ being warm in favour,” procured at the time of his own promotion. The others were Dr Carey to Exeter, Laud to St David’s (and subsequently to become Primate of all England and Metropolitan), and Dr Donne, the “ poet-preacher.” In a letter to Dr Ward, Master of Sidney College, and his successor in the Chair of Margaret Professor of Theology, at Cambridge, dated May 27th, 1621, he mentions his appointment to the See of Salisbury. The *congé d’élire* was dated 29th May 1621. He was elected 11th June, and received the royal assent, 10th August, but he was not confirmed till November 17, nor consecrated till the following day.

The following letters were penned by Davenant before he left Queens’ College for his bishopric at Salisbury, and are extant at the Bodleian.

¹ A document is in the existence of the State Paper Office, which refers to “ the restitution of temporalities ” to Dr Davenant.—Calendar Dom. Ser., Nov. 21, 1620.

² *Worthies, Cambridgeshire*, p. 154.

GOOD SIR, this day my Sister is setting forward towards Yviechurch: and y^e broad seale putt to y^e Conge d'eslire, is also sent down to y^e Dean & chapter at Salisbury. The election will bee returned about a fortnight hence, and then yf y^e Royall assent bee once had, I shall bee at liberty to return to Cambridg. ffor moderation at y^e Comencement, I shall bee willing to pform my woonted service to y^e Vniu'sity, yf I can gett from hence in any time. ffor y^e Divinity lecture it is a busines y^t fitteth not a young hend, & therefore my desire is y^t of all men your selfe would vndertake it; wch I know will bothe bee for y^e Honor & Profit of y^e vniu'sity. ffor ability of vndergoing it, leave that to bee iudged by others, to whome you are so well known, y^t yf your self bee not vnwilling to vndergoe y^e place, I doubt not but y^e vniu'sity will bee forward enough to conferr it vppon you. But more of this when wee meete. I hope in regard of y^e excessive chardges of first fruits, Subsidies and Tenths, (wch amount as I am tould to above 600l. yeerly) I shall obtain leav to hould my Mastership some time, wch yf I doe, (& it bee so thought fitt,) I shall not bee vnwilling to continew my payns in y^e Lecture-reading for a time. My body may bee tossed vp and down to other places, but Cambridg will alwaies have my heart. The Bishop of Carlile died vppon tewsdai last, who is like to succeed him as yet I hear not. The bishopricq of London stands still as it did: y^e speech now runns y^t y^e Dean of Westminster is vnwilling to accept; and rather desires to hould some smaller Bishopricq together wth his Deanry. The Parliament breaks vp vppon moonday; y^e Howses would willingly have had it continewd vntill Midsomer. S^r John Bennet was brought to his answer vppon Wednesday, & (it is said) shall receav his censure vppon friday or Saturday. And thus I comend you to y^e Protection of y^e Highest, resting ever

Your assured loving freind

May 15 (?) 1621.

JOHN DAVENANT.

S^r Thomas Bennets Censure is differd till y^e Session of Parliament next following.

Comend mee (I pray) to those friends of mine whome you specified in your letter, as also to M^r Provost, and y^e rest, as you finde opportunity.

[*Endorsed*:-] To y^e Right woorth his very loving freind Dr Ward Vicechancellor of Cambridg, & Master of Sidney Colledg deliver this.

1621.

My Lrd Bp. of Sarum, his lett^r

SIR, I have spent heer many dayes in much sorrow ; and could wish my selfe at Cambridg, y^t wth necessary busines my minde might bee wthdrawen from y^e running vppon y^e matter of our greife. My Sister is still but weak in body, & troubled in minde ; yet I have psuaded her to goe down into y^e country amongst her children, & so shee resolves to doe towards y^e end of y^e next week. I never desired any of those eminent places in y^e Church, w^{ch} I thought alwaies required men of more active spirits, & greater endowments then I finde to bee in my selfe. Yet y^e providence of God as heerto-fore, so now calls me to those places, wch are beste suiting to mine own disposition or desire. His Maiesty vppon friday last signed y^e Conge d'eslire for Salisbury, and I suppose y^e broad seal will bee passed vppon Wednesday. I must stay heer to expect y^e return of y^e election, & y^e Kings Royal assent, & then I hope to bee sett at liberty, & return to Queens Colledg. In regard of y^e great chardges wch will lie vppon y^e Bishopricq, I hope to obteine some reasonable time for houlding my Mastership, but what will bee granted as yet I know not. I was no suitor for y^e Bishopricq, nether shall I bee for y^e other : but I suppose those Honorable freinds, who prevented my desires in y^e one will consider what is iust & reasonable in y^e other. I am afrayd it will bee yet a fortnight, ere I shall come down. I have sent my minde to M^r Turner, concerning pricking of Lectures ; & have advised him to take his direction from you. I know not how soon I may resigne y^e divinity Lecture, I pray bethink your selfe of a Successor, & yf you would vndergoe y^e payns, I doubt not but y^e whole vniu'sity would bee gladd of it, & never look after any other. Thus desiring Gods blessing in all Estates & Courses wherein his providence shall place us, I rest

Your very loving freind

Westminster,
May 27th, 1621.

JOHN DAVENANT.

[Endorsed:—] To y^e Right Woor^{ll} his very loving freind Doctor Ward vicechancellor of Cambridg, & Master of Sidney Colledg deliver this.

May 27, 1621.
my L. Bp. of Sarum his lett^r.

S^r, I will take y^e best care I can about M^r Buffeilds prebend ; to morrow I will dispatch away a letter vnto M^r Packer : and vppon wednesday I will write to M^r Ireland to make enquiry whether M^r Buffeild be living or dead. My consecration depends vppon my Lord Keepers ; but yf I perceive hee will differ his overlong, I will not stay

vppon him. I suppose wee shall bee bothe consecrated betwixt this & Michaelmas, but the day is not yet resolved vppon. I am gladd you have had so good succes in your law busines : and I hope to see you heer before my consecration ; w^{ch} will not bee till y^e later end of this moneth at y^e soonest. I suppose I shall not hould y^e Mastership beyond y^e next Audit : and for my Lecture I purpose to give it over at y^e end of Michaelmas terme ; I wish your speedy return bothe in regard of that, and of y^e Vicechancellorship. Thus with remembrance of my hartly love I comit you to God, and rest alwaies

Your very loving freind

Queens Colledg,

August 5^o, 1621.

JOHN SARŪ, Elect.

[*Endorsed:—*] To y^e Right woorth his very loving freind Dr Ward vicechancellor of y^e vniversity of Cambridg, M^r of Sidney Colledg & Archdeacon of Taunton deliver this.

August 5, 1621.

my L. of Sarū his Lett^r.

This delay was due to a very untoward circumstance, which happened to Dr Abbot, Archbishop of Canterbury. As he was using a cross-bow in Lord Zouch's park, the Primate accidentally shot the keeper. Being on a visit to Lord Zouch at Bramshill Park, in Hampshire, his Grace was prevailed on to attend a hunting party to the field, and even to take a cross-bow in his hand. His bad marksmanship, though not at all discreditable to his sacred profession, was, unhappily, fatal to one of the keepers ; for in shooting at a deer it so chanced that "he missed the beast and shot the man." The accident was one which might have befallen the most experienced sportsman. But it was an awkward incident in the life of a Churchman : more especially of one who was at the head of a party professing more than ordinary strictness of conversation.

Four Bishops-elect, and designated to their respective Sees, were then waiting for Consecration. Of these, Dr Williams, elect of Lincoln, who, as Heylin tells us, had an eye to the Primacy in case it became vacant ; and Laud, elect of St David's, who had a personal hatred to Abbot,

stated an insuperable aversion to be consecrated by a man whose hands were stained with blood.¹ Davenant does not seem to have shared the overstrained scruple of "some squeamish and nice-conscienced elects," as young Fuller, who regarded his uncle in all things as the true pattern of clerical propriety, calls them. He did not join in this unhappy cavil, but kept altogether aloof.

The scandal occasioned by the circumstance will scarcely be credited in these days. Many of the learned and conscientious divines lamented it with bitter tears. They considered our Church as dishonoured by it, in the eyes of all Christendom. It was a matter of serious doubt among them, whether the shedding of blood, although purely accidental, did not utterly disqualify a Bishop for the performance of any sacred office. Nay, the matter afforded matter of officious discussion to the foreign universities.² The Doctors of the Sorbonne in Paris, after three solemn disputations, resolved that it amounted to a clear canonical *irregularity*: in other words, to a fatal incapacity for the exercise of all ecclesiastical authority or jurisdiction! The Archbishop himself was nearly inconsolable. He retired to Guildford, to await the issue of this disastrous misadventure. The circumstances, of course, produced considerable agitation throughout the Court of James. It was generally surmised that the eye of Dr Williams was steadily fixed upon the Primacy; and the *irregularity* of

¹ "Neither Williams nor Laud would receive consecration from a primate whose hands, as they said, were stained with human blood, and they were consecrated by a commission of bishops, selected by the King.

"To the Puritans, who rejected all measures in episcopal consecration, these scruples seemed ridiculous and superstitious. By men who were engaged in maintaining against Roman Controversialists the genuine character of English orders, and the purity of the Apostolical succession in the English Church, they were felt to be most serious; nor were they despised by that widespread class of thoughtful and devout laymen whose influence is so conspicuous through these troubled times."—Simpkinson's *Life and Times of William Laud*, p. 45.

² See Le Bas' *Life of Archbishop Laud*, pp. 44-5.

Abbot, if judiciously established, might probably make straight the way for the aspirations of that ambitious Churchman. An immensity of erudition was expended upon the question by the Civilians and the Canonists; and for some time it was uncertain if the See of Canterbury would not be vacated by "the hunting of that day." The Canons, on examination, were found to be so vaguely worded, are open to so much subtilty of distinction, that the Commissioners, to whom the matter was referred, protested that they were "unable to return to his Majesty any unanimous resolution or opinion." In one thing, however, they were all agreed: not only that a restitution or dispensation might be granted by his Majesty¹ under the Great Seal; or (which, in all humility, they recommended), by the hands of certain clergymen, delegated for that purpose. And, at all events, they were of opinion that the Reverend Father should sue unto his Majesty for such dispensation, as a measure of needful precaution, lest there should have been any *irregularity* incurred. Conformably to this report, the dispensation was applied for, and obtained, in the shape recommended by the Commissioners. And this proceeding received afterwards the sanction of that great oracle of the common law, Sir Edward Coke. When the question was put to him, by Sir Henry Saville, whether a Bishop might hunt in a park by the laws of the realm?—he replied, "That a Bishop might do so by this very token,—that there is an old law that a Bishop, when dying, is to leave his pack of dogs to the king's use and disposal. And it might reasonably be concluded that, if the king was to have the dogs when the Bishop died, the Bishop might make use of them when he was alive."²

¹ On the Royal Supremacy, see Fuller's *Appellate Jurisdiction of the Crown in Ecclesiastical Cases*, pp. 159-207.

² Heylin, pp. 87, 88. Collier, *Eccles. Hist.*, vol. ii. 221, 722.—The Royal Dispensation is in the same volume; in the Collection of Records, No. cviii., Collier is evidently much scandalised, and not altogether without reason, at the royal assumption of power on this occasion; for whatever

In justice to the kindness of James' nature, it should be mentioned that on hearing of Abbot's misfortune, he is said to have exclaimed, "An angel might have miscarried in that sort." He further addressed a letter of consolation to the Archbishop, in which he assured him that "he would not add affliction to sorrow, or take one farthing of his goods and moveables which were forfeited by the law."¹ But neither the benevolence of his Majesty, nor the prospect of his royal edict, were sufficient to pacify the scruples of Laud, and the other Bishops-elect who were waiting for consecration. In common with others of their brethren, they said,—“God forbid that those hands should consecrate bishops, and ordain priests, or administer the sacrament of Christ, which God, out of His secret judgments, had permitted to be imbrued in human blood.” Some of the prelacy went so far as solemnly to declare that “if they had fallen into the like mischance, they would never have dispaired of God's mercy, for the other life: but, from this world they would have retired: and besought his Majesty for a pension to support them in their sequestered sadness, where they might spend their days in fasting and prayer.” Besides,

might be the merits of the case it virtually overbore the Ecclesiastical and Civil Judicature.

¹ The remarks of Hacket on this affair are very sensible and acute. “The *Decretals* and *Extravagants* un-bishop a man that killed a man, and meant a beast; nay, further, if a bishop's horse did cast the groom that watered him into a pond and drowned him! But if we appeal from them to a higher and better learning, their rigour will prove ridiculous. *Irregularities* in the superstitious Latin Church are above number. But what have we to do with them? That we did cut them off, we did not name it, indeed in our reformation under Edward VI. for they were thrown out, with scorn, as not fit to be mentioned, among ejected rubbish. But we perceived they were never meant to *bind*, but to *open*,—I mean the *purse*. He that is suspended may disentangle himself from the censure with a bribe. *The Canonists are good bone-setters, for a bone that never was broken.* These Rubrics are filled with punctilios, not for *consciences* but for *consciuncules*, haberdashers of small faults, and palpable brokers for fees, and mercenary dispensations.”—Hacket's *Life of Williams*, p. 65.

there was urgent cause to apprehend that the succession of our hierarchy would be impeached more loudly and maliciously than ever, by the Romanists,¹ if the continuation of it were committed to hands of questionable power.² These misgivings were respected by the king. A commission was directed by him to the Bishops of London (George Mountain), Worcester, Chichester, Ely, Llandaff, and Oxford, to discharge the archiepiscopal function in this case, and from them, by virtue of this commission, Williams was consecrated on November the 11th: and from them Davenant, William Laud, Bishop of St David's, and Carey, Bishop of Exeter, received episcopal consecration, in the chapel of London House, on Sunday, November 18th, 1621. The royal dispensation to the Archbishop, which Laud himself had joined in recommending, was not issued till the following December.³

Fuller describes Laud to us as "of low stature but high parts, piercing eyes, cheerful countenance, wherein gravity and pleasantness were well compounded, admirable in his naturals, unblamable in his morals, being very strict in his conversation"⁴—evidently a person well equipped for the great task which he believed God had set him.

On the next day after their consecration, the new Bishops took their seats in the House of Peers. Davenant received restitution of the temporalities, 23rd November 1621, and took plenary possession of that See, which had been held by his brother-in-law for so short a time.

¹ See this matter fully discussed in the author's *Our Established Church*, chapter viii., "The Anglican Ordinal," p. 465.

² It is remarkable that Hacket does not ascribe the scruples of Laud and his brethren to any feeling of malevolence towards Abbot. He frankly acknowledges that it became the Bishops-elect to be "most circumspect in this matter: and to be informed whether they should acknowledge the power of the Archbishop to be integral and unblemished, in a casual homicide, and to submit to have his hands laid upon their heads."—Hacket, pt. i. p. 66.

³ Collier, vol. ii. p. 721, and the No. cviii.

⁴ Fuller's *Worthies*, i. 90.

Though benevolent and cheerful, Davenant never seems to have lost sight of the consistent dignity and gravity of his character. Upon one occasion, as Fuller records, being invited to dine with Field, Bishop of Hereford—the learned author of that valuable work “on the Church,” and not well pleased with the lax and somewhat boon company he met there, nor well pleased with the roysting company, he embraced the earliest opportunity of departing after dinner: and when Field would have lighted him with a candle downstairs, “My lord, my lord,” said he, “let us enlighten others by our unblameable conversation.”

“For which speech,” says Fuller, “some since have severely censured him, how justly I interpose not. But let others unrelated to him write his character, whose pen cannot be suspected of flattery, which he when *living* did *hate*, and *dead* did not *need*.”¹

At the same time he is spoken of as remarkably void of harsh or unkind judgment, as “more sensible of his own infirmities than others, being humble in himself and therefore charitable to others. Upon no one occasion does he appear to have forgotten *consistency* of conduct.

Fuller records that after Davenant’s consecration,

“being to perform some personal service to King James at Newmarket, he refused to ride on the Lord’s Day: and came, though a day later to the Court, no less welcome to the King, who not only accepted his excuse, but also commending his seasonable forbearance.”

Davenant afterwards “magnified King James’ bounty to him, who from a private master of a college in Cambridge, without any other immediate (intermediate) preferment, advanced him by an unusual rise to the great and rich Bishopric of Salisbury.”² We are told by Aubrey that many leases of the lands of the See “were but newly expired when Davenant came to this See; so that there tumbled into his coffers vast summes.”

His predecessor in this See was his brother-in-law, as

¹ *Worthies*, London, p. 207.

² Fuller’s *Church History*, bk. xi, p. 139.

we have seen, Robert Townson, formerly fellow of Queens' College, who had been promoted from the deanery of Westminster to this bishopric in July 1620, but had died on May 15th, 1621, leaving behind him a wife and fifteen children, "neither plentifully provided for, nor destitute of maintenance," which rather hastened than caused the advancement of his brother-in-law. Dr Townson is said to have been a man of singular piety, eloquence and humility, and died a few months after his consecration, being the fourth bishop of that diocese who had been cut off in the space of seven years. As soon as (if not before) Dr Townson died, Dr Davenant's friends began to bestir themselves to procure his promotion,¹ in pity and commiseration for Mrs Townson's case, that he was "a single man and well deserving, he might succeed his brother (in-law) in the bishopric, and so make some provision for his children." According to Joseph Meade, their success seems however to have been at first somewhat doubtful; but there can be no doubt that Davenant was a favourite with King James, a fact which appears again and again, and for more reasons than one, and more than ever after his return from the Synod of Dort, and his preferment was, with his other colleagues, a foregone conclusion. So marked a man in his College, so brilliant his career at Cambridge, such an European reputation he acquired at that great Protestant Synod, he was bound to be advanced and that quickly in the Church. "Coming events," in his case, "cast their shadows before them."

"It was probably on account of the domestic burden that there devolved upon him, rather than from his merit, that our Bishop was excused the payment of the introductory fees, and of the annual pension which was then, it seems, customarily paid to the Crown on all similar appointments, proportionate to the wealth or poverty of the individual."²

¹ Thos. Ball, *Life of Preston*.

² Weldon, *History of the Court of King James*, by an eye-witness.

Upon his final removal to Salisbury, his widowed sister, Margaret, and her children took up their abode with him, finding in his palace, as her epitaph in Salisbury Cathedral records, "Consolation and a home," and lived in his house till her death in 1634. The Bishop exerted himself to advance these children in life, and we shall find him especially solicitous to settle his nieces,¹ most of them marrying clergymen, and two Bishops of Sarum. He himself was never married. According to Camden (*Annals*, 1621), when he was made Bishop, the King "charged him not to marry."

Of the fifteen children that Bishop Townson is said to have had, there are only nine mentioned in Bishop Davenant's will, which was made in 1637, viz., three sons and six daughters. As we have already alluded to them in our first chapter very fully, we need not recapitulate their careers in this place. But though Dr Davenant was consecrated Bishop of Sarum at the close of the year 1621, he does not seem to have finally resigned the Presidentship of Queens' College till 22nd April 1622. He was certainly back again at Cambridge in the early part of that year, for we read in Baker's *St John*, "On 10 Jan. 1621-2, Bishops Davenant and Carey were invited to St John's College, where, after supper, the two Bishops, with Dr Richardson, Master of Trinity, and Dr Gwyn, Master of St John's, came down into the Hall, and played at cards" (Mayn's Edition, 676).

The following letter was penned by the newly conse-

¹ "When Bishop Caldwell came to this bishoprick, he did lett long leases, which were but newly expired, when Bishop Davenant came to this See—so that there tumbled into his coffers vast summes. His predecessor married his sister, continued in the See but a little while, and left several children unprovided for, so that K. or rather D. of Bucks gave Bp. Davenant the bishoprick out of pure charity. 'S^r Anth. Weldon (in his *Court of King James*) says, 'Twas the only Bishoprick y^t he disposed of without simony, all others being made merchandyze of for the advancement of his kindred. Bp. Davenant, being invested, married all his nièces to Clergie-men, so he was at no expense for their preferment.'"—Aubrey, *Lives*, ii. 300.

crated Bishop of Salisbury about this time, and refers to the lectures which Davenant had delivered in his official capacity as Margaret Professor of Divinity :—

GOOD MR DR WARD ; I thank God I never had my health better then I have had heer all this Winter ; and therefore though I have been sick and dead at Cambridg, it does not much trouble mee. For my readings I could willingly vndergo y^e payns of pvsing them ; but when I come to review them, they seem vnto mee so rough and tedious (espetially in y^e first question) that I fear they will not abide the impartiall censure of others, wch satisfy not y^e partiall affection of ther Author. But it may bee in time I shall polish that wch is rough, & cutt away that wch is supfluous ; and then dispose further of it, as by my friends (and your selfe espetially) I shall be advised. For my Book, (it beeing kept to your selfe), I am content to expect y^e return therof when you shall think fitt. I am att this time intangled wth divers businesses, and therefore comitting you to y^e gracious protection of y^e highest, I alwaies rest

Your very loving freind

Febr. 20, 1622.

JO. SARU.

[Endorsed :—] To y^e right woerll. his very loving freind Dr Ward
Master of Sidney Colledg, &c., &c.

Febr. 20, 1622.

My L. of Sarums Letter.

When Bishop Davenant entered upon his long episcopate at Salisbury of twenty years, he found the state of the diocese far from satisfactory, and in a chronic state of lethargy, following upon the reaction which settled down after the earnestness and zeal of the Reformation era. The See of St Osmund had passed through many changes and vicissitudes, and not only had the grand old "Sarum Use" given way to a slovenly state of things at the "paramount" Cathedral itself, but throughout the diocese there was great laxity, even of morals, and a general state of spiritual torpor. It was between the years 1570 and 1640 (the last twenty of them being under Bishop Davenant), that the results of the Reformation on the Church of Sarum were seen. There were many difficulties to compete with consequent on the

new order of things—the unsatisfactory staple of the candidates for ordination: the strong Puritan bias of Elizabeth's Parliament and chief advisers (which was hardly to be wondered at under the circumstances): the sympathy with foreign Protestants after the massacre of St Bartholomew's day; and the national indignation felt at the "bull" of deposition issued against Queen Elizabeth by Pope Pius V. All these events helped to generate that wave of Puritanism which swept so fiercely over the whole country. It became the right thing to do, a mark of true patriotism, to abjure anything and everything that savoured in the most remote degree of Rome. Hence arose that Puritan dislike which became engrained in the very English character, of anything at all savouring of ritualistic eventuation, which ended in the neglect of seemly and necessary ceremonies, and so came at last to slovenliness and baldness in carrying out the ordinary services of the Church.

"The chapter registers," we are told, "are full of indications of the growth of this feeling, which increased year by year until it culminated in the temporary overthrow of the Church, as much from the apathy of her nominal friends as from the activity of her avowed enemies."

How far the bishops¹ that ruled the Church of Sarum during the seventy years that followed the episcopate of Jewel, were equal to coping with these difficulties is a matter of question. Several of them—there were *seven* in all—had but a very short tenure of the See, to say nothing of its having been actually vacant during this period for some five years. The only one who had anything like a lengthened episcopate was our Bishop Davenant, and able and devout as he undoubtedly was, it must be borne in mind that he had great "lee-way" to make up, and even twenty

¹ The Bishops were Edmund Gheast, 1571; John Piers, 1577-89; John Coldwell, 1591-96; Henry Cottons, 1598; Robert Abbot, 1615; Martin Fotherby, 1618; Robert Townson, 1620; John Davenant, 1621-1641.

years is not a long period (especially in the old times before railways) to lift up a whole diocese out of the slough of neglect and slovenliness on to the platform of energetic potentiality. Then perhaps his antecedents as a "controversial divine," in a particular direction, may have had a tendency to divert his critical attention from those Catholic truths and usages which the impulsive zeal against Rome placed especially in jeopardy. Not but what his whole subjective nature swung round steadily to the pole of Catholic truth, in its broadest sense, and primitive practice. But in rejecting truths and ceremonies, which Rome had abused, men were at this time in danger of casting overboard also many which, as a branch of the Catholic Church, we had ourselves retained as part of our common heritage.

But there were other troubles which awaited the translation of *Gheast*, Jewel's immediate successor, from Rochester to Sarum. The poverty consequent upon the suppression of the religious houses began to make itself felt, and necessity urged the passing of the first Poor Law, for their relief. Then there was the impoverished condition of many of the beneficed clergy themselves, and that peculiar trial—which has been felt ever since the Reformation, the penalty of the *via media*—the fact that the Church has been all through wedged in, so to speak, between the two extreme parties, the sectaries with Genevan proclivities on the one hand and the partisans of the intruded Mission of Rome on the other, the Italian cult—the two extremes making common cause against the old Catholic and historical Church of the Country, whose centre is Canterbury.

Against such elements of restlessness, the short rule of Bishop Gheast would not have made much progress. He was certainly a very learned divine—and had stood by the side of Jewel as one of the Protestant disputants in 1559, but he seems to have lacked the earnestness and activity of preaching, which characterized his predecessor. His name will be remembered in connection with the

Eucharistic controversy, the 20th Article "of the Lord's Supper" having been drawn up by him.¹

It would appear that Bishop Gheast, who made a visitation of his Cathedral in 1571, superadded his authority to that of the chapter respecting the sermons to be preached by the various canons each on those days appropriated to the "Prebend" which they held. Their number then was forty-seven. The earliest decree concerning those "preaching turns," which obtain at this day, is supposed to reach back to Jewel's day. It would almost seem as if the old duty of being the "hebdomary," or canon specially charged with the ministration for the week in pre-Reformation times, had afterwards been commuted to a preaching turn.

As an illustration of the state of things which was possible, though we may hope was not general, we may give an extract from a Court Book of the Archdeacon of Berks, in the year 1583, the manuscript of which is preserved in the Bodleian Library. They refer to a presentment made to a state of things in Binfield, Berks, difficult indeed to deal with, but which, from similar records relating to other parishes, it is to be feared, were not exceptional.

"Certayne articles concernynge the abuse of the Persone (Parson) of Bynfylde, Barkes.

"Our Persone, being utterly unlearned, sometymes taketh upon him to expounde whenne he rather perswadeth the people to sedition than otherwise, as of late in his exposition he shewed the people that no man should honor or reverence any ryche man or gentelman, except he was a magistrate. Our Persone doth not, neither ever hath, called the youthe of the parishes to examine them of the faith; neither hath catechysed to anye of the youthe in the parish, which ought to be looked on, for we have muche youthe and rudely brought upp and not in the knowledge of their duties towards God.

¹ In the "Calendar of State Papers," A.D. 1566, there is mention of a letter from him when Bishop of Rochester to Cecil, in which he says that he "supposed tidings had reached him of the Bishop of Gloucester's objection to the adverb 'only' being placed in the article respecting the Holy Sacrament."

“Our Persone and his wyffe be people of evill disposition, sedition and full of brawles, and unquiet with their neighbours, slanderers and evil speakers, both openlie and publicklie, a matter to be carefully looked to, and himselfe doth minister the Communion when he hath given occasion of great offence to his neighbours, and doth not seeke before he goethe to the administration of the sacrament to be in love and charitie, but doth persist in his lewde proceeding.

“Our Persone neither had studied the Holye Scripture, neyther yt doth, butt will rather leade an evyle lyfe than take any paynes that way.

“Our Persone hath been a Fryar in his younge tyme, and so in parte continueth still in that profession, for we have heard him say yt ever we had masse agayne he would say it, for he must lyve.

“Our Persone is a common hunter of ale-houses, a greate swearer, a carder, a table-player, and a brawler.”

There appears to have been, from the index to the “Wiltshire Institutions” as printed by Sir T. Phillips, a number of deprivations during the two episcopates of Jewel and Gheast—very probably owing to disaffection or disloyalty to the reformed faith. There must have been from the nature of the case, at the commencement of this period of seventy years, many Parsons,¹ like the “Personne of Binfield,” at heart Romanists, though not, let us hope, as he was, in so many respects unworthy his sacred calling.

Within some thirty or forty years a change had taken place both in clergy and laity. What were deemed superstitious observances had ceased, but in their place we find either cold indifference, or unseemly disorders and strife. Thus in an account of Archbishop Laud’s visitation of the Cathedral, during Bishop Davenant’s episcopate, in 1634, we have under the head “A remembrance for the Church of Sarum, in very many necessary particulars,” the following noteworthy statement:—

¹ Parson or Person, from the Latin word *Persona* (a personando) one who represented a certain character—like actors with a mask on their faces, speaking through it. A Person therefore is a *representative character*, and so “Parson” is both *persona Christi*, and *persona ecclesie*—representing Christ and the Church.

“You may please to take notice that *in most parishes* in Wiltshyre, Dorsetshire, and the westerne partes, there is still a Puritane and an honest man chosen churchwardens together. The Puritane always crosses the other in repayres and adorning the church, as also in the presentments of unconformities, and in the issue puts some trick or other upon the honest man, to put him to sue for his charges hee hath been at for the Church. You shall find it at this instant in the parish of Beaminster in Dorsettschyre, between Crabb and Ellery : the suit now depending.”¹

And with regard to attendance at the cathedral by the civic authorities we are told,—

“The seates in the nave of the church, graunted not long since to the mayor and corporation for their convenience to hear sermons, are now lately forsaken by a great parte of the company who are of the faction against the church, and now the seates do rather pester than adorne the assembly. Dr Barnston can well enforme upon what conditions those seates were erected, and how they are broken and the church service abused by sufferance of lectures at unseasonable houres.”

A few more extracts may be added by way of showing the state of neglect and disorder in which the cathedral and its services were at this time.

At a session held at the Guildhall, April 5th, 1630, at which Edmund Mason, the Dean, was present, the following directions were given:—“Divers persons were ordered and enjoined to look to disorders in the church in the time of divine service, and to apprehend the offenders, or certify their names to one or more justices, on Sundays and Holydays.” And in a similar session, held on October 5th in the same year, we have “sundry orders touching divers persons presented for disorders in the Church.”

There was an order of chapter issued about the same time that the “sacrist (or vergers) in their surplices walking up and down in the church in service time, according to their office by law and patents, should be in the quire at the beginning of service and so continue to the end, and in sermon time should see good order kept in the church.”²

¹ See Report of *Historical MSS. Commission*, Append., p. 133.

² Shuter Reg. 26.

The complaint of John Lea, then treasurer of the cathedral, in answer to the articles of enquiry in 1634, is long, and though tinged evidently with an *animus* against some of his brother residentiaries, reveals, nevertheless, a state of things by no means creditable, either to themselves or to the cathedral of which they were the appointed guardians. One extract—the concluding sentences of his answer—must suffice :—

“Then both of the better and meaner sorts, mechanicks, youths, and prentises, do ordinarily and most unreverently walk in our church in the tyme of devine service, and within hearinge of the same, with their hattes on their heads, I have seen them from my seate, and not seldome, so walkinge or standinge still, and lookinge in upon us when we have ben on our knees, at the letany and the commandments. I earnestly and humbly desire some effectual course may be taken for redresse. And also for the ordinarie trudging up and down of youths and clamours of children to the great disturbance of the preachers in their sermons. The vergerers and other officers have had a charge to look to this : but to little or no purpose. Dr Barnston, Dr Henchman,¹ and myself have been fayne to ryse and goe out of our seates to see and stay the disorders. But I never to my uttermost remembrance sawe Barfoot, the vergerer, who sits in my sight to ryse at the greatest noyse.”²

But it was not only in the cathedral that Puritan disorders manifested themselves during Davenant's episcopate. We must refer to a well-known instance of the fanaticism of one of its professors, who held an important office at Salisbury. There was one Henry Sherfield, a bencher of Lincoln's Inn, and recorder of Salisbury, an uncompromising Puritan, who took grave offence at the imagery of a painted window in the parish church of St Edmund, in the city, and having previously obtained the consent of the vestry of that parish to take down the said window, “inasmuch as God is painted in many places as

¹ This Dr Humphrey Henchman, precentor of Salisbury, married Ellen, third daughter of Bishop Townson, and niece of Bishop Davenant. He was made Bishop of Salisbury 1660-63, and of London 1663-75.

² *Hist. MSS. Com.*, App. to Report, iv. p. 138.

if He were creating the world," and, moreover, "it is very darksome; whereby such as sit near the same cannot read in their books," promptly commenced proceedings by "breaking the same with his staff." His object was doubtless to show open contempt for ecclesiastical authority: the more so, as when Bishop Davenant, having heard of his design, sent a message to Sherfield admonishing him to abstain, the expostulation was altogether unheeded, and only answered by a defiant threat that the act itself was but the precursor of other similar acts, and that in due course all the other stained glass windows in that church would be destroyed.

Subsequently in the Star Chamber¹ an information was exhibited against Sherfield in February 1633. The recorder was convicted at the end of this trial, who was sentenced to be committed to the Fleet, to be fined £500, and to make an acknowledgment of his offence to Dr Davenant, Bishop of Salisbury, before such persons as Bishop Davenant should choose to be present with him on the occasion. Archbishop Laud, in pronouncing his concurrence in the judgment, for which he gave his reasons at some length, added, "There was a time when Churchmen were as great in this kingdom as you are now. Let us be bold to prophesy that there will be a time also when you

¹ "The Star Chamber, *Camera Stellata*, so called from the room where the council sat, being emblazoned with stars, was a court of very ancient origin, but now modelled by Stat. 3 Hen. VII. c. 1, and 21 Hen. VIII. c. 20. It consisted of divers lords, spiritual and temporal, being 'Privy Councillors,' and other judges. Its jurisdiction was so extended beyond all due bounds that the greatest enormities were practised under its authority. Mr Hallam does not scruple to say that it rendered our courts of justice little better than the caverns of murderers (*Const. Hist.* i. 231). 'For which reason,' says Blackstone, 'it was finally abolished by Stat. 16 Car. I. c. 10, to the general joy of the whole nation' (iv. 264). Lord Bacon extolled the use of this court, but men began to feel even in his day that so arbitrary a jurisdiction was incompatible with liberty, 'and it fell before the growing independence of the nation' (Hume, iii. 418)."—*Vid.* Author's *Appellate Jurisdiction of the Crown in Ecclesiastical Cases*, p. 27, note.

will be as low as the Church is at present, if you go on treating it with contempt.”¹

And yet, during all this time of reaction, through these long years of unrest and disquietude, God left not Himself without a witness. Men were being raised up in this very diocese, men of faith and piety, who were not only an ornament to the Church of their own days, but have cast a lustre on their branch of the Church Catholic, to which they belonged, both by their example and writings to the end of time, as long as the Anglican Church shall last. At the beginning of this period, we come across John Foxe, the martyrologist, and William Camden, the historian, called the “lay Prebendary” of Ilfracombe, and that bosom friend of the immortal Jewel, to whom he left the principal part of his manuscripts, John Garbrand, and who in many ways assisted Laurence Humphrey in his life of his friend and patron; and also Tobias Matthews, one of the divines employed in the Hampton Court Conference, who ultimately became Archbishop of York. After this, at a short interval, followed the “judicious Hooker,” the author of the world-renowned *Ecclesiastical Polity*, and who, for permanent influence on the future teachers of the National Church, and in vindication of her Catholic character, stands unrivalled in the worthies of the Sarum diocese. When the See of Sarum became vacant by the translation of Bishop Piers to the metropolitanical See of York, and it remained so for some three years, the administration of the diocesan or capitular patronage seems to have fallen into the hands of the Primate, who at that time was John Whitgift. He it was who conferred on Richard Hooker the vicarage of Boscombe, and also the prebendal stall of Netheravon, as well as the sub-deanery in the Cathedral Church. He was the ablest champion of our Church against the Puritan faction and Anabaptist sectaries, as Jewel had been its most brilliant vindicator against the

¹ See Hatcher and Benson, p. 373.

claims of the intruded mission of Rome. It was at Boscombe that the first four volumes of the *Ecclesiastical Polity* were either wholly written, or at least completed. There are, as Keble remarks in the preface to the introduction of that work, critical periods and turning points in the history of our Church, of which undoubtedly the close of the sixteenth century was one. And it was so overruled that the insight of Archbishop Whitgift in selecting Richard Hooker for preferment, was the means of raising up the most efficient instrument in contending with its special difficulties and dangers.

"The current," he says, "was setting strongly in favour of the Puritan party, or innovators, up to the time when Whitgift became Archbishop. Acute and indefatigable as he was in his efforts to produce a reaction, not only by his official edicts and remonstrances, but by his disposal of preferment also, and the literary labours which he encouraged, there was no one step of his to be compared in wisdom and effect with his patronage of Hooker, and the help which he provided towards the completion of his undertakings."¹

But the name must also be mentioned of one, who, during Bishop Davenant's episcopate, and who must therefore have known him well, was benefited in Wiltshire, and that within a couple of miles of the Cathedral. This was George Herbert, who, when "only a deacon," was preferred to the living of Bemerton, a cure which he accepted "after much spiritual conflict and great apprehension, lest he should prove unequal to the work." The simple and touching account of this poet-pastor is familiar to most from the thrilling description given by the gentle Isaac Walton. It is sufficient to say that not only was he in his daily life the faithful disciple of his spiritual charge, but by his verses he is allowed to be the poet of the Church.

"He never wearies," says Adams, "of pouring out his deep love and admiration for it. He reverences every emblem, every nook and corner of the sanctuary, every external grace, every rite, form and

¹ Keble's *Hooker's Ecclesiastical Polity*, p. lxiv.

observance connected with it, or related to it. It is the loadstone of his thoughts, the well-spring of his admiration, the living fire that kindles his heart and mind. He loved it for what it was, and for what it symbolised, and upon its symbols he threw a new and wondrous light of poetry and devotion. He consecrated to it and its Founder all that he had and could : his genius, and the expression of it."¹

The influence of this faithful servant and witness of the National Church, at that very critical time, when men were rapidly drifting away from their old moorings, and loosening their hold on the old doctrines and canonical discipline, must have been very great all round, both with clergy as well as laity. His verses, in which he pours out his soul-passion for his spiritual maker, as distinguished from Rome on the one hand and Geneva on the other, are well worth quoting here, as illustrating the peculiar value of his life and teaching at this critical period in our Church's history.

" I joy, dear mother, when I view
Thy perfect lineaments and true,
Both sweet and bright.
Beauty in thee takes up her place,
And dates her letters from thy face,
When she doth write.

' She on the hills,'² which wantonly
Allureth all in hope to be
By her preferred,
Hath kissed so long her painted shrines,
That e'en her face by kissing shines,
For her reward.

' She in the valley '³ is so shy
Of dressing, that her hair doth lie
About her ears :
While she avoids her neighbour's pride,
She wholly goes on th' other side
And nothing wears.

¹ See Adam's *Lives of Great English Churchmen* (S.P.C.K.), p. 270.

² The Church of Rome.

³ Puritanism.

But, dearest mother, what thou miss
 The mean, thy praise and glory is,
 And long may be ;
 Blessed be God, whose love it was
 To double-moat thee with His grace,
 And name but thee."

It has been beautifully said of George Herbert that "his life was one continued Sunday." And the nonconformist, Richard Baxter, author of that beautiful spiritual treatise, *The Saints' Everlasting Rest*, bears this striking witness to the calm and beautiful spirituality of his poems:—

"Next to the Scripture poems, there are none so savoury to me as Mr George Herbert's. I know that Cowley and others far surpass him in wit and accurate composure (composition) ; but as Seneca takes with me above all his contemporaries, because he speaketh things by words feelingly and seriously, like a man that is past jest, so Herbert speaks to God like a man that really believeth in God, and whose business in the world is most with God : heart-work and heaven-work make up his book."¹

While Bishop of Salisbury, Dr Davenant and the chapter had a controversy with the corporation of the town, in consequence of the pretensions advanced by the latter over the former. James I. had given them a charter, which was in itself an infringement of the feudal rights of the Bishop, and subsequently they had begun to interfere with the privileges of the Close. Hence Dr Davenant opposed the renewal of the charter in 1630, and the jealousy which their contending claims created, was manifested in a way not altogether dignified. This contention lasted from 1631 to 1636, when it seems to have been amicably settled.²

But towards the end of this period, which we have been discussing, there were also others of note who held preferment in this diocese of Salisbury, and during Bishop

¹ Quoted by the Rev. W. H. Jones, Vicar of Bradford-on-Avon, in his *Diocesan History of Salisbury* (S.P.C.K.), to whom the writer is indebted for many facts in this chapter.

² Hatcher's *Sarum*, 377.

Davenant's episcopate. Amongst them we may mention Edward Gough, the editor of Camden's *Britannia*: William Chillingworth, who had joined the Romish Church, but had been persuaded by unanswerable arguments to return, the author of the *Religion of Protestants*: and Dr John Pearson, who succeeded Fuller as one of the lecturers at St Clement's, Eastcheap, in the city, where he preached those admirable lectures ("the very dust of whose writings is pure gold") on "the Creed," and was afterwards Bishop of Chester. To these two worthies, and Bishop Brian Walton, a memorial window was placed, some five years ago, in the City Church, where Pearson delivered his famous lectures. Nor must we fail to mention a nephew and namesake of the Bishop, Edward Davenant, formerly Fellow and Tutor of Queens' College in Cambridge, as we have seen, on whom was bestowed not only the treasurership of the Cathedral, "the best dignity," but the valuable living of Gillingham, besides other preferments. He is described by Aubrey as not only "a man of vast learning, but of great goodness and charity." He was executor to Bishop Davenant's will, and also the inheritor of most of his property, insomuch that it was said that "he gained more by the Church of Sarum than ever any man did by the Church since the Reformation."

But another and more distinguished nephew of the Bishop's graced the chapter in those days, the accomplished Church Historian and author of the *Worthies of England* and many other works, Thomas Fuller. He was a "Prebendary of Sarum," and it is very remarkable, as illustrating the vitality of even the capitular endowments of the Church, that in all the subsequent trials and inquietude of the civil disturbances he always retained this designation, though the revenues thereof were for a long time sequestrated. By referring to his numerous works, although the offices which he held from time to

time—Minister of the Savoy, Rector of Broadwindsor, and City lecturer—disappear from the title page and become effaced, this style, "Prebendary of Sarum," is that by which he was designated to the very last, and is in point of fact his one legal and official characteristic. Fuller's writings have been much admired. The philosophic S. T. Coleridge and his accomplished son Hartley read and re-read him with delight. The former says of him, "Next to Shakespeare I am not certain whether Thomas Fuller, beyond all other writers, does not excite in me the sense and emotion of the marvellous. . . . He was incomparably the most sensible, the least prejudiced, great man of an age that boasted a galaxy of great men." Charles Lamb, perhaps recognising in him a kindred spirit of blended seriousness and humour, spoke of him with enthusiasm, and brought together some choice extracts from his writings. Robert Southey called him "his prime favourite author." We here give one or two quotations from his writings as a specimen. The first is that memorable one in which he makes the indignities offered to the body of Wickliffe, by order of the Council of Constance, suggest an allegory of the spread of the Reformation. After describing, in terms of withering sarcasm, how the exhumers of the unconscious remains took them out of the churchyard of Lutterworth, he continues, "They burnt them to ashes and cast them into the Swift, a neighbouring brook, running hard by. Thus this brook hath conveyed his ashes into Severn, Severn into the narrow seas, they into the main ocean. And thus the ashes of Wickliffe are the emblem of his doctrine, which now is dispersed the world over."

Two others, which I am about to adduce, exhibit the readiness with which he turned the surroundings of the place of his abode to instructive account. We have just noticed that he was Prebendary of Salisbury Cathedral during the time of his uncle Davenant's episcopate.

“ Travelling on the Plain (which notwithstanding hath its risings and fallings) I discovered Salisbury steeple many miles off. Coming to a declivity, I lost the sight thereof; but climbing up the next hill, the steeple grew out of the ground again. It fareth thus with us whilst we are wayfaring to heaven. Mounted on the Pisgah top of some good meditation, we get a glimpse of our celestial Canaan. But when we are either on the flat of an ordinary temper, or in the fall of an extraordinary temptation, we lose the view thereof. Thus, in the sight of our soul, heaven is discovered, covered, and re-covered: till, though late, at last, though slowly, surely, we arrive at the haven of our happiness.”

The latter will tell its own tale as to the place where it was written. It is taken from his *Occasional Meditations*, and is headed, “Upwards, Upwards.”

“How large houses do they build in London on little ground! Revenging themselves on the narrowness of their room with store of storeys. Excellent arithmetic? from the roof of one floor to multiply so many chambers! And though painful the climbing up, pleasant the staying there, the higher, the healthfuller, with clearer light and sweeter air. Small are my means on earth. May I mount my soul the higher in heavenly meditations, relying on Divine Providence.—Higher! my soul! higher! In bodily buildings commonly the garrets are most empty, but my mind, the higher mounted, will be the better furnished. Let perseverance to death be my uppermost chamber, the roof of which—grace—is the pavement of glory.”

But all these worthies belonged rather to that period of trouble and confusion to the Church which was immediately at hand. They were all in turn “sequestered” from their benefices, whether in the diocese or the Cathedral. Bishop Davenant did not live to see the troubles that were so soon to come upon the Church, though he must often have discerned the gathering clouds that foretold the approaching storm.

CHAPTER VIII

DAVENANT'S EXPOSITION OF THE EPISTLE TO THE COLOSSIANS (1622-1627)

"A learned Master of a College in Cambridge (since made a reverend Bishop, and to the great grief of good men and great loss of God's Church lately deceased), refused a mandate for choosing of a worthless man, Fellow. And when it was expected that at the least he should have been ousted of his mastership for this his contempt, King James highly commended him and encouraged him ever after to follow his own conscience when the like occasion should be given him."—FULLER'S *Holy State, Master of a College*, p. 94.

WE may now consider Bishop Davenant fairly installed in his new quarters, and settling down to the great work of his life, for which all his previous experience had been preparing him.¹ His household was not a small one, though pledged to a celibate life, for there continued to live on with him in his palace, his widowed sister Margaret, with her three sons and six daughters (if not more) which must have made his domestic relationships sufficiently bright and cheerful. The physical surround-

¹ In Hatcher's *History of Old and New Sarum*, being Vol. V. of Hoare's *Wiltshire*, we find the following reference to Bishop Davenant, p. 351:—

"On the 28th of September (1625) we find the King and Queen at Wilton, where their Majesties were entertained by William, the third Earle of Pembroke. The Council were commanded to meet (at Salisbury), and the Episcopal Palace was required for the accommodation of Blainville, the French envoy, but the Bishop, Dr Davenant, refused to relinquish his residence."

In Hatcher's *Sarum* we find (p. 335)—

"July 14, 1628. At this Court it is ordered, that a piece of silver and gilt shall be provided and given to the Lord Bishop of Sarum, at his coming to this city, the same not exceeding £10."

"The weight of the silver cup, given unto the Reverend Father in God, Robert, Lord Bishop of Sarum, is twenty-six ounces, at seven shillings the ounce."

ings, too, must have been very picturesque: the Cathedral Close, with the different canons' and other official residences, with their beautiful gardens, and in the centre of all the magnificent pure unmixed Gothic Cathedral itself, with its striking air of simplicity, lightness and grace, the pervading harmony of its several parts and proportions, the admiration of every beholder, with that singular uniformity of style and design from the intersection of whose grand archiepiscopal cross springs—

“The lessening shaft of that aërial spire,”

to the astonishing height of 400 feet from the ground, the most lofty building in the kingdom—all combined to give it a romanesque charm peculiarly its own.

Have any of our readers ever visited the northern front when the morning sun lights up one side of the tower and eastern transepts; or when the summer sun is declining to the west, and throws its rays on the north face of the transepts? Have they, beyond all, taken the trouble to “visit it by the pale moonlight”? The effects of light produced by the inequalities and projections of the building are at once picturesque and solemn. Parts buried in deep, massive shadows, the illuminated parts standing out in the soft effulgence—the aspect of the western front, lifting its head amid the interposing umbrage of lofty, venerable trees—the “elfin spire” that in the deeper hue of night seems to lose itself among the stars, and rather to hang from the sky than ascend from the earth—the fair, calm scene around—all conspire to excite in the mind of the beholder a delighted admiration, subdued by “a deep feeling that absorbs and awes.”

“They dreamt not of a perishable home
Who thus could build.”

Speaking of the Buildings of Wiltshire, Fuller, in his *Worthies*, says:—

“The *Cathedrall of Salisbury* (dedicated to the Blessed Virgin) is paramount in this kind, wherein the *Door* and *Chappells* equal the Months, the Windows the Days, the Pillars and Pillarets of *Fusill Marble* (an ancient art now shrewdly suspected to be lost). The hours of the year, so that all *Europe* affords not such an *Almanack of Architecture*.¹

“Once walking in the church (whereof then I was Prebendary) I met a countryman wondring at the structure thereof. *I once* (said he to me) *admired that there could be a church that should have so many Pillars as there be Hours in the year: and now I admire more, that there should be so many Hours in the year as I see Pillars in this church.*

“The *Cross Isle* of this church is the most beautifull and lightsome of any I have yet beheld. The Spire Steeple (not founded on the ground, but for the main supported by *Four* Pillars) is of great height and greater workmanship. I have been credibly informed that some Forraign artists beholding this building brake forth into tears, which some imputed to their *admiration* (though I see not how *wondring* can cause *weeping*). Others to their *envy*, grieving that they had not the like in their own land.

“Nor can the most *curious* (not to say *cavilling*) eye desire anything which is wanting in this Edifice, except possibly an *ascent*, seeing such who address themselves hither for their devotion, can hardly say with *David*, *I will go up into the house of the Lord.*

“But the curiosity of the criticks is best entertained with the tomb in the *north* of the nave of the church, where lieth a monument in stone, of a litle boy habited in episcopal robes, a Miter upon his head, a Crosier in his hand, and the rest accordingly. At the discovery thereof (formerly covered over with pews) many justly admitted, that either a *Bishop* could be so small in *person*, or a *child* so great in *clothes*: though since all is unriddled. For it was fashionable in that church (a thing rather deserving to be remembred, than fit to be done) in the depth of Popery, that the choristers chose a boy of their society to be a Bishop among them, from Saint *Nicholas* till *Innocents* day at night, who did officiate in all things Bishop-like, saying of Mass alone excepted, and held the state of a Bishop, answerably

¹ “As many days as in one year there be,
 So many windows in this church we see:
 As many marble pillars here appear
 As there are hours throughout the fleeting year:
 As many gates as moons one year does view—
 Strange tale to tell! yet not more strange than true.”

habited, amongst his fellows the counterfeit Prebends : one of these chancing to die in the time of his mock-Episcopacy, was buried with Crosier and Miter as is aforesaid. Thus superstition can dispence with that which! religion cannot, making piety pageantry, and subjecting what is sacred to lüsory representations."

Fuller calls himself *Prebendarius Prebendarides*, because his father was a Prebend of this cathedral before him. In 1622, Bishop Davenant¹ preferred his brother-in-law, Thomas Fuller of Aldwinckle, to the prebendal stall of Highworth in his Church of Sarum, then vacant by the decease of Henry Cotton. This stall Fuller's father held till his death in 1632, upon which Bishop Davenant presented to it John Townson, the eldest son of his predecessor in the See.

The following letters were written by our Bishop during the first few years of his episcopate at Salisbury, and refer to the publication of his various works, and of his exposition of the Colossians. They are addressed to his old friend Dr Ward, Master of Sidney Sussex College, and his successor as Margaret Professor of Divinity, Cambridge:—

Salute in Christo.

GOOD MR DR WARD ; Y^e opportunity of this bearer, hath made mee Salute you wth these few lines. I have nothing to impart vnto you Woorth y^e writing ; but only to lett you vnderstand, y^t according to your motion I have run over y^t part of y^e 11th chapter of Spalatensis his 7th book, wherin hee disputes of Freewill, & y^e Generality of grace. In my opinion hee is as farr gone in Pelagianisme, as ever was Pelagius himselfe ; In y^e Reading of his Discourse, I have sett down some cursory animadversions vpon such poynts as I took to be vnsound. When God shall graunt vs our next meeting, wee will have further conference vpon these matters. In y^e mean time wishing you health & happiness, I comitt you and your labours to y^e blessing of y^e Almighty, resting ever

Your assured loving freind

Decemb. 9, 1624.

JO. SARÜ.

¹ *Worthies, Wiltshire*, p. 144.

[*Endorsed* :—] To y^e right woort^t his very loving freind Dr Ward Mr of Sidney Colledg in Cambridg give this.

Decemb. 9, 1624.

My L. of Sarū his Lett^r.

GOOD MR DR WARD ; We are now so wholly taken up wth the Court, as y^t I can hardly find leysure to write these few Lines much less to Sett mysef about any more serious business, It is thought the King, Queen, Court & Councell will continew heere this month at the leste. To morrow I expect my L. Keeper (who has not been here as yet, but when he comes is to lodge in my howse). In regard of these incumbrances I would not have Leonard Green come over till some pretty time after y^r Court is removed. For I have appointed my Chaplain to run over my Readings, and to take notice as hee goes of such faultes as the transcriber has comitted y^t soe ther may be the lesse trouble when it comes unto you. I will have those other readings of mine upon the 2 first Articles transcribed with as much speed as Vincent can dispatch them. Concerning your 2 Theses, I am absolutely of your opinion in them both, and it is most certain that the cleering of them will bring much light to y^e question of pseverance. I have many times thought of them, and drawn some observations tending to that purpose, but they are yet altogether indigested. When I have leisure you shall hear further from me concerning this matter ; in the mean time your¹ payns taken in illustrating & confirming them, gives good satisfaction. Your vindicating of those y^t were at the Synod of Dort, from the rash & false imputation layd on us by Mr Mountague was a laudable and necessary work I could wish for his own good that he had a more modest conceat of himself, and a less base opinion of all others—who jump not with him in his moungrell opinions. He mightily deceaves himself in taking it for granted, y^t Dr Overal, or Bucer, or Luther were ever of his mind in the point of prædestination, or falling from grace, the contrary may evidently be shewn out of their writings, but the truth is hee never understood w^t Bucer or Luther mean, when they speak of extinguishing Faith or loosing grace and as little does he understand y^t Canon of our church, which he makes his main foundation, whether *Reprobos* may be *vere justificatus, verum et vivum membrum sub Christo Capite, vere adoptatus*, I confess may out of *Aug: & prosp:* be probably held both ways but yet let all places w^{ch} seem to imply contradiction about this matter be layd together, and such other as may serve for Intrexation be also cast into y^e ballance, and in my opinion it will be found

¹ MS. yours.

y^e St Augustine does more incline to y^e opinion that only y^e predestinate attein unto a tru Estate of Justification Regeneration and Adoption. But I am call'd of. I comitt you to God and rest alwaies

Your very Loving Freind

Oct. 10th, 1625.

JO. SARŪ.

To the right worthy his very Loving Friend Dr Ward Mr of Sidney Colledge, and one of the publicq professors of Divinity in Cambridge give this.

Salutem in Christo.

GOOD DR WARD; I should have been very gladd to have seen you heer at Sarū; and shall bee alwaies when your leysure will serve you to take such a iorney. Leonard Green came in good time; for my Chaplain had newly revised my readings vppon y^e Coloss. wch nether mine eyes, nor busines would suffer me to have done. Yf y^e volume will conveniently bear it, I desire they may bee printed in Folio: as also, that your selfe would survey every sheet, as they are printed. I am tould Mr Buck will have a care, that as few faults as may bee escape in y^e printing. When y^e book is finished, I suppose it will bee an easy and necessary labour, to make an Index to it. Yf in perving it, you finde any thing defective or erroneous, spare not to send mee your free Censure, wch I shall take kindly, and readily reforme what is faulty, or subscribe to your reformation. As for Leonard Green, I perceive hee supposeth y^e printing of my book will bee beneficiall vnto him; and in yt regard hee is not vnwilling to shew some kinde of thankfulnes. But for that matter, I leav it wholly vnto you; when you shall see whether y^e sale of y^e Book will answer his expectation or no.

I am afrayd Mr Mountague his book will breed himselfe and others much trouble, whensomever a Parliament shall bee called. His opinion concerning Predestination, and Totall falling from Grace, is vn-doubtedly contrary to y^e Comon Tenet of y^e English Church ever since wee were borne: : Against our next meeting, you shall have opinion concerning y^e 2 Theses. For Dr Overall I know not to y^e contrary, but it was his opinion that some Not elected by y^e woorking of vniv'sall sufficient grace did or might sometimes attein to an Estate of Justification and Regeneration, and yet Fall away and perish. But for Luther and Bucer I am resolved, that they never thought any Reprobat, to have ever obtained y^e State of a truly Faithfull Justified Adopted & Sanctified man. But they affirm that Faith & y^e grace of y^e Spirit cannot stand together with Impoenitency in any mortall Sinne; meaning therby y^e Act of Faith apprehending Justification,

and y^e woorking of y^e Spirit sealing vnto vs our Justification, but y^t y^e State of Regeneration, or Adoption ; or Justification (as it respects all Sinnes Forepassd was therby Dissolved, they never thought. my leysure will not give mee leav at this time to enter further into these questions. I comitt you to God and rest ever

Your very loving freind

Decemb. 8^o, 1625.

JO. SARŪ.

[*Endorsed* :—] To y^e woor^d his very loving freind Dr Ward, Master of Sidney Colledge give this.

Decemb 8, 1625.

My Lord of Sarum his Lett^r

Salutem in Christo.

I AM sorry that y^e Copy sent to Cambridg should bee so impfect, as y^t it hinders y^e printing of those Readings thus long. Yf I should send you mine own book, I am afraid it would stand you but in small stead ; it is so badd written, & so much blurred & interlined. The best and speediest course I can think of, is to send mee back again y^e Copy, wth y^e severall defects noted on y^e blank side : wch I will presently correct or supplie, & so return it to you again. And thus comitting you & all your indevours to y^e blessing of y^e Almighty, I rest alwaies

Your very loving freind

Febr. 13, 1626.

JO. SARŪ.

[*Endorsed* :—] To y^e right woor^d his very loving freind Dr Ward Mr of Sidney Colledg, & Reader of Divinity at Cambridg deliver this.

Salutē in Christo.

DR WARD, you wrote vnto mee in your last letter, to send my book vnto Cambridg, yt so many things that bee defective in the Copy may bee amended. I sent you an answer, wch because I doubt whether it came to your hands or no, I have taken this opportunity of writing again by this bearer. My book is so blurrd an[d] ill written, as I have no hope of having y^e Copy amended by help of that, vnles my selfe were there : I therefore wished you to send mee y^e Copy down hither, wth a Note of y^e places y^t are to bee supplied or corrected, & I will soon dispatch it, & send you y^e Copy back again. Yf you think this a fitt course, this bearer Mr Waller will bee a fitt & trusty messenger to send y^e Copy by. I pray let Mr Love know yt I take notice of his good pains in pvsall of my Readings ; & shall bee

ready vpon any occasion to shew my good acceptance thereof, ffor publishing any thing more of mine, I shall not bee over hasty, till I see what entertainment y^t first woork shall finde abroad. I doe notwithstanding continually employ a Scholler in transcribing one thing or other : but mine own eyes grow so badd, yt it is a penance to mee, to read what my selfe has written, ffor Spalatensis ; in my Tract concerning Predestination, I have answered moste of his obiections, before I ever saw them ; yet yf I can gett leysure & opportunity, it may bee I shall inlardg and perfit those rude & short animadv^sions wch I made vpon y^e II chap of his 7 Book. And thus wishing you Health & Happiness, I comitt you to God, & rest ever

Your assured loving freind

March 6, 1626.

JO. SARŪ.

I have vpon further consideration thought good to send you my Readings vpon y^e Colossians : yf you can by the help of them, pfit y^e woork in hand I pray doe it. Yf not, doe as I before advised.

[*Endorsed* :—] To y^e right woorth his very loving freind Dr Ward Mr of Sidney Colledg, & publicq Reader of Divinity, at Cambridge give this.

March 6, 1626.

My L^a of Sarum his Lett^r.

Salutem in Christo.

GOOD DR WARD ; Mr Henchman acquainted mee wth your desire that I should publish my Readings vpon y^e Colossians. I confesse I have alwaies been, and am very backward to putt any thing of mine in print ; because in all kindes there are extant score of writers, who have bestowed better pains then I could doe, and vpon whome y^e Readers pains may better bee bestowed. And besides, I cannot revise them as were fit ; mine eyes not serving mee to read mine own hand. Yet that you may see how easy I am to yield vnto y^e psuasions of my freinds though contrary to mine own minde ; I have caused my scholler Vincent to transcribe those my readings vpon y^e Epistle to y^e Coloss : wch hee has now finished. Yf you shall iudg them fitt for y^e presse, I will comitt them to your disposition. I have appoynted my Chaplain to peruse them and yf hee meet with any wants or faults to bee supplied or corrected to give mee notice thereof. As for my selfe, I have neither eyes nor leysure to runn them over again. The king is expected very shortly heer at Wilton : and y^e Counsell (as it is sayd) will spend ye greater part of y^e Winter heer at Sarū, that so they may bee nigh at hand to his Maiesty. The Har-

bengers are this very day taking vp our Howses. Wee have been and are all cleer from y^e infection ; wch is it yt drawes y^e Court and Councell vppon vs at this time. Omnis com̃oditas, etc. And thus wth remembrance of my best love ; I com̃itt you to God, & alwaies rest

Your very loving freind

JO. SARŪ.

Septemb. 26, 1625.

[*Endorsed*:—] To y^e right woorth his very loving freind Dr Ward
Mr of Sidney Colledg in Cambridg give this.

Septemb. 26, 1626.

My L. of Sarum his Letter.

GOOD DR WARD, this troublesome and fruitles Parliament beeing ended I am now at length ready to sett out for Salisbury. I read y^e Testimonies wch you sent vp, beeing for y^e moste part collected out of St Augustine, and very direst for proving our Tenet. My selfe has had no leysure to doe any thing to y^t purpose. Ther is a proclamation lately come out wch inhibits broching of new opinions, & multiplying of intangled questions. How farr those of *Durresme*¹ howse will stretch y^e meaning therof I know not. I hear say wheras a question was propounded by y^e Answerer concerning Absolute Election, you have since been com̃anded to recall it, & take another in stead therof. As things now stand, yf our Judgment bee published, I think it were best, to doe it wth out additions. They will serv for our defense heerafter, yf it should bee gainsayd. I will not trouble you any longer from your serious busines. God have you in his keeping. Thus I rest

Your very loving freind

JO. SARŪ.

June y^e 22th, 1626.

[*Endorsed*:—] To y^e right woorth his very loving freind Dr Ward ;
Mr of Sidney Colledg in Cambridg, these dd.

June 22, 1626.

My Lrd of Sarum his Lett^r.

During the intervals of his episcopal duty Bishop Davenant turned his attention to the revision and publication of his various theological works and different writings. His *Expositio Epistolæ* to Paul's *ad Colossenses* had

¹ Bp. Neale.

been delivered in a series of lectures which he delivered when occupant of the Chair of Margaret Professor of Theology to the students at Cambridge. This is the most valuable of his lucubrations, and it was the first which he issued.¹ It was published at Cambridge 1627, republished in 1630, and ran into a third edition in 1639, each edition being in small folio. There is also a quarto edition published at Amsterdam in 1646. The character of this book has been happily expressed by the well-known author of the "Meditations among the Tombs" in the following terms:—

"For perspicuity of style and accuracy of method : for judgment in discerning and for fidelity in representing the Apostle's meaning : for strength of arguments in refuting errors, and felicity of invention in deducing practical doctrines, tending both to the establishment of faith, and the cultivation of holiness, it is inferior to no writing of the kind : and richly deserves to be read, to be studied, to be imitated, by our young divines."²

We may also subjoin the testimony of the late Rev. C. Bridges of Weymouth, author of that very valuable book "The Christian Ministry," who observes, "I know no exposition upon a detached portion of Scripture (with, perhaps, the single exception of Owen, on the Hebrews) that will compare with it on all points. Leighton is superior in sweetness, but far inferior in depth, accuracy and discursiveness."

The translator of the Exposition, the late Rev. Josiah Allport, alludes to an anonymous testimony, if only as illustrating the utility of occasionally annexing notices in the front of valuable and rare books.

¹ The work on *The Colossians* was intended to be exhibited to the king "to shew a specimen of our printing, both for good letter and good paper, of which his Majesty had complained in printing the Bibles in London," but the intention was hindered by "my Lord of Winchester," *i.e.* Andrewes.—Ward to Usher, Parr, p. 394.

² Hervey's *Theron and Aspasia*, Let. iii.

“A copy was received,” he says, “sometime ago by a Clergyman (the Rev. J. Garbett, Rector of St George’s, Birmingham) from one of his parishioners, who having bought it with a lot of other old volumes, and not being able to read it, had been repeatedly on the point of tearing it: but was as often deterred by the following monition on the title-page: and, at length, conscientiously surrendered it safely into the hands of his Pastor. ‘Don’t abuse this good old book; for it is an extraordinary piece, and the best exposition upon St Paul’s Epistle to the Colossians that ever was published to this present year 1749, and I am afraid there will never be a better so long as the world endures. H.C.’ Idem testor, J.E.”

Bishop Davenant thus dedicates “this good old book” to his Alma Mater:—

TO HIS BENIGNANT MOTHER
THE UNIVERSITY OF CAMBRIDGE,
AT ALL TIMES HELD IN HIGHEST RENOWN FOR VIRTUE, PIETY,
AND THE ACKNOWLEDGMENT OF SOUND DOCTRINE,
THESE FIRST FRUITS OF
HIS THEOLOGICAL PROFESSORSHIP, ORIGINALLY COMPOSED THEREIN
AND NOW AGAIN REVISED,
ARE WILLINGLY AND DESERVEDLY GIVEN,
DEDICATED AND INSCRIBED, IN TOKEN OF AFFECTION
AND HONOUR,
BY HER MOST DEVOTED SON,
JOHN DAVENANT.

According to the fashion of the times he has an address “To the Christian Reader” couched in the following persuasive terms:—

“Receive with indulgence these Commentaries on the Epistle of Paul to the *Colossians*, which I formerly delivered at the commencement of my Theological Professorship in the celebrated University of *Cambridge*. I have with difficulty brought myself, among such a number of very learned interpreters, to permit this my feeble performance to go before the Public: but at length the importunity of friends, who thought that some benefit might accrue from this my work to the Church of Christ (to which it is fit that myself, and all that is mine, should be subservient) overcame me. Use now (if it seem good to thee) kind reader, this labour of mine: but on condition

that thou neither expect any highly wrought diction from the expounder of an Apostle who avowedly renounces all enticing words : nor in the Exposition itself, require anything remarkable from him, who acknowledges himself to be but one Expositor amongst many, and desires rather to be hid in the thick crowd, than stand conspicuous. If I shall have brought any light to the clearer understanding of the mind of the apostle : if in any way I shall have aided Tyros in Theology, by this my lucubration, my design, and (I imagine) my expectations, are answered. Whoever from this my writing shall derive any profit, let him render all the glory to God : from whom we have freely and gratuitously received our *sufficiency* (however much or little it may be) to accomplish this work. To this supreme God, the Giver of all good, commend me in thy prayers, and fare thee well in the Lord."

In his "Preface" the Bishop gives the design or scope of the whole Epistle, and then fully explains the subordinated parts.

"In compliance with custom," says he, "I have a few things to premise, which may render the access to the explication of the context itself more easy ; and then I shall refer to four heads. First I shall say something of the Colossians, to whom this Epistle was written ; next, of the occasion or cause of this writing ; then, of the particular design of the whole Epistle ; and lastly, the distribution of it into its parts. We now proceed to those points in the order in which they are proposed.

"Some seek for Colosse at Rhodes, induced by this argument, that it is evident the great Colossus of the Sun was in that island ; from which they will have the Colossians to have derived their name. But the opinion of Jerome and Chrysostom is far more probable, who write that this city was situated in Phrygia, not far from Hierapolis and Laodicea. This St Paul himself seems to intimate, since in the fourth chapter he commands this Epistle to be read in the Church of Laodicea : whence we may be allowed to conjecture that these two Churches were near each other ; but no one places the Laodiceans among the Rhodians. Moreover, Xenophon bears attestation to this, who in lib. i. *De Expeditione Cyri*, writes, that after he had entered Phrygia, he went direct to Colosse, a populous, wealthy and great city. Besides, Eusebius in his Chronicles relates that three cities of Asia (Laodicea, Hierapolis and Colosse) fell by the same earthquake. Add to these testimonials Pliny, who in lib. 5, *Natur. Hist.* cap. 32, has not

placed Colosse in any Island, but reckoned it among the towns of the Continent. 'But we need not anxiously enquire after those things which are the province of another, and may be sought from Geographers. Whoever the Colossians were, we may be firmly persuaded of this; that the benefit of this Epistle ought to extend to ourselves as well as to them.¹

Now as to the occasion of the writing, we must recollect that the Church of Colosse was founded in purity, and rightly instructed in the mystery of the Gospel by Epaphras, and other faithful ministers of the Word. But there soon sprang up ministers of Satan, whose great aim was to obscure the Gospel and trouble the Church. Some of these, as though the simplicity of the Gospel were unworthy the wisdom of man, obtruded philosophical subtleties upon the Colossians: others, as though Christ were not sufficient for Salvation, recalled the abrogated ceremonies of the Law. Thus, whilst they attempted to confound Theology with Philosophy, Christ with Moses, they threw that Church into the greatest danger. The devout minister of Christ

¹ There seems no doubt that Colosse was situated in Phrygia, in the neighbourhood of Laodicea and Hierapolis, in whose destruction, as stated above, it is said to have participated. The Rev. F. Arundel in his *Visit to the Seven Churches*, made a point of investigating the actual site of Colosse, whose scanty ruins he seems to have clearly ascertained in the immediate vicinity of the present town of Khoras, which appears to have sprung up from its ashes, for we find the Bishop of Chonæ present at the second Nicene Council. "Having crossed," said he, "a small river (probably the Asopus) flowing down to the plain, about half past two, our course nearly west, we were overtaken by a heavy shower, or rather, a torrent, which lasted a full half-hour. Nothing could exceed the grandeur of the scene just before the rain began to fall, and at the moment when it ceased. On the left were the lofty peaks of Mount Cadmus, of the darkest hue, with a few streaks of snow along their sides, clouds of a whitish colour rolling beneath those peaks, whilst the atmosphere above them was one mass of condensed clouds, black as night. On the right hand was the ridge of Mount Messogis, partly in dark shadow and partly bright with patches of sunshine, while the terrace on which were the ruins of Hierapolis, glittered with the reflexion of the white masses of incrustation, resembling sheets of water, or of ice falling over the edge. A rainbow of the most vivid colours I ever beheld, with an outer one as vivid as rainbows commonly are, extended over the whole of the sites of Hierapolis and Laodicea. This said, or seemed to say, 'Dark and gloomy as the prospect now is, and has long been, in these once highly favoured regions, the bow of mercy is again shining: and soon shall the rays of the gospel-sun dispel all recollections of the days of pagan darkness.'"—(Arundel's *Visit to the Seven Churches*.)

could not patiently bear these troubles : he hastens, therefore, to Paul, then a prisoner at Rome : he gives an Epitome of the Evangelical doctrine which he had been preaching : he shows the errors and impostures of the new teachers. Upon that the Apostle, under the impulse and direction of the Divine Spirit, confirms the doctrine of Epaphras, by his own authority, and exhorts the Colossians to persevere constantly in the same, despising the foolish subtleties and absurdities of all heretics—such was the occasion of his writing.

The design of the whole Epistle is this, that all hope of human Salvation is to be reposed in Christ alone : therefore, that we must rest entirely on the faith of Christ, and live according to the rule of the Gospel, rejecting Mosaic Ceremonies, and Philosophical speculations.

Of the parts of this Epistle it would be out of place to say much. When we come to particulars these will be developed more advantageously : I will now exhibit only a cursory view of them. If, therefore, we set aside the title or inscription, the Epistle contains five parts: A congratulatory Exordium, in which he commends the faith and other virtues of the Colossians, and desires for them advancement in faith and holiness. To this he immediately subjoins a lively description of Christ and his benefits ; declaring him to be the true Son of God, the only Head and Saviour of his Church. Having firmly established this doctrine, in the third place he attempts a refutation of the seducers who were thrusting philosophical fooleries and antiquated ceremonies upon the Colossians. The fourth part contains instruction in morals : wherein he roots out vices, inculcates virtues, and lastly, forms the life of Christians, both in duties common to all, and to their domestic relations in life. The conclusion contains some private matters and salutations directed to different persons.

This preface gives us a very good idea of the work, and besides this, the Bishop has also introductions to some of the chapters. He then leads off at once in his commentary, taking the Epistle verse by verse.

We propose now to give our readers some extracts from this valuable commentary, that they may form their own opinion not only of our Bishop's style and diction, but also of the scope and range of his sound church teaching. Indirectly they will throw a light upon some of the vexed questions of our own day. It must, however, be borne in

mind that all our Bishop's writings were in Latin, except his last work, *Animadversions upon a Treatise intitled God's Love to Mankind*, by S. Hoard, and that the translation which is offered, though faithfully and lovingly made, does not so fully reproduce the author's mind as the original. Still it will be found sufficient for all practical purposes.

We have heard a good deal in our own time not only of the Pope's supremacy, but of Papal Infallibility, and we have been told by the Vatican Council, which passed the Syllabus and other decrees, that the Pope is in himself infallible in faith and morals when he speaks officially from his chair (*ex Cathedra*) of St Peter. Let us turn to our author and see how Bishop Davenant, more than two hundred and fifty years ago, disposed of the previous question, and in fact all Papal claims, as based on St Peter's Primacy in the Apostolate, beginning as they did in supremacy, and culminating as they have in personal and official infallibility, contravening by such action the very facts of history, which Cardinal Manning treated with so light a heart now-a-days. He was matched with those giants of that day, those champions of the Papacy, Bellarmine (who had a great personal regard for Davenant, and kept his portrait hanging up in his study at Rome), Cajetan, and others—men who, for logical acumen and theological knowledge, were well worthy our author's steel.

St Paul opens his Epistle to the Colossians with these words: "Paul an Apostle of Jesus Christ by the will of God." Here, then, the word Apostle gives our divine a fine opening for definition of terms, which he is not slow to avail himself of, and he at once girds himself for a doughty onslaught upon the Papal claims to Apostolic dignity and other cognate privileges. "Now, in the last place," he says, "it will not be foreign to our purpose to scrutinize that Apostolic dignity which the Pope claims to himself. For on all occasions he vaunts about the *Apostolic See*, *Apostolic*

Benedictions, Apostolic Anathemas—in short, boasts of everything Apostolic. Wherefore, from what has been explained above concerning the nature of an Apostle, this question arises: Whether the Pope of Rome has or has not the Apostolic dignity and authority?"

Bellarmino, *De Pontif. Rom.* lib. 1, cap 9, asserts the Apostolic authority to be permanent in the successor of Peter alone, because supreme and universal power was given to Peter as to an *ordinary*¹ pastor who should have successors; but to the other Apostles, as to delegates, who should not. The Pope of Rome is therefore alone the *Apostolic* Pontiff, his only the *Apostolic* Sec, and his office that of an Apostle.²

¹ It is necessary for the reader not versed in technical terms to bear in mind here the ecclesiastical meaning of the word *ordinary*. Williams, in his *Laws of the Clergy*, thus defines it: "Ordinary, *ordinarius* (which is a word we have received from the Civil Law), is he who has the proper and regular jurisdiction as of course, and of common right, in opposition to persons who are extraordinarily appointed."

² The greatest champion of the Church of Rome, whose folio volumes have been an exhaustless armoury whence her modern defenders have supplied themselves with weapons, though they have found it convenient seldom to imitate his ingenuousness; for his works are honourably distinguished for the full and candid way in which the Protestant views are stated. The celebrity of his labours may be evinced by the circumstance that all the most learned and eminent of the Reformed advocates deemed it right to direct their powers against this famous controversialist. Yet, notwithstanding his pre-eminence among her vindicators, it was rightly observed by a late Bishop of Durham that "Bellarmino was not in the best odour with the See of Rome, his notion of the Papal prerogative not being sufficiently high to reach the views there entertained of the Pope's supremacy" (Bp. Van Mildert's Speech before the House of Lords, 1825). Bellarmino was a Jesuit of Tuscany, raised first by Clement VIII. in 1599 to a Cardinalate, and afterwards to the Bishopric of Capua, which See he resigned to be near the Pope's person, and devote himself entirely to the affairs of the Church. He died in 1621 (the year when Davenant became Bishop of Sarum), in his seventy-first year, "bequeathing one-half of his soul," says Du Pin, "to the Virgin, and the other to Jesus Christ," thus affording a melancholy testimony of the power with which the superstition of the Church of Rome enchains her members; for this same strenuous defender of the doctrines of his Church, in the tranquillity of private meditation, comes to this conclusion in his book, *De Just.* lib. v. p. 3: "Because of the uncertainty of our own righteousness, and the danger of vain-

But, on the contrary, the nature of an Apostle demands that a man be immediately called by God to that office; that he be also instructed in evangelical truth immediately by the infallible inspiration of the Holy Spirit; but this is more than the advocates of the Papacy themselves dare arrogate to the Pope. He is not immediately called by God, but chosen by the cardinals, and that very often through the intervention of intrigue and by the basest fraud. His knowledge of sacred learning (if he have any) is acquired by study and industry, not inspired like that of the Apostle. Therefore, though they may call him *an Apostle*, we shall conclude with Tertullian, *Advers Marc.* lib. 1: *The name is assigned in mockery to him to whom the nature implied in the name is denied.*

Secondly, an Apostle is bound to the preaching of the Gospel (*woe is me if I preach not the Gospel*), and that not in any one particular Church, but everywhere; but the Roman Pontiffs do not think themselves obliged to preach through all the world, neither do they exercise that office at all; therefore they either lie when they call themselves Apostles, or act wickedly in neglecting to discharge the peculiar functions of an Apostle.

But perhaps it will be said they send out preachers by their authority, and gather new Churches in the Indies and in the most remote parts of the world; and this properly belongs to Apostolic authority.

I answer, Nothing is less Apostolic than to remain at home at ease and send out others to labour; the Apostles indeed had inferior ministers under them, whose assistance they made use of, but they themselves in the meantime did not omit the preaching of the Gospel. Since, therefore, the

glory, it is the safest way to place our entire trust in the alone mercy and benignity of God." His devotional writings evince him to have been a man of undoubted piety; and at his death, so impressed were the people with the idea of his sanctity, that it was necessary to place guards to keep off the crowd which pressed round to touch his body or procure some relic of his garments.

Apostolic work is not found in the Pope, neither is the Apostolic nature, *for everything evinces its own proper nature by its operations*; add to this that he hath neither the power of working miracles nor of conferring the Holy Spirit; and yet these were united in all who received Apostolic authority from Christ. When the advocates of the Pontiffs are pressed with these clear reasons, they are compelled to shuffle, and to attribute a sort of half and mutilated Apostolic authority to their Pope.

So Bellarmine, lib. ii. *De Rom. Pont.*, c. 12, says: *Three things are comprised in the Apostleship*—First, that a man be immediately called and taught of God; and this he confesses his Romish Apostle hath not: secondly, that he should establish Churches in those places where they never were: thirdly, that he should have the chief power over all Churches, and be the ordinary of the whole Church; and he says these two marks of the Apostleship do meet in the Roman Pontiff. But Cajetan, in tract 3, *De Rom. Pont. institut.*, confesses: *If we must speak formally and exactly, Peter had no successor in his Apostleship more than the rest of the Apostles; but beyond this Apostleship, he was the ordinary pastor of the whole world; in this office of superintending the universal Church the Pope succeeds him, and so far his chair is called Apostolic.*¹

But neither must we concede this to the defenders of the Papacy. First, because God doth not set over the Catholic Church any universal bishop fortified with apostolic authority, who may err and draw those under him

¹ Cajetan, otherwise Thomas de Vio, of Gaeta, another eminent defender of the Papacy, who flourished prior to Bellarmine. Besides the work above-mentioned, he wrote notes on Aristotle and Aquinas, and an exposition on almost all the books of the Old and New Testament, which Mosheim describes as brief and judicious. Though an amiable man, he entertained such lofty ideas of Papal authority that in his efforts to reclaim Luther, he became a strenuous opposer of that Reformer; and in his proceedings he greatly lost his temper, and threw a cloud over his other excellencies. He was made a Cardinal, and afterwards Archbishop of Palermo, and accounted by the Roman Catholics the oracle of his day.

into errors. With this argument Gregory checked the pride of John of Constantinople. He says, *Epist.* lib. 4, cap. 76, *The Catholic Church must needs miscarry when he falls who is called universal.*¹ But it is agreed amongst the Papacy themselves that the Pope may become an heretic, and in such case ought to be deposed. *Distinct.* 40, can. 5, *Papa.*

Secondly, he is not the universal pastor of the Church, who, by virtue of his ordination, is bound to his own particular See: but the Roman Bishop, like any other, is bound down to his See, and to his Church of Rome; or if he hath any more extended authority prerogative, he hath it by human, not by divine right. And yet it is not of men, but of God alone to confer apostolic authority. So Cyprian: *No one of us appoints himself a Bishop of bishops. Be he whom you will, he has but the free control over his own jurisdiction.* Afterwards he subjoins that *the authority of*

¹ The well-known letter in which this sentence was given by Pope Gregory, commonly styled the Great, may be found at the end of all the complete copies of Brent's Translation of F. Paul's History of the Council of Trent. It must be admitted that, viewed with reference to his character, there appears as much of personal ambition as of piety in this famous epistle; for Gregory was remarkable in exalting his See. Hence it has been justly remarked that "there is no word in all the writings of Gregory wherein he more proudly boasts of the greatness of his supremacy than where he says that he knew no Bishop who was not subject to the See apostolic." Nay, this very letter is filled with assumptions of the same lofty kind, as when he asserts that "to St Peter was given the care and principality of the whole Church," and that "the title of Universal Bishop was offered to the Bishop of Rome by the Council of Chalcedon and refused," which appears to be altogether untrue. It is evident, however, that although pride and ambition were beginning to work in the Church on either hand, the grand principle upon which all is built that has since brought the Church of Rome into such melancholy distinction was not, up to this period, admitted, for Gregory in arguing with John, the Faster, of Constantinople, against this adoption of the obnoxious title *Œcumenicus* or *Universal*, urges, that *it* was never given to St Peter; none of the Bishops of Rome had ever assumed it, it was contrary to the Canons, to the Decrees of the Fathers, and an affront to Almighty God Himself." But in fact, through the letter, whilst he quarrels with the usurpation of the *Name* by his rival prelate, Gregory unreservedly claims the *Thing* both for himself and his See, to secure which he did not scruple to stoop to base flattery of the bloody usurper Phocas.

the African Church is no less than that of the Roman. If, however, they will not hear Cyprian,¹ yet they will not reject the Council of Nice, which restricts that Œcumenical Bishop within his own limits. *Vide canon 6.*²

Lastly, an universal and apostolic Bishop may everywhere ordain Bishops and pastors of his own right; but if the Pope should ordain a Bishop out of his own province, that would not be a lawful ordination; for so it was held by the synod above mentioned. It is quite clear that if anyone be made a Bishop without the consent of the Metropolitan, that synod determined him not to be a Bishop.³ Cajetan meets this argument ridiculously by

¹ Cyprian was Bishop of Carthage about the middle of the third century. The whole passage from which the above sentence is cited runs thus: "Neque enim quisquam *nostram* Episcopum se Episcoporum constituit, aut tyrannico terrore ad obsequendi necessitatem collegas suos adiget." It contains, as Bishop Kaye in his *Ecclesiastical History*, p. 239, well observes, "remarkable expressions," and is evidently "aimed at some Bishop who had called himself *Episcopus Episcoporum*."

² Council of Nice, Canon 6: "Let ancient customs prevail; as for instance, those in *Egypt, Lybra, and Pentapolis*. That the Bishop of Alexandria have power over all these, since the same is customary for the Bishop of *Rome*. Likewise in Antioch and other provinces, let the privileges be secured to the Churches. This is as manifest as anything at all, that if any be made a Bishop without the consent of his Metropolitan, this great Synod hath determined that such an one ought not to be a Bishop. If any two or three, out of affectation of dispute, do contradict the suffrage of the generality, when duly passed according to ecclesiastical canon, let the votes of the majority prevail."—Translation of Canons from the original Greek by John Johnson, M.A., Proctor for the clergy of the Diocese of Canterbury, in *Clergyman's Vade Mecum*, 1714.

³ The celebrated translator of Josephus and Eusebius from the Greek into Latin, *Ruffinus*, a priest who flourished a little after this period at the close of the fourth century, in giving his sense of the 6th canon of this synod, is admitted to have stated it truly and clearly, *viz.*, that the ancient custom be kept both in Alexandria and Rome, that he (the Bishop of Alexandria) have the care of Egypt; the other (the Bishop of Rome) of the Suburbicary Churches, *i.e.*, over all those places in Italy, Sicily, Sardinia, Corsica, &c., over which the Præfect or the Vicar of the city of Rome had jurisdiction in temporal affairs, and even the old *Latin* paraphrastical version of these canons confirms the jurisdiction of the Bishop of Rome to the Suburbicary Churches, and not only these two editions of the canons, but those of other writers upon

saying: *It is one thing to speak concerning authority and another thing concerning the execution of it: that the Pope hath the authority of ordaining in the province of other Bishops: but that custom has established his non-execution of this authority.* If he hath this authority by right, it could not be so abolished by custom as to make that ordination actually unlawful which he might effect without the Consent of the Metropolitan; *for custom doth not prescribe where a thing is forbidden by an express law*, says Hostiensis.¹ We do not deny that prerogatives have been conceded to the Roman Church and to the Bishop of Rome by the ancients, not because of his being the ordinary pastor of the whole Church, and armed with apostolic authority by divine right, but on account of

them, call the several districts in which the Bishops of Rome and Alexandria exercised their jurisdiction, *Provinces*; whereas the district of a patriarch was always called his *Diocese*, that of an inferior Bishop his *Parish*; and, therefore, by Metropolitan here must be meant those who had the largest Provinces, or were the most remarkable on account of the largeness of cities, and had a proportionable deference paid to them. The reason why such particular care was taken of the privileges of the Bishop of Alexandria was, that Meletius, Bishop of Lycopolis, being deposed about twenty years before this Council by Peter, Bishop of Alexandria, in a *provincial* synod, for idolatry and other crimes, did yet ordain several bishops and clergymen in *Egypt* without the consent and in opposition to the sentence passed against him by the Bishop and Synod. Against him the fourth canon of the Council was probably framed. "A Bishop ought to be *constituted* by all the Bishops that belong to the province; but if this be not practicable, by reason of urgent necessity, or the length of the way, three must by all means meet together, and when they have the consent of those that are absent, signified by letter, then let them perform the ordination, and the ratification of what is done must be allowed to the Metropolitan in every province." Let it be further observed that the authority of Metropolitans must have been much older than this synod, for here their privileges are called *ancient customs*.—*Vide Johnson's Clergyman's Vade Mecum.*

¹ *Hostiensis.* The author here cited by Bishop Davenant is Henry de Suza, a celebrated civilian and canonist of the thirteenth century, of such repute as to have been called "the source and splendour of the law." He was first created Archbishop of Embrun and then Cardinal Bishop of Ostia in 1262, whence he derived the appellation of Ostiensis or Hostiensis; under which title he is frequently cited, and by Davenant in the latter mode of orthography.

the consistency, the sobriety, and the distinguished learning of those who in the earliest times were set over that Church; on account of the dignity of the city of Rome, which was the seat of empire; and lastly, as Gerson says, by the gracious and voluntary concession of other Churches.

Now let us sift a few arguments of our opponents.

1. Bellarmine, lib. 2, *De Rom. Pont.* cap. 12, says Peter had the government of the whole Church committed to him, but some one ought to succeed him therein as supreme head by divine right, and this successor can be no other than the Pope.

I answer: There is nothing solid in this argument. First, as regards Peter, to whom they say the government of the whole Church was committed, when it was said to him alone, John xxi. 15, *Feed my sheep*. I confess in his character of apostle, the power of feeding the flock of Christ was everywhere given to Peter, but this was common to him with the rest of the apostles, to whom also it was said, *Go teach all nations*, Matt. xxviii. 19. Secondly, we deny that successors were appointed in this apostolic power either to Peter or any one of the apostles, for not fresh apostles, but bishops, succeeded to apostles. Thirdly, if we allow a successor to Peter in apostolic power, he will not be, by divine authority, the Roman Pontiff; because no divine authority appropriated the Roman See to Peter. Whence even Cusa¹ does not hesitate to confess that *if a Bishop of Treves should be chosen*

¹ Cusa was a profound lawyer and divine, created a Cardinal by Pope Nicholas V. in 1448, and afterwards Bishop of Brixia. It is said that he was the author of a refutation of the Koran, addressed to Pius II., and highly esteemed as a very learned production. A treatise of his concerning "Learned Ignorance," in which he aimed to correct and reform the disorders and abuses which the scholastic divines had introduced into the seminaries, is still extant. Yet this erudite man, notwithstanding this bold admission also above made, in order to sustain the Papacy, set up the notion of a *running sense* of Scripture, which might be suited to the various *occasions* of the Church, and adapted to every *new rule*.—*Vide* Dr Wright's sermon, "Salter's Hall, or Scripture and Tradition," 1734-5.

for the head of the Church, he would be more properly the successor of Peter than the Roman Bishop.

2. They argue the Church is one body, and hath one head on earth besides Christ; but any other head on earth besides the Pope is assigned by no one, therefore he is the head and sovereign of the whole Church, and that it hath a head on earth, he (Bellarmine) proves from these words, 1 Cor. xii. 21, *The head cannot say to the feet, ye have no need of me*, but Christ can say this; therefore there is a head in the Church besides Christ.

I answer: Although the Church be one body, and militant here in earth, yet no necessity obliges us to confess any earthly head of the whole Church, because Christ, who is ascended into heaven, is also in the world by His spirit, and quickens and rules the whole Church: but he forms particular Churches, and governs them by particular prelates and ministers. The plea, however, which he brings from the Scripture is futile and childish: for the Apostle means not by *the head* and *the feet*, the Pope and the Church, but by *the head* any man in the Church endowed with eminent gifts: by *the feet*, any humble or inferior person. This will readily appear if we weigh the scope of the passage. For he is not cautioning Peter against lording it over the Church, but he is warning those who were distinguished by spiritual gifts among the Corinthians, against despising their inferiors: as Chrysostom, Ambrose and Aquinas explain it.

3. The Church would not be governed in the best way unless it were governed by one supreme spiritual head: but Christ left the Church instituted and governed in the best manner: therefore by one.

I answer: Christ alone is the spiritual sovereign of the whole Church: but to institute an earthly sovereign, on whose will the whole Church should depend, would be the worst mode of governing the Church: because no mortal can discharge that office even moderately well.

For how shall the Pope, sitting in the Vatican, take care of the Churches of the Indians or the Æthiopians. But that Pontiff does not aim at the care of Churches, but at empire.

4. The Church is always increasing, and it must increase until the Gospel be preached in all the world: but this cannot be done unless there be one chief president, on whom the apostolic charge and trouble of preserving the whole Church and of extending it may devolve: for no one ought to preach unless he be sent, and no particular Bishop can send beyond his own province.

I answer: To send preachers to infidel nations is not now the work of apostolic power, but of Christian charity. Every Bishop, therefore, in the vicinity of any heathen nation, may, from the duty of charity, either by himself, or by others, preach the Gospel to them: and, if they should embrace the Christian faith, what is to hinder Bishops and ministers being set over them (if they require it), *legitimately* ordained by any other Bishop. To extend the Church, therefore, there is no need of a new Apostle.

We conclude, then, since the Pope of Rome is not immediately called by Christ—nor imbued with Evangelical knowledge by direct and extraordinary inspiration of the Holy Spirit—nor endowed with universal power over the whole Church, he can by no mode of reasoning be styled *an Apostle*, or *Apostolic Bishop*.

We commend this fine piece of Davenant's close and logical reasoning to the critical attention of our readers, for it goes right home to the core of the whole controversy with Rome. The question between ourselves and our opponents is not so much a matter of doctrine or discipline—it is not a question of transubstantiation or mariolatry—it has not to do with a cult or the syllabus—but *this*, the *question of Infallibility*. Is there such a thing as a visible universal Pastor on earth, and that Pastor *infallible*, when he speaks from his chair on faith

or morals.¹ Prove this, and the whole Papal system, as a matter of course, follows.

But, like the swing of the pendulum, men's minds are prone to oscillate between two opposite extremes. By a sort of rebound, men will go with one step from believing everything to believing nothing, or rather disbelieving and misbelieving everything. Thus the sceptic or materialistic philosopher of yesterday will become the Infallibilist of to-day, and *vice versa*, by a kind of ricochet, or reflex action. We have seen persons who would not believe in a revelation, or the first chapter of Genesis, or the Incarnation; or even in the Supreme Being, take one bold leap into the arms of Rome, and within the space of a single day, believe everything the Roman Pontiff may propose to their allegiance, whether the Immaculate Conception, or the Vatican Decrees. Between the *Theism* of F. W. Newman and the *Romanism* of his brother, the eminent Cardinal, is indeed a great gulf fixed, but not unfrequently may be seen the spectacle of the disciple of the one passing over to the teaching of the other by a single bound, nor will they pause a moment *en passant* to consider the claims of the *via media* of historical Anglicanism. Yet the *τὸ μέσον* may be nearer the true old Catholic platform than these philosophers dream of. There is, in point of fact, a chronic cartel of exchange going on between Rome and infidelity.

We have seen what Bishop Davenant has to say about the claims of the first, now let us turn to what he inculcates about the dupes of the latter—the scientist and secularist of our day. Commenting on the eighth verse of the second chapter, *Beware, lest any man spoil you through philosophy and vain deceit*, to which the ignominious brand *κενῆς ἀπάτης* is affixed, he discusses the difference between true and false philosophy. There is

¹ See Author's *Voice in the Wilderness* (Sermon, "The Educational Work of the Church on Peter's Primacy,") pp. 533-7.

a true philosophy indeed to be commended, but the philosophy the Apostle condemns is both *vain* and *deceitful*.

“Now truly, philosophy,” he says, “or human reason, which is the mother of philosophy, is always found *vain* and *deceitful* when carried beyond its proper bounds, that is, when it attempts to determine concerning those things which cannot be judged of by *the criterion* of natural reason ; and of this kind are those which concern the worship of God and the salvation of men. Philosophy is, therefore, to be listened to when it pronounces about things subject to itself, according to the light of right reason, but when it would determine about human justification, reconciliation with God, the mode of divine worship, or of other matters relating to faith, it is to be exploded : because, in those things which are beyond the grasp of reason, and depend wholly on the revealed will of God, it brings nothing solid or true, but betrays itself to be altogether *vain* and *deceitful*. The apostle hath elsewhere alleged the cause of this, viz., Because the *natural man receiveth not the things which are of God: for they only are discerned by the Spirit of God*, 1 Cor. xi. 14. But a philosopher, considered as a philosopher, is nothing more than a natural man : and reason itself, not illuminated by faith, pertains to this natural condition ; it cannot therefore extend to the knowledge of salvation ; and if it should attempt, it miserably spends itself in vain. Here then, we renounce philosophy and human reason and confess with Justin Martyr, a theologian and philosopher, Parœn at Græcos, that, neither *poets nor philosophers are fit authors for instituting a Religion, but God alone by Revelation*. Which also Prudentius has expressed in very elegant verse, which it will not be irksome to annex. In lib. 2, *Cont. Symmach.*, he is showing that reason cannot but fail, if it intrude itself into Divine things :

Quippe minor natura aciem si intendere tentet
Acrius, ac penetrare Dei secreta supremi ;
Quis dubitet victo fragilem lassescere visu,
Vimque fatigatæ mentis sub pectore parvo
Turbari, invalidisque hebetem succumbere curis ?
Sed facilis fidei via,¹ &c. (*Vide Hilar, I. de Trin.*)

¹ “Should man, inferior in his nature, strive
Into the secrets of his God to dive,
O, who can doubt his feeble sight would fail,
And his weak pow’rs of mind confounded quail
Beneath the vain attempt : 'Tis faith alone
Can easy make her way—to mysteries yet unknown.”

Neither ought this to seem wonderful. For if brute animals can judge very well concerning those things which relate to sense, such as their meat and drink, yet cannot judge of human affairs; then, by a parity of reasoning, neither can man pronounce by natural light respecting heavenly doctrine and divine worship, although they may determine, by the aid of it, what is good and right in human concerns.

That we may therefore accommodate these points to the matter in hand: The false apostles, under the pretext of a certain secret wisdom, endeavoured to obtrude upon the Colossians certain new doctrines about the worship of angels, the expiation of souls, drawn no doubt from the writings of the Platonists. What says St Paul to these things? Believe not, he replies: fallacious and vain is philosophy when it prescribes about religion. It behoves you to learn how God the Father would be approached, how your sin can be expiated, not from Plato and human reason, but from God and His word. Let us explode therefore, and condemn philosophy promulgating directions concerning these things.

But it is objected that divine and spiritual things are known to human reason, and that by the natural light of the same; For then, says the apostle (Rom. i. 19-20), *that which may be known of God is manifest in them:—the invisible things of Him from the creation of the world being understood.* If reason comprehends divine things, then may it determine respecting them, neither will it therefore be called *vain*.

It is answered: The natural knowledge of spiritual things is obscure and feeble, extending only to the *existence* of those things. As, for instance, that there is a God, that there is a worship of God, that there is a blessedness for souls, reason and philosophy perceives; but how God is to be worshipped, how happiness is to be obtained, it discovers not: whilst therefore it attempts to determine

respecting these things and the like, it is *vain* and *deceitful*. This knowledge may render a man inexcusable, but it cannot render him a competent teacher, unless knowledge infused by grace be added.

3. Let us approach to what we proposed to treat of in the last place, viz., to show the use and abuse of reason or philosophy in the business of religion. For they who perpetually cry out for the exclusion of human reason from treating of sacred things, without discrimination, seem to require that men should engage in the greatest affairs without reason: when, indeed, they cannot rightly manage the least, if that natural light of reason be extinguished.

The abuse of natural reason or philosophy, in the cause of religion, is manifold—(1) when it attempts to deduce the fundamentals themselves of religion from its principles. For although the principles of right reason are true in themselves, nevertheless, there cannot be elicited from them what is to be determined concerning the mystery of the Trinity, the Incarnation of Christ, the justification of a sinner, invocation of God, and His worship: all which things are to be deduced from higher principles, viz., from the Will of God revealed in the Word. Reason is *the discursive power which proceeds from principles to conclusions*: but it does not possess in itself the principles of those things which are apprehended by faith; therefore it daringly builds conclusions upon the sand of its own opinions.

(2) When it opposes its own principles, which are true in the order of nature, to theological principles, which are far above the order of nature. For example: It is true that *out of nothing, nothing can be made*: it is true that *dis-similar species cannot be predicated of each other, and cannot unite in the same subject*; it is true *there is no return from privation to possession*; but all these things are to be understood according to the course of nature and the power of a finite agent. Philosophers therefore err when they think that they can hence conclude against the

Creation of the world, the Incarnation of God, and the resurrection of the dead : all which the Scriptures teach as done, or to be done, not by natural causes, but by the almighty power of God. Here, therefore, that rule of Aquinas, *Quæst. disp. de fide*, art 10, is to be retained. *Theology can never contradict true natural reason, but often rises above it, and thus appears to oppose it.* For true reason does not affirm that those superior things cannot be effected absolutely ; but cannot be effected by any finite power : and this theology likewise confesses. In those matters, therefore, which are of this kind, *philosophy*, as says Clemens, *Strom.* 1, *should submit itself to theology*, as Agar to Sarah, *should allow itself to be advised and corrected : but if it be unwilling to be obedient, cast out the handmaid.*

(3) When it obtrudes for legitimate conclusions, its errors, drawn sometimes by false consequences from true premises. Thus the Stoics, Epicureans, Aristotelians, and as many as come under the denomination of philosophers, do not always teach the dictates of right reason, but the dreams of their own fancy. But, truly, if one should attempt, under the name of philosophy, to introduce those errors into theology, he commits a double sin : first, inasmuch as he resolves the corruption of philosophers into the dogmas of philosophy itself ; next, because he even thinks to subject theology to the rules of philosophy. And the Fathers appear to me strictly to have reproved this abuse in the ancient heretics, and sometimes to have declaimed severely, on that account, against true philosophy and philosophers. Nothing is more frequent in Tertullian. *A philosopher is the creature of boasting. They affect truth, and in affecting it they mar it. Every heresy is engendered by the devices of philosophers. All heresies consist of the maxims of philosophers. All the dogmas of heretics when they grow frigid and stiff, and therefore cannot take wing, find a place of settlement and repose among the thorns of Aristotle.* Nor is Lactantius more mild towards them :

for in *Instit.* lib. 3, cap. 2, and in many subsequent places, he continually attacks philosophy and philosophers. But, as I said, these respect not true and sober philosophy, keeping within its bounds; but that bold and deceitful counterfeit, which dares to mingle itself with things beyond its reach, or which publishes the opinions of private men for the decrees of truth itself. You perceive the abuse: now let us shew the use of true philosophy, and this is manifold.

It might hardly have been expected that a theologian of Calvinistic proclivities would speak very strongly about Baptism, although Calvin's own doctrine on the sacraments is not what is usually called Calvinistic; and yet this is the way he refers to that first of the twin sacraments (*gemina sacramenta*) of the Church, as St Augustine calls them. The Bishop is discussing the word "saints" in the second verse, and he explains the term thus:—

Saints.—That is, sanctified by the laver of Baptism, whence says the Apostle, 1 Cor. vi. 11, "*Ye are washed, ye are sanctified.*" But when the Apostle calls baptized persons *saints*, he speaks according to the rule of charity, which directs us to presume good of every one, unless the contrary be shown. And for the very best reason baptized persons are called *saints*. For saintship imports two things: First, cleansing from impurity, whence Isidore¹ writes: That *a saint is so called from two words, sanguine tinctum, i.e., to be, as it were, tinged with blood: because anciently they who wished to be purified, were sprinkled with the blood of sacrifice.* Secondly, because it denotes a special dedication to the Divine worship; whence we call not only men, but temples and vessels, holy; because they are set

¹ Isidore, usually styled Isidore Pelusista, to distinguish him from two other eminent divines of the same name in 4th and 5th centuries. He was a distinguished disciple of St Chrysostom, a monk, and priest of Damietta, anciently called Pelusium, in Egypt. He left 2012 letters, said to be written in a very superior style, on Scripture doctrine, discipline and morals. Mosheim commends him as avoiding the allegorical mode of interpretation, so prevalent in that age; and asserts that his epistles discover more piety, genius, erudition and wisdom, than are to be found in the voluminous productions of many other writers. An edition of his letters in Greek and Latin, in folio, was published in Paris 1638.

apart to sacred uses in the worship of God. In both these respects a baptised Christian is rightly called a *saint*.

For first he is in Baptism cleansed from original corruptions and the imputation of all sins. Whence it is called in Titus iii. 5, *The laver of regeneration*. And in Acts ii. 38 it is said, *Be baptized every one of you for the remission of sins*. Hence also that saying of Nazianzen, *The water cleanses the body visibly; the spirit accompanying it also invisibly cleanses the soul*. Hence also that ancient custom of putting white robes upon baptized persons—by which ceremony they signified the purification of their souls effected by virtue of holy Baptism. As Lactantius expresses in that line, *De Pascha*, v. 93—

“Fulgentes animas vestu quoque candida signat.”

Likewise the white raiment betokens their resplendent souls.

Neither does this purification consist alone in the washing away of sins, but in the combined infusion of spiritual graces : of which subject Parisiensis¹ elegantly writes, *Like as a royal treasurer gives the gifts promised by the king to him who produces the royal signet, so the Holy Spirit, the dispenser of spiritual gifts, imparts spiritual graces to those whom He beholds bearing the sign of Holy Baptism*. Peter promises this to the baptized ; Acts ii. 38, *Be baptized every one of you in the name of Christ, and ye shall receive the gift of the Holy Ghost*. And this is the first reason why Paul calls baptized persons *saints*.

Secondly, they are called *saints* because in Baptism they are in a *special* measure dedicated to the service of God. For in Baptism a covenant is entered into with God. He receives us under His protection : we acknowledge Him for our Lord, and renounce all other lords, viz., the world, the flesh and the devil. We are therefore, as it were, certain consecrated vessels, set apart from profane uses to the sacred service of God.

In this respect Nazianzen calls Baptism, *The covenant of a more holy life with God*. And Peter, 1 Epist. iii. 21, “The answer (ἐπερώρημα) of a good conscience towards God.”

Again, in chapter iii., v. 3, “They grievously sin who suffer their

¹ This writer, here quoted under the epithet “Parisiensis,” was William of Auverne, created Bishop of Paris in 1228. He was one of the most learned schoolmen of his time ; being eminently skilled in theology, philosophy and mathematics : he was also distinguished for his piety ; and was perhaps the most useful writer of the 13th century ; for whilst his contemporaries were occupied in verbal quibblings and metaphysical intricacies, his works were directed to the promotion of practical godliness, the least understood of all sciences in that age of erudite ignorance and theological wrangling.

Baptism to be rooted from their memory, as a transient ceremony : for this sacred mystery, although once performed, should be perpetually revolved in mind, and expressed in conduct."

We shall also find the Bishop speak out just as strongly when he comes to speak about the visible Church, upon true membership in the one Holy Catholic Church, into which the saints are admitted by virtue of the Covenant of Baptism, ver. 18 :—

"The term church is derived from a word signifying *to call out* : it is therefore an assembly or multitude of those called out. And this calling is effected by the ministry of the Gospel, and other means which God has appointed for bringing men out of a state of ignorance and misery, and leading them to a state of glory. In this sense we call any assembly of men whatever, professing the doctrine and religion of Christ, under *legitimate pastors*, a Church. Such were those seven Churches to which St John sent his Apocalypse : such the Roman, Corinthian, Colossian, and all other visible and local Churches. These assemblies are called Churches, and those who live in them are members of those Churches, and are to be regarded, in the judgment of charity, as members of the Holy Catholic Church as well, because those means are offered to them on God's part, by which men are called to the participation of eternal life : as because in their part, in outward act and profession, those means are received and employed for salvation.

"This external vocation through the proffered grace of the Gospel, and the external adoption and profession of Christianity under *legitimate* pastors, constitutes the outward and visible Church : and the professors of it are visible members of the Church. But there is also another more effectual vocation joined to this external one, in some persons, namely, by grace implanted and impressed through the power of the Spirit in the hearts of the called ; by means of which they not only enter upon the external profession of Christianity, but are joined to Christ Himself by the natural bonds of faith and the spirit. *Many are called, but few chosen*, says the Saviour."

The following extract on the 12th ver. of 2nd chapter, *buried with Him in Baptism*, will show how consentaneous our Bishop's teaching is with that of the Collect for Easter Even :—

"Not only in the person of our Head, but even in ourselves, our

sins are said to be buried in baptism ; because that mortification and burial of sin is not only performed sacramentally in one moment in the act of baptism ; but really also is carried on by the spirit of grace received in Baptism, through the whole life of a Christian. For the case of bodily death and burial is different from that which is spiritual. The former hath no degrees because it is pure privation ; he, therefore, who is dead cannot daily die more and more. But the latter is in process, not in act past ; therefore it hath degrees, so that he who is dead to sin may die more ; he who is buried may be buried more, inasmuch as the work itself is to be perfected in man, although as to the sacramental representation and sealing of it, it wanted nothing." And again, chap. iii. ver. 2, he also writes, "Therefore as in common language we say that he is *already a dead man*, against whom sentence of death is passed ; so we rightly say that they who are born again *are dead*, or that sin *is already dead* in them, because in their baptism the sentence of death was, as it were, passed against sin ; the execution of which sentence is forthwith begun, is daily proceeding, and at length completed."

These extracts from the Exposition will suffice to prove that our Bishop as a Commentator was as sound as he was learned, as orthodox as he was evangelical, and as primitive as he was scriptural.

On the 27th March 1625, King James I. died after a short illness, and the news reached Whitehall while the Bishop of St David's was preaching before the Court a Lenten sermon, which the sobs of the Duke of Buckingham and his own emotion terminated abruptly.¹

¹ Diary, 27th March, 1625.

CHAPTER IX

DAVENANT'S OPINION ON THE GALLICAN CONTRO- VERSY—DIVERSITY OF DEGREES (1627)

“*In answering, he states the question and expounds the terms thereof, otherwise the disputants shall end where they ought to have begun, in differences about words, and be barbarians each to other, speaking in a language neither understand. If the question also be of historical cognizance, he shews the pedigree thereof: who first brewed it, who first broached it, and sends the wandering error with a passport home to the place of its birth.*”—FULLER'S *Holy State, Controversial Divines*, p. 55.

WE have already alluded to the high respect entertained for the judgment and theological opinions of Bishop Davenant by members of the Reformed Churches on the Continent. None stood higher than he did at the Synod of Dort, as we have seen, and he stood, from a theological standpoint, head and shoulders (*ἑξῆχος ἀνδρῶν*) higher than any of his compeers thereat. Bogerman, its President, “confessed that Dr Davenant's experience and skill in the laws and histories gave them directions for the better ordering of their debates and votes.” And Lloyd, in giving his epitaph on our Bishop, which contains a good summary of his genius and character, avers—

“*Quæ in concionibus dominata est. Scholis
Imperavit, et Synodis leges dedit
Prudens pariter ac simplex.*”

The outcome of that visit to Holland was that Davenant's name stood high and deservedly so, not only among the Dutch, but those of other nations who had taken their share in the Reformation, and he returned home with

flying colours and an assured Continental reputation. When a controversy arose amongst them anent the "Doctrines of Grace," there was an antecedent probability that it would be referred to his arbitrament, and so it turned out to be the case. We will now discuss the points of the controversy which led up to the question at issue, and Bishop Davenant's judgement hereon.

The tractate before alluded to is headed "On the controversy, among the French Divines of the Reformed Church, concerning the gracious and saving will of God towards sinful men."

The points at issue are set out in the following terse manner, and a reply, with full discussion, carrying with it the individual opinion of the divines and their general consensus, is solicited in settling the debated topics.

"There are some ^bwho so contend for the particular election in Christ, through the mere good pleasure of God, of some certain persons, and their effectual and irrevocable calling to grace and glory, that at the same time they assert, that Christ having died for all men individually, ^c*with some general intention*, ^dGod, by *His universal grace*, founded on His death, which was sufficient in itself, and by a suitable invitation, and calling *to repentance*, although in different ways, *gives to all individually that they may be saved if they will*: ^eso that it arises from themselves alone, and the hardness of their heart repelling the means of salvation, if they are not saved. Which was the opinion of D. Cameron,¹ B.M., and, as it appears to them,

¹ John Cameron was an eminent divine among the French Protestants, born at Glasgow about the year 1580. After completing his literary education at his native place, he was in 1600 induced to visit Bordeaux, and by the minister of that city was appointed to teach the learned languages at Bergues. He was subsequently appointed Professor of Philosophy at Sedan, and after remaining in that capacity two years returned to Bordeaux, and engaged in the study of Divinity. In 1608 he assumed the office of minister of that town, and then accepted of the Divinity Chair of Saumur, where he continued until the dispersion of that academy in 1621. He then removed to England, and was made by King James, Master of the College and Divinity Professor at Glasgow; but found the appointment so disagreeable that he returned to France, where the disputes between the two religions were now bringing on a civil war. Cameron, whose principles disinclined him to violence, having opposed the emissaries of the Duke de Rohan, who endeavoured to induce the

of the Deputies from England and the Republic of Bremen at the Synod of Dort.

"There are, on the other hand, those who *deny that Christ died for all men individually, with the intention of saving them, and that God really wills that all men individually should be saved.* They wish that the opinion of the Deputies from England and Bremen on this subject should be rejected by the Synod of Dort, or referred to an opposite Synod: and think the opinion of Cameron and his disciples as pure Arminianism, a hydra of errors, opposed to the Synod of Dort, a subversion of the nature of the Divine law, of the Gospel, of the necessity of the Christian religion, to be expelled from the Reformed Churches.¹

The Opinion of the Divines of England, the most celebrated in the whole Christian world, is requested on this controversy, as it appears that this might conduce not a little towards confirming the peace of the Reformed Church in France."

We propose now to give "The Judgment of Bishop Davenant" *in extenso*, which we must allow to be sound, critical and exhaustive, nor can the trumpet be accused of giving "an uncertain sound."

^a The gracious and saving will of God towards sinners is to be considered as effectually applying to some persons, of His special mercy, the means of saving grace, according to that saying of the Apostle,

people of Montauban to take arms, was attacked by a zealot of the party in the streets, and severely beaten; and such was the effect upon his mind and body that he died soon after, aged 46. According to Bayle he was a man of great parts and learning, but insufferably long-winded and vain. He was the author of an attempt to reconcile the doctrine of predestination with a more consoling notion of the Divine justice and benevolence, a theory which was more fully developed in the "System of Universal Grace" by his disciple Amyraut, but which Mosheim says, after examination, he was persuaded was no more than Arminianism or Pelagianism artfully dressed up, and ingeniously covered with a half-transparent veil of specious but ambiguous expressions. Cameron's theological lectures are printed in three vols. 4to, Saumur, and in one vol. folio, Geneva.

¹ "The judgment" is said to be that "of the National Synode of the Reformed Belgique Churches, assembled at Dort (1618-9), to which Synode were admitted many divines of note, being of the Reformed Churches of Great Britain: of the Countie Palatine of Rhene: of Hestia: of Helvetia: of the Correspondence of Weterar, of Geneva: of Brene: and of Embden (concerning the five articles of Controversie in the Belgique Churches)."

He hath mercy on whom He will: or as appointing sufficiently for all, of His common philanthropy, the means of saving grace, applicable to all for salvation, according to the tenor of the Covenant of grace, as the Evangelist has said, *God so loved the world*, etc. Those whom the Divine Will, or good pleasure embraces under the first description, on them it always confers the means of saving grace in this life, and the end of grace, that is life eternal, or glory in the world to come (Rom. viii. 28-9 and Eph. i. 3-5, etc.). Those whom the Divine Will embraces only under the latter description, on them it sometimes confers the means of saving grace, and sometimes does not: but it never confers the end of grace, that is, eternal life.

^b In this opinion, which is said to have been that of D. Cameron, the first member of the sentence is legitimately constructed, if he understands that particular election, mere good pleasure, and effectual calling to grace and glory, depend in such a manner on the Divine Will, that it does not separate this Divine Will from the foreseen acts of the human will. For he who does this, falls into the errors of the semi-Pelagians.

^c The second member of the sentence is involved and perplexed with so many ambiguous forms of speaking, that it is difficult to determine its truth or falsehood, without first dividing it into portions.

PART I.

Christ died for all men individually with some general intention.

Christ is rightly said to have died for all men, inasmuch as on His death is founded a covenant of salvation, applicable to all men while they are in this world. Nor can He be said to have died for each individually, inasmuch as His death may profit each for salvation, to the tenor of the new Covenant, none being excluded. On the other hand, it cannot profit any individual, contrary to the tenor of that Covenant, although he should be of the elect. If Cain or Judas had believed and repented, he would be saved through the benefit and merit of the death of Christ. If David or Peter had not believed, nor repented, he would not be saved. In this sense the death of Christ may be understood to be set before all men individually.

What is added in the last place, concerning the general intention of God, by which He wills that all men individually should be saved through the death of His Son, needs explanation. It must be observed, therefore, that according to the custom of the Scriptures, the Divine Will or Intention sometimes denotes merely the appointment of means to an end, although there is no determinate will in God of producing that end by those means. And the schoolmen refer this intention or

will of God to the common order of Providence. In this sense He willed and intended the obedience and salvation of the angels who apostatised, inasmuch as he furnished them with gifts, fit in themselves and suitable, to perform obedience, and obtain salvation. And in this sense God, with a general intention, wills life to all men, inasmuch as He willed the death of Christ to be the fountain and cause of life to all men individually, according to the tenor of the evangelical covenant. But we must observe, that the Scriptures mention another will or intention of God, and that properly so called, which never fails in producing the good intended, and which the schoolmen refer to the order of special predestination of this intention or Will of God. Augustine rightly says from the Psalmist (Ench. cap. 97), *In heaven and in earth there are some things which God did not both will and perform : there are some things which he willed and did not perform, though He hath done all things whatsoever He would.* And Aquinas¹

¹ Thomas Aquinas, noticed by our author, sometimes under the one name and sometimes under the other, was born at Aquino in Italy in 1224. The number of his works is prodigious, amounting to seventeen volumes folio, though he died as early as the age of 50. He is styled "The Angelical Doctor," and his authority among the schoolmen was almost decisive in Theology. Like our own Hooker he was little less eminent for his self-denying humility, than for his wide erudition and deep reasoning powers. It is said that when Pope Clement IV. shewed him a vast heap of wealth, observing, "You see the Church cannot now say, "Silver and Gold have I none." "True," replied the great schoolman, "neither can she now say to the sick : 'Take up thy bed and walk.'" Though like other fallible men, and especially voluminous writers, he is sometimes found in error, yet Protestant divines and scholars have done justice to the vast attainments of this wonderful man. Our Bishop Davenant, especially in his exposition to the Colossians frequently quotes him as authority in points of importance. The late Bishop of Exeter, Dr Philpotts, says : "I do not affect to be deeply versed in his writings : but I have read enough of them to bear testimony to the uncommon vigour and astonishing acuteness of mind" (Letters to Charles Butler, Esq.). And Mr Southey, author of the *Book of the Church* speaks of him as "a man whose extraordinary powers of mind few persons are competent to appreciate" (*Vindicie Ecc. Ang.*). As calculated in an especial manner to stamp the character of the man, and as a hint to those who forget that "*bene orâsse est bene studuisse,*" it may not be improper to insert here

The prayer of Thomas Aquinas before commencing study : "Ineffably wise and merciful Creator ! Illustrious Source of all things ! True fountain of light and wisdom ! Vouchsafe to infuse into my understanding some ray of Thy brightness : thereby removing that twofold darkness under which I was born, the darkness of sin and ignorance. Thou that makest the tongues of infants eloquent, instruct, I pray Thee, my tongue likewise ; and pour upon

(1 qu. 10 art. 6), *Whatever God simply wills He performs.* If, therefore, by this general intention of God to procure the salvation of all men by the death of Christ, they wish to exclude the special will, and special and effectual operation of God in effecting the salvation of the elect; or if they would infer from thence, that the benefit of the death of Christ, that is, the grace of God and eternal salvation of men (as far as relates to God) is intended for all men individually with the same kind of will, and is applied by the same mode of operation, really and actually to be had and obtained by each individual, according as he makes a good use of his own free will; they bring forward semi-Pelagianism. But if by this general intention they mean nothing more than a general aptitude and sufficiency in the death of Christ to effect the salvation of all men individually in the mode of an universal cause, or a general appointment of God concerning the salvation of all men individually, who, through the grace, duly apply to themselves this universal cause: then there is no need to reject this form of speaking.

PART II.

^d *That God by His universal grace founded in the death of Christ which was sufficient in itself, and by a suitable invitation and calling to repentance, although in different ways, grants to all men individually, that they may be saved if they will.*

The term universal grace does not sound well with the orthodox; for those gifts which are bestowed upon all men individually (although they are given to the unworthy and the undeserving) are not referred to that which is called the grace of Christ, but to the common philanthropy of God. From whence the opinion, *That the grace of God is universal, or is given to all individually*, seemed to be erroneous to Augustine,¹ Prosper, Fulgentius, and the other adversaries of the

my lips the grace of Thy benediction: Give me quickness to comprehend, and memory to retain: Give me a facility in expounding, an aptitude in learning, and a copious eloquence of speaking. Prepare my entrance into knowledge: direct me in my pursuits, and render the issue of them complete: through Jesus Christ our Lord. Amen."

¹ Bishop Davenant so often refers to St Augustine in his writings and his "Expositio," that some remarks may be made respecting him. At an early age Augustine was instructed by his pious mother, in the principles of Christianity; but being a youth of great vivacity he was led into extreme dissipation, and gave himself up to licentious pleasure without restraint. For this, however, he afterwards made ample reparation to society, in the most ingenuous manner, by his book of Confessions, so often cited by our Bishop. Moving from place to place, in the study and profession of rhetoric and polite literature, and having taught at Carthage and Rome, his mind in the meanwhile

Pelagians. If, therefore, this author means by universal grace, that the grace of God is given and actually communicated to every individual of the human race, I do not see by *what* means this form of speech can be defended. For the saving grace of Christ (if we believe the Apostles), is communicated to individuals by the preaching of the Gospel (Mark xvi. 15, 16; Rom. i. 16; 1 Cor. i. 18-21). From whence Prosper says, *They live without grace, and are not partakers of Christian grace, to whom Christ was never preached.* The Apostle affirms the same thing of the Ephesians, before Christ was preached unto them (Eph. ii. 12). But if by universal grace, he means nothing more than an universal capacity of salvation in all persons living in this world, or an universal propensity in God, to save every man, if he should believe in Christ, he ought to correct his language, lest by unusual, and a less sound form of words, he should give offence to the orthodox. Further, this universal grace of some kind being admitted, that which he adds, *That God, through this universal grace, by an invitation suitable and sufficient in itself, calls all men to repentance,* is refuted by the experience of time, and the contrary event of things. For if he speaks of repentance, which remission of sins and eternal life follows, that invitation or calling is not apt or sufficient of itself for such repentance, which does not send the penitent to Christ. But that which sends the penitent to the death of

thirsting after truth, he came at length under the preaching of St Ambrose at Milan, a circumstance which led to his thorough conversion at the age of thirty-two; soon after this his life became devoted to piety and religion; and, says a competent judge of his writings, "the humility, devotion, and unction of this father; the acute, lucid, and happy way in which he meets his objectors; and the heavenly wisdom running through his remarks—will always, notwithstanding the excess of allegorical interpretation, and the defect of a clear statement of justification, make his writings valuable" (Bickersteth's *Christian Student*). Perhaps, as Milner has remarked, "the doctrine of justification was never fully and clearly exhibited to the Church (after the times of the Apostles) until the days of Luther." Yet it is somewhat remarkable that, excepting this defect, Augustine has been deemed to accord mostly in doctrinal sentiments with Calvin. But another critic (Mr Conybeare, Bampton Lectures), has observed, "he who is insensible to the beauty, the piety, and the devotion and spiritual feeling which are to be found in almost every page of Augustine's *Commentary*, must be, to say no more, both uncandid and fastidious." Augustine was consecrated Bishop of Hippo in 395, and died in 430, aged seventy-six. His works form ten vols. folio. His *City of God*, his *Confessions and Meditations*, his *Sermons on the New Testament*, and Commentaries on the Psalms and St John have been included in the *Library of the Fathers*, published at Oxford.

Christ for the expiation of the sins of men, is altogether unknown out of the Church, where the Gospel of Christ is not known. Therefore an invitation and calling apt and sufficient for saving repentance is not given to all men. Moreover, neither ought this opinion to be approved, *That God by His universal grace grants to all men individually that they may be saved if they will.* For first it is foolish to assert, that infants, who are born the children of wrath, and die out of the Church, can be saved if they will ; since they have not the use of reason and free will. By the same rule it might be said, that they could walk and join themselves to any Christian church, if they would. But I ask, as to adults, what is this, that every individual of them can be saved, if they will ? Are they not willing to be saved ? Without doubt they are. For to be saved is nothing else but to be happy, which all men individually desire. But perhaps these words are to be understood. *If they are willing to believe in Christ, they may be saved.* I do not dispute that all men individually may be saved, who are rightly willing to believe in Christ ; but I also assert that every individual who thus believes cannot be damned. Yet I add, that universal grace is not proved by a power of obtaining salvation, conceived by those who are in a state not yet purified, nor ever to be purified. It is therefore evident, that the condition, if they are willing to believe in Christ, cannot be fulfilled by many, unless God wills to send to them preachers of the Gospel (Rom. x. 14, 15). For as no one can see a visible object when it is absent, so when a credible object is absent, no one can exercise the act of believing. There are, therefore, multitudes who cannot be saved, because they cannot believe in Christ. They cannot believe in Christ for obtaining remission of sins, because the act of believing pre-supposes the object having been proposed to the sinner, in which he may believe, as may be collected from Romans iii. 25, 26.

PART III.

It is through men themselves alone, and the hardness of their hearts that they are not saved.

° It is true, that the corruption and hardness of the human heart is the real and positive cause which drives the wicked from salvation, and thrusts them into perdition. It is moreover certain, that God neither will nor can work in those to whom He designs to grant the means of grace, a contempt or abuse of those means. For as the sun cannot cause darkness, or cold in the air ; so God cannot cause malice and wickedness in the human heart. This, however great it is in repelling the means of grace, is wholly to be imputed to man alone ; in no way to God. But it ought to be added, in the last place, that

there is no hardness in the human will so obdurate, that God cannot soften it if He will, and which He will not at length soften in all the elect, by that special mercy of which the Apostle speaks. *He hath mercy on whom He will, &c.*

I think, therefore, that the opinion of Cameron here was badly expressed.

† I know that the opinion of the English Divines given at the Synod of Dort, neither establishes universal grace, nor acknowledges that apt and sufficient means of salvation are granted to all men individually upon whom the Gospel hath not shone.

‡ Lastly, I think that no Divine of the Reformed Church of sound judgment, will deny a general intention or appointment concerning the salvation of all men individually by the death of Christ, on this condition—If they should believe. For the intention or appointment of God is general, and is plainly revealed in the Holy Scriptures, although the absolute and not to be frustrated intention of God, concerning the gift of faith and eternal life to some persons, is special, and is limited to the elect alone.

So I have maintained, and do maintain.

JOANN. SARISBURIENSIS.

It must be confessed that this judgment of our Bishop is both critical and judicious, and set out upon the lines of the 17th Article of our Church. It is also consonant to the teaching of the Church Catechism, which avers touching the work of the third Person of the ever blessed Trinity, “Thirdly, I learn to believe in the Holy Ghost, who sanctifieth me, and all the *elect* people of God; for the accomplishing of the *number of whose elect*, and hastening of whose kingdom we pray in the burial service for the dead. And with regard to the former official declaration of the Church’s mind, Dr Barry has these very pertinent remarks :—

“These lead on to Art. xvii., *On Predestination and Election*, which grapples directly with the primary question. To this there is nothing to correspond either in the Augsburg or Wurtemberg Confessions. What were the tenets of the Calvinistic school therein may be seen in the Lambeth Articles. Now, on this subject it is to be noted that, in the description of the doctrine, the article, avoiding the technical language of the schools, follows accurately the words of Holy Scripture, and therefore speaks of Predestination to life, and not to death, and

closely connects this with God's call consciously received and man's co-operation, without attempting to solve the insoluble mystery of the reconciliation of God's sovereignty and man's freedom. Next, it disclaims the doctrine as the keystone of teaching and system, declaring it fit only for the meditation of those who feel in themselves the grace of God, and 'dangerous to curious and carnal persons.' Lastly it asserts the generality of God's promises, and declines to speculate on any will of God except that which is revealed to us."¹

And even more to the point are the words of one of our most trusted and revered Divines (the late Lord Bishop of Winchester):—

"Deep learning and fervent piety have characterized many who have widely differed in these points of doctrine. It is well for us, disregarding mere human authority and philosophical discussions, to strive to attain the simple sense of the Scriptures of God. But it is not well, when we have satisfied ourselves, we should condemn those who disagree with us; nor, because we see practical dangers in certain doctrines, to believe all who embrace those doctrines must of necessity fall into evil, through the dangers which attach to them. Discussions on subjects such as this do not, perhaps, so much need acuteness and subtlety, as humility and charity."²

What effect this "judgment" of Bishop Davenant had upon the Reformed Church of France, we are not told, but this we know, that after 250 years it is still remarkable for its orthodoxy and simple enunciation of the Evangel of Christ. It may have had its fluctuations and movements like other religious bodies, but in the main the tendency of its teaching has been sound.

The names of Vinet and Pressensé, of Dorner, Adolphe Monod, and Eugene Bersier, the late popular pastor of the French Church at Paris will occur to most. The homiletics of the first named are a standard work: the Life of Christ of the second, is remarkable for its elegance, and his History of the Three First Centuries of the Christian Church, for its accuracy: Adolphe Monod's Discourses at

¹ Barry's *Teacher's Prayer Book*, p. 280.

² *Exposition of the XXXIX Articles*, Harold Browne, p. 434.

Mantauban, Lyons and Paris have run through several editions. But the last is the most remarkable of all—he had not only a large auditory in his church at Paris, but the most extraordinary thing of all is, that he has published no less than six volumes of Sermons, and some of them have run into four editions in this the gayest and most volatile and fashionable city of Europe—sermons, admired not only for the purity of their style, but uncompromising preaching of the plain, simple Gospel of the New Testament. He does not lay claim to originality, he had read Vinet, and was familiar with the Sermons of Robertson of Brighton. But the best book he had read was the human heart. The late Archbishop of Canterbury (Dr Tait) and Dean of Westminster (Stanley) both called upon him in Paris, and thanked him for his successful advocacy of Divine Truth. One of the greatest preachers of the Anglican Church at our Metropolitan Cathedral has acknowledged his indebtedness to the simple French “Pasteur.” The discourses have been partially translated in English, German, Swedish, and Russian. Nor have the members of the Catholic Church of France been slow in thanking him for his homiletic efforts. In the preface to his fourth volume, he says:—

“En publiant le quatrième volume de mes Sermons, je remercie le public de l'accueil favorable qu'il a fait aux trois premiers, dont plusieurs éditions se sont rapidement écoulées. Se conserve avec reconnaissance des lettres nombreuses qui me prouvent que ces discours ne sont pas restés sans fruit. Plusieurs personnes attribuent à cette lecture leur retour à la foi Chrétienne, dont les préjugés leur avaient formé l'accès, et, d'un autre côté, j'ai été heureux de recueillir, au sein de l'église Catholique, de précieux témoignages qui prouvent la réalité de l'unité spirituelle de tous les vrais croyants. Qu'il me soit permis de citer ici les noms de trois hommes ; le duc de Broglie, le Comte Montalembert et l'abbé Martin de Noirlieu, tous trois enlevés cette année (1870) à la France, et dont je n'oublierai pas les paroles d'encouragement et de sérieuse sympathie.”

It was to the opinion of the divines of the Church of

England, to the judgment of Bishop Davenant, and that of the Deputies from Bremen, that the Reformed Church of France looked for peace and guidance two and a half centuries ago. And it is not without significance that we find the traditions of this Church conserved in the person of this, one of her most cultured and earnest sons, when called upon to deliver the inaugural discourse at Amsterdam in the "old Walloon Church, 18th August 1867," at the opening of the fifth universal assembly of the Evangelical Alliance. It was on that occasion he delivered that magnificent sermon on "The Ruins of Jerusalem," in which these words occur—

"Jerusalem, pour nous, est l'Eglise—l'Eglise, c'est à dire cette famille dont Dieu seul connaît les membres, cette grande cité des ames dont nos Eglises diverses ne sont que d'imparfaites réalisations . . . Enfant de l'église réformée de France, qui serait la première dans l'histoire des temps modernes si l'on mesurait la valeur des Eglises au sang qu'elles ont versé pour Jésus-Christ, je sais ce que vaut un pareil héritage, et ce n'est pas moi qui le méconnaîtrai : aimons donc l'Eglise à laquelle nous appartenons, aimons la mieux que les autres, c'est notre droit, c'est notre devoir : mais au-dessus d'elle maintenant cette grande réalité qui s'appelle l'Eglise universelle et qui doit être pour nous un objet de foi."

We might multiply quotations from this eloquent preacher of the French Reformed Church, but enough has been said to show that the good seed sown so many ages ago has in our own days brought forth such rich and abundant fruits.¹

¹ As an illustration of the interest which the Church of England still feels for the Reformed Church of France, we may mention the remark which the late Archbishop of Canterbury, Dr Benson made at the luncheon at the Cathedral Library, the Dean presiding, subsequent to the proceedings of the enthronisation of the new Primate. "Referring to the embracing capacity of the Church, his Grace spoke of the sympathy accorded by the Cathedral of Canterbury to the French Protestants, who have their Church in its crypt," and in the ceremony itself we read, "After the clergy came the Senior Verger of St Paul's Cathedral escorting the Prolocutor of the Convocation of Convocations (Lord Alwyne Compton), Dean of Worcester, with the five assessors,

But to return to our Bishop and his writings on some of the "burning questions" of his day. There is no point of the Anglican armour which has been more fiercely assailed than the Ordinal of the National Church—round this question the battle has fiercely raged. In Bishop Davenant's days, the Puritans, who rejected the apostolical succession of Bishops, and in fact the Episcopal regimen altogether, were coming rapidly to the front. Presbyterians and Independents alike repudiated Episcopal ordination upon the same principle—the former regarding ordination by the presbyters or second order sufficient, and the later that of the simple pastorate for the exercise of the Christian ministry. The attacks against the Anglican Ordinal¹ on the part of the Recusants, as they were called, or Romanists, beginning with the Nag's Head² story, and which have continued more or less down to the present time, are too well known to be more than referred to in this place. The recent Papal Bull is still fresh in our minds.

Our Bishop addresses himself to this subject in his usual trenchant manner, and fully discusses the difference between the Episcopal and Presbyterian forms of ordination. What the Church teaches is formulated in these remarkable words—taken from the Preface to the Anglican Ordinal: "It is evident unto all men diligently reading the Holy Scripture and ancient authors, that from the Apostles' time there have been these orders of ministers in Christ's Church—Bishops, Priests, and Deacons." It will be seen that Davenant's teaching as to Church principles is again fully in accordance with this statement as to disciplinary matters, as it was in a question of doctrine. It is entitled,

Sub-Dean Clements, Canons Butler, Sumner, Douglas, and Bree, *after whom walked the pastor of the French Church, in black gown over a violet cassock.*"—*Morning Post*, March 30th, 1883.

¹ See Author's defence of the "Anglican Ordinal" (*Established Church: its History, Philosophy, Advantages and Claims*, pp. 465-555).

² "Presbyterianism is simply this—the government of a religious society without Bishops" (vide *The Church's Broken Unity, Presbyterianism*, p. 75).

“Diversity of Degrees” in the ministers of the Gospel is *not* repugnant to the Word of God, and is taken from the 42nd of his “Determinations,” delivered when he was in the chair of Margaret Professor of Divinity at Cambridge, and which we will now consider.

After putting on one side the position of the Papists with regard to the minor orders he goes on to say—

“My only dispute is concerning Episcopacy and Presbytery. Nor shall I here subtilly contend, whether Episcopacy be a distinct order from Presbytery, or only another and higher degree in the same order. William of Paris distinctly affirms that Episcopacy is not an *order*, but an *honour*: which is also maintained by Gerson, whose words are these. *There is not another power of order in Bishops than in Presbyters, but the same is there in a more perfect mode.*”

Finally, Durandus (lib. iv., dist. 24) is of the same opinion—

“*Episcopacy*,” says he, “is not an order strictly distinct from the *simple Priesthood*, but the distinction between them is of *Perfect and Imperfect*. Hither tends the arguments of the schoolmen, that the Episcopate as distinguished from the simple priesthood is not another order: but a more eminent power and dignity of certain who are in the same sacerdotal order. It is sufficient for us (laying aside this verbal contention) to show that those who are peculiarly called Bishops have a higher dignity, greater power, and more excellent offices annexed to them than other Presbyters have, and this is not repugnant to the Word of God. But it were trivial to say *not repugnant*: for it is easy to demonstrate, that in the Divine Word, this eminence of Bishops over Presbyters is shadowed out, delineated, and by the apostles themselves established.”

Bishop Davenant’s argument then branches out into a *fourfold* division, which we will give the reader in the Bishop’s own words.

1. For first, that which was instituted in the Jewish Church by the most wise God that a High Priest should be set over the other priests, and the priests over the Levites (Numbers iii. and iv.), was prelusive to the establishing a like order in the Christian Church. Hence the remark of Jerome, *that we may know that the apostolical traditions were taken from the Old Testament, what Aaron and his sons and the*

Levites were in the temple, the bishops, presbyters, and deacons claim for themselves in the Church. It was the will of God that a certain order should flourish among the ministers of the Old Testament; the Church willed that an order not dissimilar should be found among hers. But where all are equal in dignity and power, there not even a shadow of becoming order is retained. For order is nothing else than the disposal of equals and unequals, assigning to each its place. Take away the inequality and by the same act you leave among sacred ministers all order thrown into confusion.

2. Secondly, it is evident that Christ Himself, for the edification of His Church, constituted ministers not endued with equal authority, but distinct in degree of dignity and power. For the Twelve Apostles were superior to the Seventy Disciples, and were placed above the same, not in excellency of gifts alone, but in amplitude of authority and power. Moreover, it is the constant doctrine of nearly all the Fathers, that the bishops succeeded the apostles in the ordinary government of the Church, as the presbyters also succeeded the seventy disciples. Let one of them, Augustine,¹ speak for all upon these words of

¹ "As an interpreter of the Word of God," says the late Rev. Charles Marriott, "St Augustine is acknowledged to stand at an elevation which few have reached, and none surpassed. It detracts but little from his merits to say that the external helps which enabled Origen and St Jerome to fix the sacred text with greater exactness were wanting to the Bishop of Hippo, and that his Latin and Septuagint occasionally led him into interpretations which cannot be justified on grounds of criticism, not that he was careless of such helps, or slighted the philological element in sacred exegesis. Indeed, in his treatise *De Doctrina Christiana*, or "The Instruction of the Christian Teacher," he has enunciated the principles of sacred hermeneutics and hence deduced a method and rules which, even in respect of the technical processes of interpretation, are still most profitable to be studied and borne in mind. But the distinguishing qualities of St Augustine as an interpreter are to be seen in his profound religious earnestness, his heart-felt appreciation of perfect harmony and Unity of the Word of God, his firm persuasion that nothing there is accidental and unnecessary, but every utterance full of truth and power for all ages; that to believe is the way to understand; that things obscure, startling, and apparently contradictory to the Scriptures, are not only useful as a discipline of faith, but breathe of the presence, it may be, of some deep spiritual significance, therefore not to be shrunk from or slurred over, but to be searched into, until that which furnished the infidel with matter of cavilling shall yield to the believer's edification and spiritual joy. Therefore, even in his popular preaching he is not withheld from the discussion of scripture difficulties, by the fear of unsettling the minds of the less-instructed believers."—Preface to *Homilies on St John's Gospel* ("Library of the Fathers"). And to the same effect writes the late Dr Pusey: "On his directly practical teaching it will be

the Psalmist, "Instead of thy fathers thou shalt have children" (Psalm xliv.). *What is this?* says he. *Instead of thy fathers thou shalt have children? The apostles were sent as fathers. Instead of the apostles, sons were born to thee: Bishops were constituted. For those who are at this day Bishops through all the world, whose children were they? The Church herself calls them Fathers; but she herself gave them birth, and she herself constituted them in the seats of the fathers.* The same is the sentiment of Jerome, Ambrose, and Theodoret, all of whom agree in acknowledging Bishops to be the successors of the Apostles, not in their extraordinary privileges, which were necessary to lay the foundations of the Church, but in that ordinary superiority which is required for her perpetual conservation and extension when founded. Add to this, that immediately after the ascension of Christ, the Church was adorned and distinguished by evangelical ministers who differed from each other, not merely in variety of gifts, but in a certain imparity of dignity and power (1 Cor. xii. 28, 29). *God hath set in His Church first apostles, secondly prophets, then teachers, &c. Are all apostles? Are all prophets?* They who will have all ministers to be of equal power appear either not to know what Christ did, or account it unfit for His Church to imitate the same.

3. Let us descend in the third place to the apostles themselves, and we assert that, before they departed from earth to heaven, they placed in the great cities a Bishop, in authority superior to, and in power greater than the other presbyters. He was Chief Pastor of that city; he possessed a superiority, not only over the laity, but over the clergy

borne in mind that to him the Church is mainly indebted for the overthrow of Pelagianism, and the vindication of the doctrine of the free grace of God. When thus he insists, as he does so frequently, on the value of good works and especially almsgiving, to which he seems to recur with such especial sympathy, it will not be hastily thought that so deep and consistent a thinker, and so imbued with divine truth, was at variance with himself and with it, and we may in his teaching gain more constraining motives to encourage ourselves and others, if so one great stain of our times, the neglect of Christ's poor, may be mitigated or effaced. On the other hand, when he speaks of heresy, he speaks of what he had himself been; of the nothingness of this world's pleasures and applause, of what he had himself, when unbaptized, too miserably tasted; of Christ's power to save out of them, what he had himself felt; of the grace of God, what he had himself used; of the value of alms as having himself given up what was his; of humility, as showing it in the very language in which he praises it; of the joys of heaven and the love of God, as that for which he had abandoned freely and for ever all on earth, for which he was daily labouring, enduring, sighing."—Advertisement to *Sermons on New Testament by St Augustine* ("Library of the Fathers").

or presbyters of the same city. Such was Titus at Crete, Timothy at Ephesus, James at Jerusalem, Euodias at Antioch, Amianus at Alexandria, Polycarp at Smyrna, not to mention others, who, it is most certain, were exalted to the Episcopal seat, the apostles being alive, and seeing, approving, nay, even directing, that very thing. It is also certain that, throughout the Universal Church of Christ, the successors of these also held a certain eminent authority over their own flock and over inferior ministers; and it is equally certain that there was a perpetual succession of the same. This is attested by the very titles which the ancients continually apply to these bishops and to their successors. They were called the *Great Pastors, Prelates, Head Princes of the Church*.¹ If the power and dignity of all ministers were equal, they would never have dignified, or rather derided, bishops above others with these empty titles. Nay, Christ Himself gave to these chief Pastors of His Churches, whom we call bishops, the especial appellation of angels (Rev. xi.). In the Church of Ephesus, of Pergamos, and the rest, there were *many* Presbyters; but there was in each *one* angel, or bishop, whom Christ addresses singly. If he had been one of the body of presbyters, neither in dignity nor power greater than the rest, there was no reason why Christ should address him, as it were, by name. Beza not inaply expounds these words (Rev. xi.). To the Angel of the Church of Ephesus, *that is, to the President*; which term very well suits a bishop, who presides not only over the laity, but the other clergy. But what he adds about the office of this President not being perpetual, is so clearly refuted by ecclesiastical history, that it is wonderful to see it asserted by a learned man not unacquainted with antiquity. "Be this, therefore, fixed and established, that among many Presbyters who in some one city administered the Word and sacraments, there was one set over the rest by the apostles themselves, and armed with a peculiar dignity and power. These bishops, being thus established by the authority of the apostles, it is certain were succeeded in a perpetual series by those who were substituted in the same cities, and when it seemed good to the Church, new ones also were constituted in other cities after the same example."

4. But in the last place we must observe in what consisted this excellent dignity and power of Bishops, by which they were distinguished, not by their own presumption, but by Apostolical ordination, from other inferior Presbyters. And here it must be candidly acknowledged, that Bishops have certain privileges above Presbyters, which are derived, not from the primitive constitution of the apostles,

¹ By Nazianzen and Hilary.

but either from the especial beneficence of Christian Princes, or from the authority of Councils; and of such we say with Jerome, in his dialogue against the Luciferians, *These are rather for honour to the Priesthood than of legal necessity.*

But of Bishops there are three peculiar marks by which they are readily distinguished from other Presbyters, and recognized as superior.

1. The first is that in cities, however large and populous, wherein many Presbyters were created, the Apostles ordained one Bishop only, at whose decease another succeeded singly in the same See. Hence that decree of the Council of Nice, *Let there not be two Bishops in one city.* Hence Cornelius, Bishop of Rome, reproaches Novatus for ignorance for not acknowledging the singleness of episcopal succession: *This Vindicator of the Gospel is ignorant that there must be one Bishop in that Church, in which he is not ignorant there are forty-five Presbyters* (Euseb. vi. 42). If the Apostles approved a parity of all ministers, why would they have one to be distinguished from all the rest, by this singleness of succession? Jerome, who is esteemed not very favourable to episcopal dignity, nevertheless confesses, that with this singleness of succession, a singular dignity and eminence was joined. For thus he writes (in *Epist. ad Evagrium*) concerning the Bishop of Alexandria: *At Alexandria, from the Evangelist Mark down to the Bishops Heraclas and Dionysius, the Presbyters always having elected one from themselves and placed him in a higher degree, named him Bishop.* From this eminent authority of one Bishop in one city or diocese, the most wise and holy Father saw that the place and unity of the Church depended, and they have left their testimony to us. Cyprian, a man far removed from all pride and ambition, shows that this sacerdotal authority of one Bishop was confirmed by the divine approbation, and immediately adds, *From no other quarter have heresies arisen, or schisms sprung up, than from this, that they would not render obedience to the Priest of God, nor think that in the place of Christ, there is one Priest in the Church at the time, and one judge at the time* (*Epist. lib. 1, Epist. 3*). Which words are most impudently wrested by the Romanists to establish the Monarchy of the Pope, when it is clearer than the meridian light that the blessed Martyr was speaking of himself, not of the Roman Pontiff. If, in the cause of Bishops, the testimony of a Bishop be suspicious, let us again hear St Jerome, who was not wont to depress Presbyters, or exalt Bishops unduly. Thus speaks he against the Luciferians (Cap. iv. p. 199):—

The safety of the Church depends on the dignity of the Chief Priest, to whom if a certain peculiar and eminent power be not granted by

all, there will be formed in the Churches as many schisms as there are Priests. This very singleness of episcopal succession, always joined with a certain amplitude of authority, is sufficient of itself to crush the *modern error of the parity of all ministers.*

2. But we are to add the second mark of Episcopal dignity, by the light and power of ordination, which was transmitted by the Apostles themselves to Bishops, but denied to inferior Presbyters. Both which is clear from hence, that we see the Apostles sent Timothy and Titus to Churches in which there were many Presbyters, viz., to Ephesus and Crete, that they might ordain Presbyters where there was need. *Lay hands suddenly on no man,* is the admonition of Paul to Timothy (1 Tim. v. 20), who was endued with the power of ordination. *For this cause left I thee in Crete, that thou shouldest set in order the things that are wanting and ordain Presbyters in every city,* are the words of the same Apostle to Titus (i. 5), and referring to the same thing. Why could not the Ephesian Presbyters ordain others before the arrival of Timothy? Why was it not lawful for the ministers of Crete to do the like before Titus came? No adequate reason for this can be assigned, unless the power of ordaining resides in those alone who discharge the Episcopal function. Jerome (whom some suppose to have agreed with Aerius¹) yet admits (*Epist. ad Evag.*) that ordination is so precious to Bishops, that it is not lawful for Presbyters to exercise it. *What does a Bishop do, ordination excepted, which a Presbyter does not?* In this Apostolic Institution the Catholic Church always acquiesced, and did not acknowledge any other ordination lawful than that which was solemnized by a lawful Bishop. We find a remarkable example of this in the works of Athanasius. One Colythus, a Presbyter in the Church of Alexandria, presumed to ordain other Presbyters. But what was afterwards done? *This ordination of his was rescinded, and all the Presbyters made by him were reduced to the rank of laymen* (Athanasius, *Apolog.* 2). It is therefore certain that the power of ordaining belongs to the office of Bishops only, and does not belong to inferior Presbyters, which is a manifest proof of Episcopal dignity and Presbyterial inferiority.

But here in passing we have to solve a doubt which was not omitted by the schoolmen themselves;² for it is often questioned, whether, besides a Bishop, who by his office dispenses sacred orders, can one inferior to a Bishop confer the same in case of necessity? To which I answer, seeing that to confer holy orders is by apostolical institution an act of the Episcopal office, if Presbyters in a well constituted

¹ *Vide Medin. lib. i., de Sac. hom. cont., cap. 5.*

² *Vide Durand, lib. iv., disp. 7, quæst. 3.*

Church do that, their act is not only unlawful but null and void. For here obtains the axiom of Hugo, *What is performed contrary to the institution is accounted null.* But in a disturbed Church where all the Bishops have fallen into heresy or idolatry, where they refuse to ordain orthodox ministers, or where they account those alone to be worthy of Holy orders who participate in their error or faction, if orthodox Presbyters be compelled to ordain other Presbyters, that the Church may not perish, I could not venture to pronounce ordination of this kind vain and invalid. For if the danger that threatens a single infant be sufficient to transfer the office of baptizing to any layman, which, by institution, belongs to ministers alone, why is not danger impending over a particular Church sufficient to transfer the office of ordaining to simple priests, which, by institution belongs to Bishops alone? Necessity has been aptly called *temporary law*: and in such case it defends that to which it compels. It is the opinion of Armachanus,¹ that if all Bishops were dead, inferior priests could ordain. Certainly the consideration is much alike, when all have become sworn enemies to the truth. For as a commonwealth, so a particular Church, has a certain extraordinary power for the necessary preservation of itself. If then certain Protestant Churches, which could not look for ordination from Popish Bishops, have, under this necessity, ordained Presbyters, they are not to be judged as having injured the episcopal dignity, but to have yielded to the necessity of the Church.

3. The last token of episcopal dignity remains, which exalts these above Presbyters, and allows them not by any means to be accounted equal in degree. This is the power of jurisdiction, not only over the laity, but the clergy, who are also by apostolical institution subject to Bishops. It is a saying as true as it is common, *Equal hath not power over equal.* But Bishops have power over the clergy: not indeed a *regal* or *lordly* power, but one that is *Pastoral* or *Paternal*: which is inconsistent with all kind of parity or equality. To say nothing of others, excommunication, which is the spiritual staff, is delivered into the Bishop's hand, to chastise, not only the vicious or contumacious of the laity, but also Presbyters that deserve this censure. This is most evident from the Epistles of Timothy and Titus, of whom one was constituted Bishop of the Church of Ephesus, and the other of Crete, by St Paul. They are commanded to enjoin some not to preach diverse doctrines, to stop the mouths of deceivers, to reject heretics, and other points, implying jurisdiction and authority. It is also evident from the language of Christ to the Angels of the

¹ Richard Fitzralph, Archbishop of Armagh.

Asiatic Churches. The Angel (*i.e.*, the Bishop) of the Church of Pergamos is reprov'd (Rev. ii. 15) because he had in his Church some who held the doctrine of the Nicolaitans. Thus also the Angel of the Church of Thyatira (Rev. ii. 20), because he permitted the woman Jezebel to teach and seduce the people. Therefore, in the judgment of Christ Himself, the Bishop hath authority to restrain and reject heretics out of the Church.

I do not say that a Bishop was accustomed to do this without the consent of Presbyters ; for what Cyprian declares of himself (*Epist.* lib. 3, epist. 10) *that from the beginning of his episcopate he had determined to do nothing of his own private opinion without advice*, was probably observed by other pious Bishops. Nevertheless, it is manifest that the censure proceeded from the Episcopal authority alone, and passed as an act of Episcopal jurisdiction upon offenders. For excommunication is called the *Episcopal Sword*. In the case of excommunication, there was an appeal from the Episcopal judgment to a Synod ; which confirm'd the Bishop's censure, if it had been rightly denounced, or rescinded it if otherwise. Therefore in the act of excommunication, not the people, nor the Presbyters, are the acknowledged judges, but the Bishop alone. That this was the discipline of the *primitive Church*, can be made clear from ancient Councils. Let the Council of Nice, can. 5 ; of Antioch, can. 6 ; of Sardium, can. 14, be inspected. Nay, Jerome himself does not doubt that the power of excommunicating Presbyters belongs to the Bishops. Hence he writes thus to Riparius (*Epist.* 53) concerning Vigilantius, an heretical Presbyter, *I wonder that the holy Bishop, in whose diocese he is said to be a Presbyter sits quiet at the frenzy of the man, and does not break this unprofitable vessel with the apostolical and iron rod, and deliver him to the destruction of the flesh, that his spirit may be saved*. These things shew clear enough, that from the very Apostolical times, Bishops were superior in power and degree to Presbyters, and that a parity among ministers of the Gospel never obtained."

Bishop Davenant, having thus clearly stated his case, proceeds to answer the three following arguments, which are alleg'd to the contrary, and he does it most logically and luminously :—

(1) Christ Himself seems to prohibit this inequality among Gospel ministers (Matt. xx. 25, 26). (2) It is objected that in the Acts and Epistles of St Paul, Presbyters are called Bishops, and *vice versa*. Hence some labour to prove not only that Presbyters are equal to

Bishops, but that they are altogether the same with Bishops. (3) They also object that though it be acknowledged they were superior to the other ministers of the Gospel, yet as their vocation was extraordinary, so also was their power. Bishops therefore cannot claim superiority or power over other Presbyters, because this excelling power being annexed to the *persons* of the Apostles, did not pass over to the Bishops and their successors.

These objections having been carefully considered by our Bishop, and critically answered in a most convincing and exhaustive manner, Davenant thus concludes his argument :—

“As to the last objection of Jerome, viz., that Bishops are greater than custom, more by custom than any true appointment of the Lord, it appears to press somewhat closer. But we answer first, that his words are not to be too closely pressed : for he writes differently in different places, and inconsistently on this same subject. Nevertheless, his words may be allowed in a sound sense : since he may be understood to speak of *the titles*, not of *the offices* : for custom, and not any appointment of the Lord or His Apostles, hath made the *title* of Bishop greater than that of the Presbyter ; or Jerome may be understood to speak of that authority which Bishops had obtained over Presbyters in his age. For this was considered in a great degree, in privileges which had been conceded to them, by custom and the authority of Councils ; but was not founded in any constitution of the Apostles. Finally, Jerome perhaps intended by the expression, *true appointment of the Lord*, an express command of our Lord in Scripture ; and *by custom*, a practice begun by the Apostles, and perpetually observed in the Church. But in whatever way his words be expounded, it is certain that Jerome acknowledged a diversity of degrees among the clergy, which is sufficient to refute the equality of ministers.”

CHAPTER X

BISHOP DAVENANT'S "DISSERTATION ON THE DEATH OF CHRIST" (1627)

"*In his grave writings he aims at God's glory and the Church's peace.* With that worthy prelate, the second Jewel of Salisbury, whose comments and controversies will transmit his memory to all posterity :

" Whose dying pen did write of *Christian union,*
How Church with Church might safely keep *communion,*
Commend his care, although the cure do miss :
The woe is ours, the happiness is his :
Who finding discords daily to increase,
Because he could not live, would die in peace."

FULLER'S *Holy State, The Good Bishop*, p. 270.

THE writer of these Memoirs has set himself the pleasing task of showing that Bishop Davenant, though he had, like so many Prelates of the early part of the 17th century, somewhat Calvinistic proclivities, of a mild, or sub-lapsarian type, was for all that a sound Anglican Divine formed upon true Church principles. He understood, no man better, the platform of the Reformed Church of this country, its historical basis, and its bifurcated appeal to the Word of God and Primitive Antiquity—*i.e.* the Word of God as interpreted by the Primitive Church. Ours is the only Church so reformed, both as to discipline and doctrine, and her mind could be easily seen from the very words (*ipsissima verba*) of the Church herself. In recasting our liturgical offices, the Reformers were guided by these words, that they should "draw an order of Divine Worship, having respect to the pure religion of Christ taught in the Scripture, and to the practice of the primitive Church." And accordingly, when they had completed

their work, they recommended it to the people, in a preface which is still retained, saying, "here you have an Order for Prayer, as touching the reading of Holy Scripture, *much agreeable to the mind and purpose of the old Fathers.*" In another preface, that to the service for the Ordering of Deacons, we are told "it is evident to all men diligently reading the Holy Scripture and *ancient authors*, that from the Apostles' time there have been these orders of ministers."

In the 24th article the language used is this, "It is a thing plainly repugnant to the Word of God, and *the Primitive Church*, to have public prayer in the Church, or to minister the sacraments in a tongue not understood of the people." Again, in her Communion Service, "Brethren," says she, "*in the Primitive Church* there was a godly discipline, that at the beginning of Lent, such persons as stood convicted of notorious sin, were put to open penance, and punished in this world, that their souls might be saved in the day of the Lord." Bishop Davenant would of course be familiar with these words, but he was also well aware of the perpetual reference made in the *Homilies* to the Primitive Church, nor would he be unversed in the "Apology for the Church of England," by his predecessor in the See of Salisbury, Bishop Jewel, which proceeded upon the *same lines*. Naturally, so erudite a divine would never lose sight of the Canon of 1571, enjoining that preachers should teach nothing but what is agreeable to the Old and New Testament, and what the *Catholic Fathers* and *ancient Bishops* have gathered out of that very doctrine. With these arguments the churchmen repelled the attacks not only of the Recusants,¹ but of the Puritans and Socinians. They went

¹ That part of the declaration of the good Bishop Ken, contained in his last will may be recalled by the reader. "As for my religion I die in the Communion of the Church of England, as it stands distinguished from all Papal and Puritan innovations, and as it *adheres to the doctrine of the Cross.*"

for their weapons to the armoury of the Primitive Church, witness the writings of Hooker, of Taylor, of Hammond, of Sanderson, of Bull, and many more: a class of divines to whom the works of the most ancient Fathers of all were even more familiar, perhaps, than they were to the Reformers themselves.¹ And it was to the same fountain-head that our Bishop betook himself, and furnished himself with those precise arguments of his drawn from Holy Writ, and the writings of the old Catholic Fathers and Doctors.

What then is meant by this appeal to Scripture *and* the Primitive Church which is the platform of the Anglican re-formation? Let us hear that great Patristic divine, the late Dr Pusey. "The Fathers, then," he says in his Preface to the *Confessions of St Augustine*, "are not, as some mistakenly suppose, equalled, much less preferred, to Holy Scripture, but only to *ourselves*, *i.e.*, the ancient to the modern, the waters near the fountain to the troubled estuary rolled backward and forward by the varying tide of human opinion, and rendered brackish by the continued contact with the bitter waters of this world, unity to disunion the knowledge of the near successors of the Apostles to that of these latter times."

And again he adds, "*The appeal of our Church is not to the Fathers individually, or as individuals, but as witnesses: not to this or that Father, but to the whole body, and agreement of 'Catholic Fathers and ancient Bishops.'*" The appeal is not to St Athanasius, or St Cyprian, or St Basil, much as we have reason to venerate those blessed servants of God, but to "the Church universal throughout the world," to whose belief these are eminent, but still single, witnesses. We could not tell from any single Father, unless where he directly avers it, whether any sentiment or statement of doctrine be peculiar to himself or his own Church, or some particular Churches; or whether, finally, it belongs to the belief of the Holy Church universal. . . .

¹ Blunt's *Introductory Lecture to the Study of the Early Fathers*, p. 30.

The words then of an individual Father may be only those of an enlightened man; it is only by their harmony or unity with others, that we ascertain them to be part of the Catholic verities. By comparing them with those of other members of his Church (who have ever been quoted as of eminence in each Church) we should ascertain them to be the doctrines of that Church: by comparison with other Churches, to be part of the teaching of the Church Catholic. Each Father is, in the first instance, probably a witness for the doctrine of his own Church, and indirectly and ultimately through his Church, of the Church Catholic, if so be his Church herein agree with the other Churches. For some things we find in the African, some in the Latin Church, peculiar to those Churches: some things again in two or more Churches, which yet we have no proof that they were ever Catholic. Things so held, or practices so received (such as the re-baptizing of heretics, held in the Churches of Africa proper, Egypt, Asia Minor), would, of course, be entitled to their degree of weight, in that they were so entertained in ancient or apostolic Churches, and would claim the more respect, if it should appear that there was no positive evidence on the other side (as in case other Churches knew not of them, but knew of no authority positively opposed to them)—still they would be to be regarded very differently from what was universally received. It is this only which, according to Vincentius' invaluable rule, was received "by all, in all Churches and at all times" (i.e., that, whose beginning cannot be traced, so that it should appear that the Church ever knew not of it, and in the evidence of whose reception there are no flaws, as if it should appear not to have been held either by distinct Churches, or by eminent individuals in each Church) which has the degree of evidence, upon which we can undoubtedly pronounce that it is apostolic.¹

¹ Dr Pusey's Preface to the *Confessions of St Augustine*, p. 8 (Translation "Library of the Fathers").

And again the Doctor says, on the use of this appeal to Scripture and Primitive Church :

" Thus as far as any appeal is made to antiquity, as in the other case, it is made not to the disparagement of Scripture (God forbid !), but against modern interpretations of Scripture, so here it is made not against our Church, or as wishing to superadd anything to it, but against modern interpretations of her meaning. . . . The object then of recalling men's attention to the Fathers, *so far as* relates to the establishment of doctrine or practice, is *subordinately* to Scripture to bring out the meaning of Holy Scripture, and with respectful deference to our Church, to lead people to see the Catholic and Primitive character and meaning of the treasures which she possesses. To those who doubt whether there be any such thing as Catholic agreement, having been accustomed to partial statements of the variations of the Fathers, it can only be said, as of old time 'Come and see': and we doubt not that they who have the candour of Nathanael, will, under the guise of flesh, find Him whom they seek, will in His Church see Him who promised to be with His Church 'even to the end of the world,' pervading by his spirit men of different temperaments, intellectual powers, learning, speech, discipline or depth or acuteness of mind, but fitting them alike, by docility and holiness, to carry on His message to the Church, and keep and transmit to us that one good thing committed unto them."¹

And with regard to the objection as to diversity among the Fathers, Bishop Beveridge well retorts :

" All the dissensions which have been raised among them on certain points take nothing from their supreme authority on those points on which they agree, but rather in an eminent degree confirm it. For the fact that in other things they have differed most plainly, manifests that those things on which they have agreed they have handed down, not from any compact or agreement, not from any party formed, not from any communication of design, nor, finally, from their own private opinions, but naked and unadulterated, as derived from the common and general interpretation of the Universal Church. And, indeed, although on certain less necessary points, as well of faith as of discipline, the ancient Fathers do in some little degree differ from one another, yet that very many things have been received with the fullest agreement by all, is so clear, that we may judge of it

¹ Dr Pusey's Preface to translation of *Confessions of St Augustine* ("Library of the Fathers"), p. 9.

with our own eyes. For there are many things which we see have been defined by the Universal Church in Councils truly œcumenical, many things which have been approved by the consent of several, many things by the consent of all the writers of the Church : many things, finally, concerning which there was in ancient times no controversy moved ; some of this class have been mentioned by us above, to which very many others may be added : those especially, which although not definitely prescribed in Holy Scripture, have yet been retained by our very pious and prudent reformer of the English Church.”¹

It will be remarked in all his writings, both as to doctrine and discipline, how freely and perpetually our Bishop goes for his arguments and appeals both to Scripture and the old Catholic Fathers and Doctors. This will account for the soundness of his teaching, and it laid the foundation of his brilliant career at Cambridge as Divinity Professor, which attracted the notice even of his European contemporaries.

The tractate which we propose to consider is called “A Dissertation on the Death of Christ,” as to its extent and special benefits. It contains a short History of Pelagianism, and shews the agreement of the Doctrines of the Church of England, on general Redemption, Election and Predestination with the *Primitive Fathers* of the Christian Church, and above all with the Holy Scriptures. It is by the Right Reverend John Davenant, D.D., Deputy to the Synod of Dort, etc. The title page has also a text and patristic quotation. The first is from St John vi. 39-40, “And this is the Father’s will, which has sent Me, that of all which he has given Me I should lose nothing, but should raise it up again at the last day. And this is the will of Him that sent Me, that every one which seeth the Son, and believeth on Him, may have everlasting life, and I will raise him at the last day.” And the second is from *Prosper*, “Ipse est (ut ait Apostolus) salvator omnium

¹ See Bishop Beveridge’s most valuable preface to the *Codex Canonum*. The translation prefixed to the Translation of Vincentius of Lerins’ Commonitory, Oxford, 1836, has been employed.

hominum, maxime, fidelium. *Quæ sententia, si tranquillo consideretur intuitu, totam controversiam dirimit*" (*De Vocat Gentium*, lib. ii. cap. 31).

This is followed by an address¹ to the kind Reader which is as follows :—

"It is not of much consequence to know whether the author delivered this Dissertation to his auditors in the Public School, before he was sent to the Synod of Dort by His Majesty, the King of Great Britain, or immediately after his return : whichever it might be, the work certainly shews that he was a man of great genius, and most acute judgment, a Doctor who was truly an ornament to the School and the Professor's Chair, which indeed he left vacant² to the great loss and grief of the University, when he was promoted to the Bishopric of the Church of Salisbury.

"It is to be attributed to the iniquity of the times that this Disser-

¹ This address is taken from an edition of the *Dissertatio de Morte Christi*, published in 12mo in 1683, and is the substance of a much longer one (as far as applicable to this piece) prefacing the edition published in folio in 1650, together with the *Dissertatio de Predestinatione et reprobatione*.

² It may be wondered how it was that Davenant was able to produce such numerous dissertations and voluminous works while he held his Chair of Theology. But it must be borne in mind that there has been a great change since his time, when lectures were going on almost all the year round, with few intervals, and these very short.

This is what the late Margaret Professor (Blunt) says of the altered state of things in his introductory lecture from that Chair :—

"Until the Margaret Professorship of Divinity became actually vacant by the death of the distinguished Prelate who last held it, and I was called up to Cambridge as a candidate for the Chair, and looked into the conditions of the endowment, I was not adequately aware of the character or extent of the duties it imposes. On perusing, however, the deed by which the Margaret Professor is bound, I could not but see that a state of things was contemplated by the Foundress very different from that which now obtains—residence in the University almost throughout the year : studies nearly unintermitted : the professors the directors of those studies : hours at their disposal : attendance at lectures, perhaps compulsory : the age of the pupils, tender : their attainments, moderate : books scarce and costly—accordingly the Professor was to read some work on theology approved by the authorities of the times, week after week, and term after term : and if to comment on it at all, the comment we must suppose to be such as would be consistent with perhaps a fortnight's preparation (such being the whole interval which would sometimes elapse between his election and commencement of lectures) for a duty of almost daily recurrence and little cessation."—(Lecture, pp. 1, 2.)

tation did not come to light sooner, for then under the pretence of restraining the itching desire of some, who it was exclaimed exposed nothing else scarcely to the people but the most profound decrees of God, and especially of Reprobation, to the great prejudice of piety, some persons obtained from the King a prohibition, that no one should publish anything in writing or preaching on the questions controverted between the Calvinists and the Remonstrants.

“These knotty and thorny questions, Whether the death of Christ is a universal remedy—that is, applicable to all, or whether it is a particular remedy, destined for the elect alone; whether there is an election of some persons to glory, and, on the contrary, a preterition of others; whether election is from the mere good pleasure of God, or only from merits foreseen and conditionally—these knotty points, I say, no one hath explained better than this author. Therefore take and read him, and I am much deceived, indeed, if you will not confess that he has satisfied you. Why should I say more? To give you a foretaste, you have here in

“Chap. 1: an historical and not unacceptable narrative of the rise and origin of the question which is to be discussed concerning the death of Christ and its intended latitude or extent. Then, in

“Chap. 2: a Thesis concerning the death of Christ as a universal cause of salvation applicable to all men is confirmed by arguments. In

“Chap. 3, it is vindicated from the objections of adversaries. In

“Chap. 4, you will find a most lucid explanation of the distinction, for all men sufficiently, for the elect effectually. I omit the other chapters, which you will understand better by reading the work itself.

“Another tract is added which was written on occasion of a controversy which arose among the Reformed Divines of France. *On the gracious and saving will of God towards sinful men.* The opinion of the Divines of England was desired on that question, because it seemed likely to contribute not a little towards establishing peace. In the Appendix, therefore, is the opinion of Dr Davenant on that Gallican controversy, which, having been written with his own hand, and presented by his nephew to the Most Rev. Archbishop of Armagh, we have taken leave to place at the end of the book. Enjoy them, Candid reader, and farewell.”

The following is the account of this work, as given by the Rev. Josiah Allport, in his short sketch of Bishop Davenant:

“In 1650 was published a thin folio, containing, *Dissertationes duæ: prima de Morte Christi: altera de Predestinatione et electione, &c., to which is appended Sententia de Gallicana Controversia, de gratiosa et*

salutari Dei erga homines Peccatores voluntate, &c. These treatises, selected from our author's papers, had been sent to Archbishop Usher by Dr Edward Davenant for the purpose of publication. But the wretched state of the times prevented their appearing for some years ; and it does not seem that the Archbishop was the Editor, for the preface is signed with the initials T. B. The French controversy had arisen upon the opinions of Cameron, a divine of the Gallican Protestant Church : Davenant's sentiments were applied for, and are here given. At the end of this volume, but not named in the title-page, is *Sententia Ecclesiæ Anglicanæ de Predestinatione et capitibus annexis, ab eodem (ut fertur) authore, jussu Regis Serenissimi conscripta*. How this can be imputed to Davenant, and received as such by the Editor, is inexplicable. It is manifestly the production of an inferior pen, and is decidedly adverse to his views, as stated through the rest of the volume. The Editor, T. B., I conceive to be one Thomas Bedford, who, in the same year (1650), at the suggestion of Archbishop Usher, published, along with two Divinity Theses of his own, a letter of Bishop Davenant to Dr Ward, entitled, *Epistola de Sacramentis*.

"In sending up the two *Dissertations* above mentioned to Archbishop Usher, Dr Edward Davenant says, 'I have sent up that elaborate work of the Bishop of Salisbury, which being committed to my charge, your Grace has done me unspeakable favour to undertake the publishing of it. . . . The short answer of his unto the French Divines, which I found scattered among his papers, is sent up in this book.'¹ The regard of Usher and Davenant appears to have been reciprocal. The former, in writing to Dr Ward, says, 'For the Arminian Question, I desire never to read more than my Lord of Salisbury's Lectures touching Predestination and Christ's Death.' And again, 'I thank you most heartily for communicating my Lord of Salisbury's Lectures. They are excellent : learnedly, soundly, and perspicuously performed ; and I hope will do much good for the establishing of our young divines in the present truth.'²

In the first chapter of this admirable work our Bishop gives an excellent historical account of the rise and origin of the question to be discussed concerning the death of

¹ In 1641, the year of the Bishop's decease, the learned Dr Gerard Langhame published, at Oxford, a book, entitled, "*Episcopal Inheritance, or a reply to the humble examination of a printed abstract, and the answers to nine reasons of the House of Commons against the votes of Bishops in Parliament. To which is added a Determination of the late learned Bishop of Salisbury, Englished.*" This was reprinted in 1680 in London.

² Allport's *Life of Davenant*, p. 49.

Christ and its intended latitude or extent, and he begins the discussion as follows :—

“It is truly a matter of grief and exceedingly to be deplored, that either from the misfortune or the disorder of our age, it almost always happens, that those mysteries of our religion, which were promulgated for the peace and comfort of mankind, should be turned into materials for nothing but contention and dispute. Who could have thought that the death of Christ, which was destined to secure peace and destroy enmity, as the Apostle speaks (Ephes. ii. 14-17, and Coloss. i. 20, 21) could have been so fruitful in the production of strife? But this seems to arise from the innate curiosity of men, who are more anxious to scrutinize the secret counsels of God, than to embrace the benefits openly offered to them. Hence it comes to pass that from too much altercation on the points, *For whom did Christ die and for whom did He not die?* little is thought by mankind individually of applying to ourselves the death of Christ, by a true and lively faith, for the salvation of our own souls. It is my intention in treating of this subject to endeavour rather to appease strife than to excite it.” Continuing in this pertinent strain Davenant then states the controversy in certain propositions and counter propositions, and at once plunges into his appeal to Primitive Antiquity, about which allusion has been already made. “But before I bring forward the above-mentioned propositions, I shall premise some things concerning the origin of this controversy, and the sentiments of *the Fathers* respecting it, and other similar matters, which may seem necessary to the thorough understanding of the history of the controversy.”

He then applies himself to a concise elucidation of this business. “I think, then, it may be truly affirmed, that before the dispute between Augustine and Pelagius, there was no question concerning the death of Christ, whether it was to be extended to all mankind, or to be confined only to the elect. For the Fathers, when speaking of the death of Christ, describe it to us as undertaken and endured for the redemption of the human race; and not a word (that I know of) occurs among them of the exclusion of any persons by the decree of God; they agree that it is actually beneficial to those only who believe, yet they everywhere confess that Christ died in behalf of all mankind. Thus Clemens Alexandrinus (*Pedag.* cap. ii.) says: *That Christ freely brings and bestows salvation to the whole human race.* And of the same opinion is Origen (*lib.* 5, *contra Lib.*), *Jesus is declared to have come into the world for the sake of all who ever were sinners that they might leave their sins and give themselves up to God.* With whom agrees

Primasius¹ on 1 Tim. ii. on the words, *Who gave Himself a ransom for all*, he says: *For all men indeed the blood of Christ has been shed, but it is beneficial only to those who believe.* From which disciple of Augustine we may conjecture what was the doctrine of Augustine himself. Their adversaries were nevertheless accustomed to object to Augustine, and others, who embraced the doctrine of predestination, that they taught that Christ was crucified for the predestinate alone, and from this objection of the Pelagians, some in succeeding ages seized a handle for kindling the afore-mentioned controversy. This is manifest from the objections of the Vincentians, in which this takes the lead, *That our Lord Jesus Christ did not suffer for the salvation and redemption of all men.* It is manifest from the answers of Prosper to the Capitula of the Gallican² Divines, where their ninth objection is given after this manner: *that the Saviour was not crucified for the redemption of the whole world.* The semi-Pelagians objected to this as new, invidious, and erroneous. But Prosper meets these objections, not by maintaining that Christ suffered only for the elect, but by showing whence it arises that the passion of Christ is profitable and saving to the elect alone; namely, because these only, through the benefit of special grace, obtain preserving faith, whereby they are enabled to apply to themselves the death of Christ. All others, without the assistance of this special grace, *through their own*

¹ Primasius, a Catholic bishop of the sixth century, a native of Africa, who obtained the See of Adrumetum, also known by the name of Justinopolis, in the Province of Byzacene. About the year 550 he was one of a deputation which was sent to Constantinople on the affairs of the African Churches, and he was at that city in 553, when the fifth General Council assembled there by order of the Emperor Justinian. He refused, however, to take any share in the deliberations of that assembly, though repeatedly invited, and he subscribed to the constitution which Pope Vigilius issued in defence of the three chapters; *i.e.* the three pieces in the writings of Theodorus of Mopsuestia on the subject of the human and divine natures in Christ. Primasius was looked upon as a commentator on Scripture and a writer of some note in that age, and his commentary upon the Epistles of Paul, as also a book of his concerning Heresies, is yet extant; but the former Mosheim regards as nothing more than a compilation from the works of Augustine, Jerome, and others.

² Capitula Gallorum, or objections of the Gallican Divines. These were chiefly the priests of Marseilles, about whose series of objections (which, probably, were those attributed to Vincentius) Prosper wrote to Augustine propounding those objections, and praying him to answer them. This letter is among Augustine's Epistles, and his reply to it in his Books of the Saints' Predestination and of the gift of Perseverance, proved so satisfactory to Prosper's mind, that he became the zealous defender of Augustine against those who attacked his opinions.

fault, either remain altogether in unbelief, or draw back from faith received, and therefore fail of the benefits of redemption. This is the tendency in the points to the answer to the afore-mentioned objection of Vincentius.¹ *That as far as relates to the magnitude and virtue of the price, and to the one cause of the human race, the blood of Christ is the redemption of the whole world; but those who pass through this life without the faith of Christ and sacrament of regeneration, do not partake of the redemption.* A little afterwards: *The cup of immortality, which is composed of our infirmity and divine goodness, has indeed in itself what is profitable for all, but if it be not drunk, it does not heal.* Not dissimilar are the remarks brought forward in answer to the ninth objection of the Gallican Divines. For there it is confessed, although *Christ may be said to have been crucified for those only whom His death profited*, that is, for the regenerate and those that believe to the end, *it may also be said, that the Redeemer of the world gave His own blood for the world, and the world would not be redeemed.* Lastly, it clearly proves that Augustine did not teach that

¹ Vincentius Lirinensis or St Vincent of Lerins. He was by birth a Gaul and a contemporary with Augustine, entering the monastery in the island of Lerins from the storms of a military life, about the middle of the fifth century, and from the place of his retirement and great sanctity became known to the Catholic world. In his retreat he composed a treatise entitled *Commonitorium adversus Hereticos*, in which he undertook to show the folly of all novel opinions. There is not a more convincing writer than he against the modern claims of the novel Roman Papacy, for he is the author of that touchstone (and it is an infallible one) against all novelties in doctrines, and in favour of the true old Catholic doctrine of orthodox antiquity—*quod semper, quod ubique, quod ab omnibus* (that which has been believed or received always, everywhere, and by all). His production obtained celebrity, and was often reprinted in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries. An English translation of it was published in 1709 by the Rev. William Reeves, together with translations of the early Christian Apologists in 2 vols.; the whole is preceded by an able dissertation of above 100 pages in correction of Daille's work *Upon the right use of the Fathers*. The work here mentioned seems to be the only production of his pen, and the object of it is to show that men should prove the orthodoxy of their faith, first by the authority of Holy Scripture, and secondly by the doctrine of the Catholic Church. So far from Vincentius upholding the claims of the modern Roman Church, his translator has justly observed in his "Preliminary Discourse" to the treatise, "had Vincentius been assisted with a prophetic vision of the future corruptions in the Church of Rome, he could not have expressed himself more clearly against it. The whole design and bent of his book is directly against all *innovations* in the faith and for cleaving inevitably to *the creed as there explained, and always understood by the Apostolic Churches.*"

Christ died for the predestinate alone, because Prosper, from his opinion, extends the peculiar benefit of His passion, namely, the remission of original sin to infants even not predestinated (Resp. ad obj. 2 Gall. and Sentent). *He who says that the Grace of Baptism, being received, does not take away original sin from those who are predestinated to life is not a Catholic*, which opinion was embraced by the Synod of Valence,¹ even some ages after Augustine, as it appears by the fifth canon. From these things it is evident, that although the seeds of this controversy were sown, yet that Augustine and his disciples would never be the patrons of the doctrine, *that Christ suffered for the predestinated alone*. But dismissing Augustine, let us come to Pelagius and his followers, and here it is worth while to observe that in the late discussion of this controversy, two errors contrary to each other have been attributed to Pelagius, but falsely. For those who contend that Christ died for the elect alone say that the opposite opinion, namely, *That Christ died for all*, is one of the Pelagian errors. On the contrary, those who are on the opposite side exclaim that it is mere Pelagianism to exclaim *that Christ did not die for all men*. But they do injustice to both sides, to Pelagius and to themselves. With respect to the first, a certain learned man says that this opinion concerning universal redemption and limited deliverance was attributed to the Pelagians and semi-Pelagians, and supported by a certain passage of Augustine against Julian (lib. iii. cap. 3), where he attacks the Pelagian in this manner: *Go on still, go on; and as you say, In the sacrament of the Saviour infants are baptised, but not saved; are redeemed, but are not liberated; are washed, but are not absolved; so also say, blood is shed for them for the remission of sins, but they are not cleansed by the remission of sins. These are marvellous things which you say, they are new things which you say,*

¹ This Synod, or Council as it is termed by Du Pin, was held in the year 855, by the management of Remi, Bishop of Lyons, in order to confirm his opinions about Grace. It was composed of fourteen bishops of the Province of Lyons, Arles, and Vienne, in which the three Metropolitans presided, and Ebbo, Bishop of Grenoble, was present. They made six canons in this Synod concerning Grace, Freewill, and Predestination. They rejected four canons made at the preceding Council of Quiercy, held under Hincmar, Archbishop of Rheims, on the doctrine of Predestination, as idle, vain, and false; and condemned a treatise of Scotus on the same subject as a silly book. Hincmar afterwards wrote a treatise of thirty-eight chapters, which he dedicated to Charles the Bald, to defend his four articles and confute the canons of the Council of Valence. In this treatise he sets out with a view of the origin of the heresy about predestination, and to prove that it commenced after the time of Augustine.

they are false things which you say, and so on. But in this place Augustine disputes about infants only; nor does he do this in order to show that it is to be set down as Pelagianism. That Christ died for those who on account of their own belief are not saved, but that He died for those, or redeemed those who were not subject to sin, and therefore had no guilt from which they should be freed. For as it respects infants, Pelagius acknowledged in words that they were redeemed, but taught in reality that they had no need of redemption; as it is evident, since he contended *That there was nothing depraved in them, nothing held under the power of the devil; in one word, nothing which could be redeemed by so great a price* (August. Epist. 90). This, therefore, is what Augustine finds fault with in him, not that he taught that Christ suffered for all, which opinion of Pelagianism it can be shown was not condemned in any council that was formed against the Pelagians, nor in any work of Augustine written against the semi-Pelagians. He professedly writes against the errors of the semi-Pelagians in his books on the Predestination of the Saints and on the Benefit of Perseverance; yet he never attempts to infringe the proposition *That Christ died for all men*. Whatsoever, therefore, may be concluded respecting the truth of the proposition (which will be seen hereafter), it is certain that it was never accounted a Pelagian dogma, as some persons, leaning on weak foundations, have confidently affirmed."

Bishop Davenant then comes to the contrary proposition, and he sums up the errors of the Pelagians under three heads.

"1. For there is one who affirms that this also savours of Pelagianism, and writes that Pelagius taught *that Christ did not die for all men*. Thus Grevinchovius,¹ in a Dissertation on the death of Christ, with our countryman Ames,² says, Pelagius taught (as Faustus of Ries

¹ Grevinchovius, a Dutchman who flourished in the beginning of the 17th century as a Pastor of Rotterdam, and was eminent among the Remonstrants. He is largely noticed in Brandt's *Reformation in the Low Countries*, vol iii., p. 195.

² Dr William Ames, born of an ancient Norfolk family in 1576, and educated at Cambridge under the celebrated William Perkins, fled from the persecution of Archbishop Bancroft, and was invited by the states of Friesland to the Divinity Chair, in the University of Francker, which he filled with great reputation during the space of twelve years, after which he removed to Rotterdam, at the invitation of the English Church there, and became their pastor. He was at the Synod of Dort, and informed King James' Ambassador

testifies), (lib. i. cap. 17), *That Christ did not die for all men. Know therefore and consider, that this error which I have objected to you is common to you and Pelagius.* But I know not whether through design or ignorance he produces the egregious prevaricator Faustus¹ of Ries, as a witness against Pelagius, who under the pretence of opposing Pelagius, strenuously maintained his cause, and everywhere attacked the *Catholic Doctors*, concealing their names."

After fully discussing this point, in the consideration of the question he says :

"2. Secondly, the Pelagians or semi-Pelagians erred in explaining the universality of the death of Christ by joining with it an absurd, false, and very obscure condition. For thus Prosper describes their opinion in an Epistle to Augustine : *That our Lord Jesus Christ died for the whole human race, and that no one is altogether excepted from redemption by His blood, even if he should pass all his life in a disposition most alienated from it ;* of the same kind is that assumption, of which mention is made by the Church of Leyden in their book on the three Epistles, *If any person can be found who should say that the Lord was crucified for the wicked who shall remain in their wickedness, it is wonderful and incredible if they are able to prove this from direct testimonies of the Divine Scriptures.* The orthodox thought that a conditional addition of this kind should deservedly be rejected."

After combating this view, and asserting that Augustine never attempted to impugn that proposition of the semi-Pelagians *That Christ died for the whole human race*, the Bishop passes to—

"3. The third and most grievous error of the Pelagians about the death of Christ, which respects the primary cause of a different event,

at the Hague, from time to time, of the debates of that Assembly. Besides his controversial writings against the Arminians, he published the following : *Medulla Theologiæ ; Manuctio logica ; Case of Conscience ; Analyses on the Psalms ; Notes on 1 and 2 Epistles of St Peter.* (Maclaine, in Mosheim.)

¹ Faustus, a learned Prelate, was a native of Britain, first became a monk of the monastery of Levins, then Abbot of the same, and in 455 was chosen Bishop of Riez, or Ries, in Provence. He wrote against the doctrines of election and reprobation, which pieces have been abridged by Du Pin. His character is drawn by Milner as opposite to the view here given of it, as Milner's representation of Pope Gregory the Great is to the views and testimonies of other historians and writers. Faustus was banished from his See in 481, and died soon after.—(*Vide Cavi. His. Lit.* vol. i. p. 453, A.D. 472 ; and Du Pin, *Ecc. Hist. Cento.*, vol. iv.)

namely, that this death of Christ infallibly brings eternal life to certain persons and does not bring it to others. They referred it to the human will as the primary cause of this difference, presuming that God equally willed the salvation of all men in Christ, nor by a special decree of predestination, endued some persons with that faith and perseverance through which they should apply to themselves the death of Christ for salvation. On the contrary, Augustine with the orthodox contended that that persevering faith, by means of which the death of Christ brings salvation to individuals, is extended to the elect by a singular gift of mercy, and does not arise from the good use of free will in the one, rather than in the other. Here the controversy directly regards the grace of predestination and free-will, and obliquely touches upon the death of Christ, inasmuch as the orthodox, assigning a reason why it eventually brings salvation to some persons, always ascend to the divine predestination, the Pelagians descend to the human will."

This error also Prosper attacked in his poem "on the Ungrateful," in which he teaches from the opinion of the Pelagians, that God equally willed the redemption of all mankind by the death of Christ.

"But each the voice of his free will obeys,
And of his own accord sends forth his mind
T' embrace the offer'd light."¹

After the death of Augustine and Prosper, Lucidus, a Presbyter, seems to have stirred up this question, which had been some time laid asleep. He taught in plain words *that Christ died not for all mankind*. Against him rose Faustus, Bishop of Ries, the ringleader of the semi-Pelagians. The matter was referred to the Synod of Leyden, which added some things to the decree of the former council. The discussion on the two counter-propositions appears to have gone on warmly, and the Pelagian error, advocated by one Godeschalcus, a monk, was condemned by the celebrated Hincmar, Archbishop of Rheims, who assembled another Synod, which anathematized the doctrine.

Our Bishop then, in a most masterly manner, and with

¹ Cap. 10.

keen and penetrating analysis, having traced the question historically through the reformed period, and made some pertinent quotations from Philip Melancthon and even Calvin, concludes this chapter as follows :—

“Hitherto we have briefly surveyed those things which relate to the historical knowledge of this controversy, from which it is manifest, that not only that the *ancient Fathers*, but also our modern divines confessed that the death of Christ pertained in some manner to the whole human race. Yet in our age it hath pleased some divines to pass over these limits, and openly to defend in exclusive terms this proposition, *That Christ died for the elect alone*, to whom on the opposite side others reply, *That Christ offered Himself to God the Father to redeem all individuals equally*. That we may throw some light upon this question, we will now enter upon that twofold consideration of the death of Christ, of which we have before made mention, and will reduce it to certain propositions.”

II. In the second chapter our Bishop considers the death of Christ as an *universal* remedy, appointed by God, and applicable for salvation to the whole human race, and then passes on to discuss it as a *particular* remedy, by the special decree of God to be efficaciously and infallibly applied to the salvation of particular persons. He states and explains his thesis in these formulated propositions, which he then defends by appeal to Scripture and the Fathers.

“1. *The death of Christ is represented in holy Scripture as an universal remedy by the ordinance of God and nature of the thing itself applicable to all and every individual of mankind.*

“With respect to the explanation of the terms, when we speak of the *death of Christ*, we comprehend in it the whole obedience of Christ, active and passive, the completion of which and as it were the last act, was effected in His death ; on which account Divines are accustomed by synecdoche to attribute to His death what relates to His entire obedience. Whatever therefore Christ did, and whatever He suffered, from the cradle to the cross, the whole of the meritorious and satisfactory work of the Redeemer we comprehend in our proposition to be allied to and connected with His death. Thus the Apostle in Rom. v. 19 makes *the obedience of Christ* universally considered, the cause of man’s salvation. *By the obedience of one shall many be made righteous.* And in Philipp. ii. 7, 8, when it is said, *That He humbled*

Himself and became obedient unto death, even the death of the Cross, the Apostle does not exclude from His meritorious work any part of the antecedent obedience of Christ, but rather considers it included, and teaches that this meritorious obedience of Christ began at that time when He took the form of a servant, and was consummated when He offered Himself on the Cross. Under the word *death*, then, we comprehend that infinite treasure of merits which the mediator between God and men, the man Christ Jesus, by doing and suffering, procured and laid up for our benefit. Again, when we say that this death or this merit is *represented in the Holy Scriptures as the universal cause of salvation*, we mean, That according to the will of God explained in His Word, this remedy is proposed indiscriminately to every individual of the human race for salvation, but that it cannot savingly profit any one without a special application. For *an universal cause of salvation*, or *an universal remedy*, includes these two things : first, of itself that it can cure and save all and every individual ; secondly, that for the production of this determinate effect in each individual it should require a determinate application. Not unaptly, therefore, did Aquinas say, *The death of Christ is the universal cause of salvation, as the sin of the first man may be said to be the universal cause of damnation. But it is necessary that an universal cause should be applied particularly to each individual, that its proper effect may be experienced.* But of course this remedy, though universal, is not applicable (as far as we know by revelation) to the apostate angels—to every man under every *state* or *condition*, to the dead or damned, but only to Believers.”

The Bishop then marshals his testimonies, and a goodly array of texts is ushered in by references.

“ 1. 1 John iii. 16, God so loved the world, that He gave His only begotten Son, that whosoever believeth in Him should not perish but have everlasting life. This is naturally a most famous place of Scripture in the controversy, and, as is well known, forms the second of those ‘ Comfortable Words, which our Saviour Christ saith unto all that truly turn to Him,’ in the liturgy of our Church.”

In elucidating this portion, and in making the special or particular application, Davenant has such a pregnant illustration, which puts the whole matter, as it were, in a nutshell, that we cannot forbear quoting it even at the risk of being tedious to our readers.

“Suppose that all the inhabitants of a certain city laboured under some epidemic and mortal disease; that the king sent to them an eminent physician furnished with a most efficacious medicine, and caused it to be publicly proclaimed, that all should be cured who were willing to make use of this medicine. Doubtless we might truly say of this king, that he so loved that city, as to send his own most skilful physician to it; that all who were willing to attend to his advice, and take his medicine, should not die, but recover their former health. But if any should object that this physician was sent only to those who should follow *his* prescriptions, and that his medicine was applicable by the appointment of the king only to those who were willing to take it, he would in reality not only make the beneficence of the king appear less illustrious, but affirm what was evidently false. For medical assistance was offered to all, without any previous condition on the part of the person sent, or of the sick; healing medicine applicable to all, without exception, was provided. The willingness to receive the physician and take the medicine had no connexion with the intention of the sovereign in sending the medical assistance, but with the certain restoration to health.

“The Antient Fathers seem to have been much pleased with this similitude. Prosper has respect to it, when Vincentius objected, *That according to the opinion of Augustine, Our Lord Jesus Christ did not suffer for the salvation and redemption of all men*, he replies, *For the disease of original sin, by which the nature of all men is corrupted, the death of the Son of God is a remedy.* And a little after, *This cup of immortality has indeed in itself this virtue that it may benefit all men, but if it be not taken it will not heal.* Our faith therefore is required not merely to assent to the proposition, that God has given or ordained His Son to be a remedy for us, but that being given or ordained, He should be *received* by us to the obtaining of eternal life. Rhemi and Haimo enlarge the aforesaid similitude on these words, Hebrews ii., *That He by the grace of God should taste death for every man.*”

Five other testimonies are then adduced from Holy Scripture, viz., John iii. 17, 18; Acts xiii. 38; and 2 Cor. v. 19, 20; Heb. ii. 3; 2 Cor. v. 14, which are most fully considered in all their bearings, but which are obviously too long for insertion in a work of this character.

From Holy Scripture our Bishop passes to eight logical arguments, which are treated in the form of syllogisms, which Davenant maintains are very solidly founded in the

Scriptures, and these are fully and critically discussed, the logical conclusions being rigorously verified.

“ 1. That death, which brings some spiritual advantages even to those who are not saved, is not applicable to the elect alone ; but the death of Christ brings advantages even to some who will not be saved.” By *the death* is included all that accumulation of the meritorious obedience of Christ.

“ 2. He who by undergoing death by the ordination of God, sustained of God, sustained the punishment due not only to the sins of certain individual persons, but of the whole human race ; His Passion, by virtue of the same ordination, is applicable not only to certain definite persons, but to every individual of the human race.

“ 3. Whosoever from the ordination of God may be called to believe in the mediator, and they who by believing may obtain eternal life, to them the death of Christ from the previous ordination of God is applicable for salvation.

“ 4. If all men, as soon as the doctrine of the gospel concerning Christ the Redeemer enduring death on account of the sins of mankind is made known to them, are bound to be grateful and obedient to Christ, then it is certain that this work of a Redeemer in offering Himself as a sacrifice to God, is to be considered as a benefit generally applicable to all : for there is no cause why we should say that they are bound to gratitude, or to the duties of obedience, on account of the death of Christ, who are altogether excluded from that benefit. But an apostle testifies that every man may be excited to obedience by this argument.

“ 5. That work which truly and deservedly, as soon as it is understood to have been agreed upon between God the Father and the Son, gives to Christ the name of the *Redeemer of the world* and *Saviour of the world*, is to be acknowledged as an universal cause of salvation, or an universal remedy, applicable to the whole human race. But such was the work of the obedience of Christ unto the death of the Cross : Therefore it is applicable to the whole human race.

“ 6. If it was the counsel and will of God that Christ by dying should pay to Him a most full, perfect and sufficient satisfaction, not only to deliver those who believe in the benefit of God, and thus eventually are saved, but also for those who continue in unbelief through their own fault, and thus eventually are condemned, then it must be confessed that this death of Christ is a remedy from the nature of the thing, and the ordination of God, applicable to all : But such was the counsel and will of God ; which is evinced from the Divine promises, which make known His will to us.

“7. If according to the order and nature of things themselves, and our consideration of them, the death and merit of Christ is to be assumed as a thing ordained and destined by God for the good of the human race before it can be understood for whom faith was destined, then it is necessary to consider it as a cause of salvation applicable to all before it be determined that it is applied or infallibly to be applied to this or that person.”

Under this heading Davenant makes a reference to the Synod of Dort. He is speaking of faith in this way :—

“Faith, like all other saving gifts, is conferred upon men on account of Christ and through His merit ; therefore in the order of the Divine decrees the death of Christ precedes the faith of every Christian. . To this those words of the Divines of the Palatinate refer, in their judgment exhibited at the Synod of Dort (*Art. Synod Dordrecht*, page 88). *The Faith of the elect does not precede, but follows the death of Christ, because His death is the cause of faith, on account of which the elect are given to Christ, and the object of faith which it beholds and embraces.*”

“8. The last argument is taken from a comparison of the two-fold covenant, and according to it of a two-fold ordination to salvation. As therefore in the covenant of nature, that is, the agreement with Adam at the time of Creation, salvation was procurable by Adam and all his posterity under condition of obedience to be paid to the law of nature, and to the express commandment of God ; so in the covenant of grace, which was confirmed by the blood of the Mediator, salvation is also understood to be procurable by all men under the condition published in the Gospel, that is, of faith in this Mediator who hath made satisfaction for the sins of the human race.

“Moreover, as in the first covenant, God who ordained salvation as procurable for Adam and his posterity, yet did not predestinate that either Adam himself or any of his posterity should be really saved by that covenant ; so God, who in the second covenant, ordained salvation as procurable for all under the condition of faith, yet hath not predestinated to give to all men individually this faith, by which they might infallibly obtain salvation. But lest the Blood of the Son of God should flow, and through the fault of the human will the same should happen in the second covenant which had happened in the first, namely, that no one should enjoy the benefit of it, God resolved with Himself a more deep and secret counsel, and determined of His mere and special mercy to give to some persons the ability and will to fulfil the aforesaid conditions of faith, and further that they

should actually and infallibly fulfil it. But now as he would be unjust towards God who should deny that salvation was ordained by God as procurable for Adam and his posterity under the covenant of nature ; so he is more unjust towards Christ, who denies that His death was ordained by God as a remedy for salvation, applicable to all under the condition of the new covenant, although many do not obtain salvation by means of it. God Himself gave to the world this remedy applicable to all men individually ; let the world concede to God the liberty of applying it as it may seem good to His wisdom and justice. Those who think in this manner of the death of Christ do not take away that common loving-kindness of God, of which the Scripture testifies ; and yet at the same time they contend, that as many as are saved by the merit of the death of Christ, are saved by special and undeserved grace ; and that as many as are not saved, perish through their own unbelief, or, at least, through their own fault."

III. In the third chapter Davenant considers no fewer than seventeen objections, which are fairly and tersely stated, and the replies are a formidable battery of theological artillery, and we can well understand Archbishop Usher saying, "As for the Arminian question, I desire never to read more than my Lord of Salisbury's lectures touching Predestination and Christ's death." The replies are luminous and to the point. "They are excellent ; learnedly, soundly, and perspicuously performed."

IV. In the fourth chapter the Bishop takes up his second proposition, and lucidly expounds that received distinction of Divines, *That Christ died for all sufficiently, but for the elect effectually*. But he recasts this proposition into another form, which, if somewhat prolix, is perspicacious :

"The death of Christ is the universal cause of the salvation of mankind, and Christ Himself is acknowledged to have died for all men sufficiently, nor by reason of the mere sufficiency or of the intrinsic value, according to which the death of God is a price more than sufficient for redeeming a thousand worlds ; but by reason of the Evangelical Covenant confirmed with the whole human race through the merit of this death and of the Divine ordination dependent upon it, according to which, under the possible condition of faith, remission of sins and eternal life is decreed to be set before every mortal man who will believe it on account of the merits of Christ."

In handling this proposition, Davenant does two things. First, he explains some of the terms. Secondly, he divides his proposition into certain parts, and he establishes them separately by forcible and suitable arguments and illustrations. We will select one or two, and it shall be on the term *sufficiently*.

“Suppose my brother were detained in prison for a debt of a thousand pounds. If I have in my possession so many pounds, I can truly affirm that this money is sufficient to pay the debt of my brother, and to free him from it. But while it is not offered for him, the mere sufficiency of the thing is understood, and estimated only from the value of it, the act of offering that ransom being wanting, without which the aforesaid sufficiency effects nothing. For the same reason, if many persons should be capitally condemned for the crime of high treason, and the king himself, against whom the crime was committed, should agree that he would be reconciled to all for whom his son should think fit to suffer death; now the death of the son, according to the agreement, is appointed to be a sufficient ransom for redeeming all those for whom it should be offered.”

V. In the fifth chapter, the *third* Proposition, which is as follows, is clearly elucidated:—

“The death or passion of Christ, as the universal cause of the salvation of mankind, hath, by the act of its oblation, so far rendered God the Father pacified and reconciled to the human race, that he can be truly said to be ready to receive into favour any man whatever as soon as he shall believe in Christ: yet the aforesaid death of Christ does not place any one, at least of adults, in a state of grace, of actual reconciliation, before he believes.”

VI. In the last chapter, the fourth and last Thesis is stated in the following words:—

“The death of Christ being granted to be applicable to all men on condition of faith, it is consistent with the goodness and justice of God to supply or to deny either to nations or to individuals the means of application, and that according to the good pleasure of His own will, not according to the disparity of human wills.”

All these four propositions are most logically proved,

and the objections fairly considered and suitably met. The appeals to Scripture and the Fathers to confirm his arguments, or illustrate his position, are incessant and most learnedly applied. In fact Davenant covers patristic ground, which in extent is truly appalling, and fully bears out the remarks made at the beginning of this chapter, that he was a true Anglican divine, and fully understood the double appeal of our Church to Scripture and the Primitive Church or "orthodox antiquity." He quotes largely from Clemens, Jerome, Origen, Tertullian, Cyprian, Augustine, Ambrose, Athanasius, Prosper, Lactantius, Basil, Piscator, Parens, Aquinas (and schoolmen), very frequently, Dominicus Banes, Melancthon, Calvin (but not so often as we might have expected), Alvarez, Abelard, Lombard, Arnold, Theodoret, Bernard, Huber, Albertus, Cajetan, Bradwardine, Fulgentius, Corvinus, Paschasius, Gregory, and many others. He presses into his service Dutchmen like Estius on the one hand, and Jesuits like Suarez and Vasques on the other, and after making free use of our own standard divines, he thus sums up this work, which may be truly described in Usher's words as "excellently, learnedly, soundly, and perspicuously profound":—

"Therefore let this be the sum and conclusion of this whole controversy of the death of Christ, that Jesus Christ, the Mediator between God and man, in confirming the evangelical covenant, according to the tenor of which eternal life is due to every one that believeth, made no division or separation of men, so that we can say any one is excluded from the benefit of His death, if he should believe. And in this sense we contend, in agreement with the Scriptures, the Fathers, and solid arguments, that Christ suffered on the Cross, and died for all men, or the whole human race. We add, moreover, that this Mediator, when He had determined to lay down His life for sin, had also this special intention, that, by virtue of His merits, He would effectually and infallibly quicken and bring to eternal life some persons who were specially given to Him by the Father. And in this sense we contend that Christ laid down His life for the elect alone, or in order to purchase His Church: that is, that He died for them alone; with the special and certain purpose of effectually regenerating and

saving them by the merit of His death. Therefore, although the merit of Christ equally regards all men as to its sufficiency, yet it does not as to its efficacy: which is to be understood, not only on account of the effect produced in one and not in another, but also on account of the will, with which Christ Himself merited, and offered His merits, in a different way for different persons. Now, the first cause and source of this diversity was the election and will of God, to which the human will of Christ conformed itself. And from hence Suarez rightly deduces—*That this merit of Christ is the very cause of spiritual regeneration, and gives it efficacy, and produces its effect, and at the same time is the cause why that man is regenerated, on account of whom He specially offered His merit* (in 3. 9. 19, disp. 41). For our divines, let that eminently learned man of pious memory, Robert, Bishop of Salisbury,¹ speak. Thus he says (in Thomson *Diatr.* p. 94):—*Although*

¹ Robert Abbot, elder brother of the celebrated Archbishop. He emerged into notice by his talent in preaching, for which he became noted in the University of Oxford, not long after he took Orders in 1581, and which first obtained him preferment in Worcester, and in a short time the living of Bingham, in Notts, to which he was presented by John Stanhope, Esq., on hearing him preach at St Paul's Cross. He soon became no less eminent on account of his writings than he had been for his pulpit oratory, particularly against Dr William Bishop, Bishop of the Diocese of Chalcedon, *in partibus*, on the subject of the Sacrament. In 1597 he proceeded D.D., and soon after the accession of James I., that monarch appointed him one of his chaplains in ordinary, and formed so high an opinion of his writings that he ordered his own commentary upon part of the Apocalypse to be printed in 1608, with the second edition of Abbot's book *De Antichristo*. In 1609 he was chosen Master of Baliol College, Oxford, at which he had matriculated, and which rose into distinction by his exertions. In 1620 he was nominated by the king one of the first Fellows of the Royal College at Chelsea, then newly founded for the encouragement of Polemical Divinity, and, as Fuller in his *Church History* remarks, "engarrisoned with the ablest champions of the Protestant cause." Robert was, like his brother, a truly zealous opponent of Popery. This his subsequent appointment as Regius Professor of Divinity at Oxford afforded him public opportunities of evincing, and on this account mainly he was in 1615 selected by King James to fill the vacant See of Salisbury, as was declared by His Majesty on his being presented to do homage. He was consecrated by his own brother, who had been rapidly advanced from Lichfield to London, and to the Primacy of Canterbury about five years before; and it is worthy of remark that this is the only instance of two brothers occupying the Episcopal bench in England, till the time of the late two Bishops (Sumner) Winchester and Chester. Robert filled the See little more than one year, dying in March 1617, in the fifty-eighth year of his age, but universally lamented by the inhabitants of Salisbury, having endeared himself to them by every trait which

we do not deny that Christ died for all men, yet we believe that He died specially and peculiarly for the Church, nor does the benefit of redemption pertain in an equal degree to all. And from the peculiarity of this benefit, and from the human will, in some degree depends the efficacy of all means, that they are for those only, and for their use, whom Christ redeemed with some peculiar regard to their being elected in Him. Nor do they obtain the effect because of being willing, but because God, according to the purpose of His own grace, works in the elect and redeemed to will that to which he chose them. Therefore He, who by His death merited eternal life sufficiently for all men, so as that it is to be given to all, according to the Evangelical Covenant, if they believe, also merited most effectually for some, by the peculiar application of His merits, that they should believe, and that they should receive eternal life from the gratuitous gift of God, through and on account of our Lord Jesus Christ. And this is the peculiar lot of the elect : Of whom may the Father of Mercies make us all partakers. To whom, with the Son, and the Holy Ghost, be honour, praise, and glory, now and for ever. Amen."

In the following letter to Dr Ward, our Bishop mentions his probable temporary change of residence, as the sanitary condition of the Palace at Salisbury was not very satisfactory. He also hints that he may pay his friend a visit in the west country, where Dr Ward held the Archdeaconry of Gloucester :—

could adorn the Episcopal office. The Bishop, both in manners and talents, was superior to the Archbishop, who was himself no common man. His published works were very popular in that age, but mostly controversial. The one referred to above was a reply to a work of Richard Thomson, a Dutch-Arminian of English parents, and educated at Clare College, Cambridge. The Bishop finished his book only the day before he died, and it was published by his chaplain, the celebrated Dr Fealtey, under the direction of the Archbishop, the full title running thus :—*In Ricardi Thomsoni Anglo-Belgici diatribum de remissione et intercessione justificationis et gratia, animadversio brevis.* Londini, qto, 1618. He left many things in MS., among which was a Latin commentary upon the Epistle to the Romans, now in the Bodleian Library, left by its author in a state quite ready for publication. This work has not yet, we believe, been translated and given to the world.

Abbot was therefore Davenant's almost immediate predecessor in the See of Salisbury, there being only Martin Fotherby between Abbot and his brother-in-law, Robert Townson—Abbot, 1615 ; Fotherby, 1618 ; Townson, 1620 ; Davenant, 1621-1641.

Salutem in Christo.

GOOD DR WARD ; I like well of your advice, and have accordingly drawn a short dedication vnto y^e Vniv^rsity. I am not well skilled in such Formalities, and therefore I leav it to your iudgment, to bee enlarged, or altered yf you see cause. I am afrayd it will not bee save for mee to return vnto y^e Pallace, and therefore I am thinking of taking a howse in some other part of my Diocese. Yf I can finde one to my minde, I think to bee going from hence about y^e middle of Auguste. My hope is to see you heer before my departure, or at least in your passage to y^e West country ; yf I bee settled in Wilshire not farr out of your way, as I hope to bee. And thus in y^e mean time leaving you to y^e protection of y^e Almighty, I rest ever

Your very loving freind,

Hamersmith, July 27th,
1627.

JO. SARŪ.

Almæ Matri Academiæ, Cantabrigiensi
Virtute, Pietate, Sacræq; Doctrinæ Professione
Semper Celeberrimæ.
Hasce Theologicæ Suæ Professionis Primitias.
In Ea Olim Natas, Jam Denuo Renatas ;
Amoris et Honoris Ergô,
Johannes Davenantius Devotissimus Alumnus,
Libens Merito Dat, Dicat, Consecrâtque.

[*Endorsed*.:—] To y^e right woorth his very loving freind Dr Ward,
Master of Sidney Colledg, and one of the Divinity Readers in
Cambridg give this.

Leave this at Mr Jostins shop in pukridge, For to be Conuaid to
Munden Parsonage to the party aboue said with all sp'd.

Wth a kittle

p. Thomas Turner.

CHAPTER XI

BISHOP DAVENANT'S LETTERS TO BISHOP HALL ON "THE OLD RELIGION," AND TO DR WARD (1628)

“Worse before better. England doth lie desperately sick of a violent disease in the bowels thereof. Many messengers we dispatch (monthly fasts, weekly sermons, daily prayers) to inform God of our sad condition. He still stays in the same place, yea, which is worse, seems to go backward, for every day less likelihood, less hope of health. May not this be the reason that our land must yet be reduced to more extremity, that God may have the higher honour of our deliverance.”—FULLER (*Good Thoughts in Worse Times: Meditations on the Times*, xiv. 130. 1).

THE Church of England boasts that she is the true *via media*, that she is equally removed from the two extremes, that she holds a middle position between the intruded mission of Rome on the one hand, and the sectaries on the other, that she is equidistant between private judgment and Church authority, and that in ascertaining religious truth she has gone to the fountain-head, which is fresh, though the access thereto may be rough and rugged. “It hath been the wisdom of the Church of England,” she says in her preface, “ever since the compiling of her Publick Liturgy, to keep the mean between the two extreems, of too much stiffness in refusing, and of too much easiness in admitting any variation from it.” And again, “In which Review we have endeavoured to observe the like moderation, as we find to have been used in the like case in former times.” “As for my religion,” says good Bishop Ken in his last will, “I die in the communion of the Church of England, as it stands distinguished from all Papal and Puritan innovations, and as it adheres to the doctrine of the Cross.” And to the same effect the im-

mortal Bishop Pearson, the dust of whose writings is as fine gold, in one of the conciones addressed to the clergy from the pulpit of our universities, contained in his most valuable *Minor Theological Works*, published not a great while ago: "Ye who are devoting your labours to the divine study of theology: who are growing pale over the sacred Scriptures above all: who either already fill the venerable office of the priesthood, or aspire to doing so: who are about to undertake the tremendous care of souls:—rid yourself of that itch of the present time: flee from that love of novelty which besets us: seek after that which was from the beginning: take counsel at the fountain head: have recourse to antiquity: return to the Reverend Fathers: have respect to the primitive Church: that is (to use the words of the prophet from whom I have taken my text) 'Ask for the old paths' (*Interrogate de semitis antiquis*) Jer. vi."¹

It is because these principles have taken a growing hold upon churchmen generally, and a greater intelligence as to these first Church principles has been disseminated among our people,² it is owing to this fact that the great

1

"Juvat integros accedere fontes

Atque inde haurire."—*Lucretius*.

² There is no doubt that during the last fourteen years the position of the Church in this country has been greatly strengthened. Some will attribute this satisfactory result to one cause, and some to another, and opinion will probably vary as to its actual extent. But whatever be the cause, and whatever the desire, few persons will dispute that there is an appreciable difference between the prospects of the Church of England as they appeared at the former, and as they appear at the latter of these dates. How much of it is owing to the character of the late Archbishop, how much to the better information which has been diffused among the people, and how much to the energy and self-devotion displayed by the clergy themselves, we will not undertake to say. But many people are of opinion that the Church of England has weathered a crisis not unlike that which threatened the House of Lords immediately after the Reform Bill, and that she is safe from all the efforts of her enemies, at least for another generation. If we cannot quite say, with the Bishop of Winchester, that Archbishop Benson now succeeds to "the most important position in Europe," we readily admit that the See of Canterbury has, of late years, come to represent something more than the Primacy of all England, and that the Archbishop is no longer merely the chief ecclesiastic in

National Church of this country has begun to understand her true position in a way that she has never done before, that, to use the words of the Bishop of London at the late meeting of the Upper House of Convocation, "under the benevolent rule of the late Archbishop the Church became more popular than it had been previously for more than 250 years." No doubt, as the then Bishop of Winchester remarked, "the actions of the late Archbishop were a simple exemplification of the Christian life, and the steady progress the Church had made in the hearts of the people of England had not been the limit of his good influence, which had widely extended over the world."¹ But we must not ignore the fact, this time there had been a recurrence to first or true Church principles; people had taken an intelligent interest in, and had tried to grasp, their own system, which had generated faith in the working of those inherent prerogatives of our Church, if left to do her own work in her own way.

It was about this time (1628) that Bishop Hall, who had (then being Dean of Worcester) accompanied Davenant to the Synod of Dort as one of the deputies but, as we have seen, had to return home before his colleagues, as the air did not agree with his health, on his humble request obtaining His Majesty's leave to do so, and who had been promoted first to the See of Exeter, and afterwards to that of Norwich—had tried his hand in explaining the true position of the Church, claiming for her the inheritance of the ancient deposit of faith, and to be the true representative, in this country, of the old Catholic Christianity. In this excellent treatise on the "Old Religion," as it was called, and

these islands, but the Head of the Anglican Communion throughout the world. The Established Church must gain largely, both in dignity and influence, by this recognition of her hegemony, and reasons might be assigned to show that it considerably increases the obstacles which lie in the way of Disestablishment.—*Standard*, April 16th, 1883.

¹ Proceeding of the Convocation of the Province of Canterbury, Upper House, as reported in *The Morning Post*, April 11th, 1883.

explaining the notes and marks of the true Church, it appears he had, in common with every other considerable divine, admitted that the Church of Rome, though miserably corrupt, was still a true visible Church. He had learned, with John Keble, to "speak gently of our sister's fall." He affirmed, with every reasonable man, the True Being and Visibility of the Roman Church, but as Bishop Hall was a man remarkable for his extreme moderation "and sweet reasonableness," this admission gave great offence. The extreme Puritans took great umbrage at the concession, as they called it, for they looked upon Rome as the Scarlet Lady, enthroned upon the Seven Hills, and the Mother of all abominations.¹

¹The full title of this valuable little work is "The Old Religion," a Treatise wherein is laid down the true state of the difference betwixt the Reformed and Roman Church, and the blame of that schism cast upon the true authors. For the vindication of our innocence, for the settling of waverer's mindes, for a preservative against Popish insinuations, 1628. Owing to the excitement consequent upon the publication of this "little pamphlet," the learned author published a third Edition, with an Advertisement now added for such Readers as formerly stumbled at some Passages in his Booke, by Jos. Hall, B. of Exon, Bulther and Hawkins, 1630. It is addressed "To my new and dearly affected charge, the Diocese of Exeter, all grace and benediction," and there is an "Epistle Dedication." It is divided into 18 chapters, and subdivided into 28 sections, in which all the salient and modern dogmas of Rome are proved to be novelties, when brought to the bar of antiquity, and that we of the Reformed Church have got "The Old Religion" professed in early days by the undivided Church of Christ.

In the third edition there is an apologetical advertisement to the Reader. It contains 24 pages, and besides references to our Bishop, it has quotations from Luther, Junius, Dr Raynolds, Paræus, Hooker, Crakenthorpe, Field, and Master Perkins. In this edition Bishop Hall reports the charges which had been brought against him by using the words "true and visible" in regard to the Church of Rome. "That she is truly visible," he says, "abates nothing of her abominations (*i.e.* Rome's). For who sees not, that *visible* referres to outward profession. *True* to some essentiall principles of Christianitie, neither of them to soundnesse of Beleeffe: so as these two may well stand together, a true visible Church in respect of outward profession of Christianity, and an heriticall, apostaticall, anti-christian synagogue, in respect of doctrine and practice. Grant the Romanists to be but Christians, how corrupt soever, and we cannot deny them the name of a Church. Outward visibility gives them no claim either to truth or salvation." And again, "The difference is in the

Bishop Hall therefore appealed to the judgment of some of the most eminent theologians of the day, and among others, addressed the following letter to our author:—

" To the Right Reverend Father in God,
John, Lord Bishop of Salisbury.

" MY LORD,—I send you this little pamphlet for your censure. It is not credible how strangely I have been traduced, everywhere, for that which I conceive to be common opinion of Reformed Divines, yea, of reasonable men, that is, for affirming the True Being and Visibility of the Roman Church. You see how clearly I have endeavoured to explicate this harmless position, yet I perceive some tough understandings will not be satisfied.

acceptation of *true* and *Church*, both of which they have much latitude and varietie of sense. Which by true they mean right believing, and by Church a companie of faithfull, which have the Word of God rightly understood and sincerely preached, and the sacraments duly administered, it is no marvel if they say that the Church of Rome is neither true, nor Church, who would, who can say otherwise." (p. 195). Bishop Hall concludes his Advertisement to the Reader in the following terms of warning: "neither think to go away with an idle impression; we are a true visible Church, what neede we more? Why should we wish to bee other than wee are? Alas! poore soules, a true visibility may, and doth stand with a false beleefe; ye may bee of a true visible Church, and yet never the nearer to Heaven. It is your interest in the true mystical body of Christ that must save your soules, not in the outwardly visible; your errors may bee, and are no lesse damnable for that yee are by outward profession Christians, ye so much the more, wo is me, your danger is more visible than your Church. If ye persist wilfully in these gross corruptions, who do by consequent raze that foundation, which yee professe to lay, ye shall be no lesse visible spectacle of the wrath of that just God whose truth and spirit ye have so stubbornly resisted. The God of Heaven open your eyes to see the glorious light of His truth, and draw your hearts to the love of it, and make your Church as truly sound as it is truly visible.

" Thus in a desire to stand but so right as I am in all honest judgments, I have made this speedy and true apologie, beseeching all readers in the feare of God (before whose barre we shal once give account of al our overlashings) to indulge wisely and vprightly of what I have written, in a word to doe mee but justice in their opinion, and when I begge it as a fauour.

" Farewell, reader, and God make us wise and charitable." (Pp. 213-4.)

“Your Lordship hath, with great reputation, spent many years in the Divinity-Chair of the famous University of Cambridge. Let me therefore beseech you, whose learning and sincerity is so thoroughly approved in God’s Church, that you would freely, how shortly soever, express yourself in this point : and if you find that I have deviated but one hair’s breadth from the truth, correct me ; if not, free me by your just sentence.

“What need I to entreat you to pity those whose desires of faithful offices to the Church of God are unthankfully repayed with suspicion and slander ? Whose may not this case be ? I thought I had sufficiently, in all my writings, and in this very last book of mine whence this quarrel is picked, shewed my fervent zeal for God’s truth against that Anti-Christian Faction of Rome : and yet I doubt not, but your own ears can witness what I have suffered.

“Yea as if this calumny were not enough, there want not those whose secret whisperings cast upon me the foul aspersion of another sect, whose name is as much hated as it is little understood.

“My Lord, you know I had a place with you, though unworthy, in that famous Synod of Dort : where, howsoever, sickness bereaved me of the honour of a conclusive subscription : yet your Lordship heard me, with equal vehemency to the rest, crying down the unreasonableness of that way. God so love me, as I do the tranquillity and happiness of His Church, yet can I not so over-affect it, that I would sacrifice one dram of truth to it. To that good God do I appeal, as the witness of my sincere heart to His whole truth, and no-less-than-ever-zealous detestation of all Popery and Pelagianism.

“Your Lordship will be pleased to pardon this importunity, and to vouch your speedy answer to

“Your much devoted and faithful brother,

“JOSEPH EXON.”

This letter drew from Davenant the following reply, which is truly and eminently characteristic of his cautious scholastic mode of discussing such topics :—

“ To the Right Reverend Father in God,
Joseph, Lord Bishop of Exon.

“ MY LORD,—You desire my opinion concerning an assertion of yours, whereat some have taken offence. The proposition was this—‘ That the Roman Church remains yet a true visible Church.’

“ The occasion which makes this an ill-sounding proposition in the ears of Protestants, especially such as are not thoroughly acquainted with school distinctions, is the usual acceptation of the word ‘ true ’ in our English tongue : for though men skilled in metaphysics hold it for a maxim, *ens, verum, Bonum convertuntur*, yet with us, he, which shall affirm such a one, is a true Christian, a true gentleman, a true scholar, or the like, he is conceived not only to ascribe trueness of being to all these, but those due qualities or requisite actions whereby they are made commendable or praiseworthy in their several kinds.

“ In this sense, the Roman Church is no more a true Church in respect of Christ, or those due qualities and proper actions which Christ requires, than an arrant whore is a true and loyal wife unto her husband.

“ I durst, upon mine oath, be one of your compurgators, that you never intended to adorn that strumpet¹ with the title of a True Church in that meaning. But your own writings have so fully cleared you herein, that suspicion itself cannot reasonably suspect you in this point.

¹ It must be confessed that this is very strong language, but some allowance must be made for those times of bitter controversy, when men indulged in unmeasured abuse and vituperation of their adversaries. Such language is sure to recoil upon the heads of those who use it, and cannot be too severely deprecated. It will be remembered that a certain eminent Cardinal of the Anglo-Roman Church used equally strong language before his perversion, which he has since excused by saying that he was only adopting the usual and official

“I therefore can say no more respecting your mistaken proposition than this, If, in that Treatise wherein it was delivered, the antecedents or consequents were such as served fitly to lead the reader into that sense, which under the word True comprehendeth only Truth of Being or Existence, and not the due qualities of the thing or subject, you have been causelessly traduced. But on the other side, if that proposition comes in *ex abrupto*, or stands solitary in your discourse, you cannot marvel though, by taking the word True according to the more ordinary acceptation, your true meaning was mistaken.

“In brief, your proposition admits a true sense, and in that sense is, by the learned in our Reformed Church, not disallowed; for, the Being of a Church does principally stand upon the gracious action of God; calling men out of darkness and death unto the participation of light and life in Christ Jesus. So long as God continues this Calling unto any people, though they, as much as in them lies, darken this light, and corrupt the means which should bring them to life and salvation in Christ; yet, when God calls men unto the participation of life in Christ by the Word and by the Sacraments, there is the true Being of a Christian Church, let men be never so false in their exposition of God’s Word, or never so untrusty in mingling their own traditions with God’s ordinances.

“Thus, the Church of the Jews lost not her Being of a Church, when she became an Idolatrous Church.

“And then, under the Government of the Scribes and Pharisees, who voided the Commandments of God by their own traditions, there was yet standing a True Church, in phraseology of the Anglican Church as used in the 17th century. How much sweeter is the spirit of our Christian Poet, who says in his poem on Gunpowder Treason:

“Speak gently of our sister’s fall;
 Who knows but gentle love
 May win her at our patient call,
 The surer way to prove?”—(*Christian Year*).

which Zacharias, Elizabeth, the Virgin Mary, and our Saviour Himself was born, who were members of that Church, and yet participated not in the corruptions thereof.

"Thus, to grant that the Roman was and is a True Visible Christian Church, though in Doctrine a False, and in Practice an idolatrous Church, is a true assertion ; and of greater use and necessity in our controversy with Papists about the perpetuity of the Christian Church, than is understood by those who gainsay it.

"This in your Reconciler is so well explicated, as if any shall continue in traducing you in regard of that proposition so explained, I think it will be only those who are better acquainted with wrangling than reasoning, and deeper in love with strife than truth. And, therefore, be no more troubled with other men's groundless suspicions, than you would be in like case with their idle dreams.

"Thus I have enlarged myself beyond my first intent. But my love to yourself, and the assurance of your constant love unto the truth, enforced me thereunto. I rest always

"Your loving Brother,

"Jan. 30, 1628.

"JOHN SARUM."

In this very judicious and scholastic reply it will be seen that Bishop Davenant's language exactly synchronizes with that of the official standards of our Church, and especially with our XIXth Article "of the Church"; in which it is said :

"The Visible Church of Christ is a congregation of faithful men, in which the pure Word of God is preached, and the sacraments be duly ministered according to Christ's ordinance in all those things that of necessity are requisite to the same. As the Church of *Jerusalem*, *Alexandria* and *Antioch* have erred ; so also the Church of *Rome* hath erred, not only in their living and manner of ceremonies, but also in matters of faith."

In the *Institution of a Christian Man*, our Reformers say (Henry VIII.) :—

“I do believe that the Church of Rome is not, and cannot worthily be called the true Catholic Church, but only a particular member thereof; ‘and I believe that the said Church of Rome, with all the other particular Churches in the world, compacted and united together, do make and constitute but one Catholic Church or body.’ So the *necessary Doctrine*: ‘The Church of Rome being but a several Church, challenging that name of *Catholic* above all other, doeth great wrong to all other Churches, and doeth only by force and maintenance support an unjust usurpation.’”

So then, although the English, like the foreign Reformers, frequently called the Papal power Antichrist, the Man of sin, the Beast, the Scarlet Lady, we deplore and condemn the idolatrous state of the Church before the Reformation, and of the Church which continued in union with Rome after the Reformation; and in consequence often use language which appears to imply that the Church of Rome was no true Church at all; still they often speak, as this Article does, of the Church of Rome as yet a Church, though a corrupt, degenerate and erring Church. Accordingly the XXXth Canon declares:

“So far was it from the purpose of the Church of England to forsake and reject the Churches of Italy, France, Spain, Germany, or any such like Churches, in all things that they held or practiced, that as the *Apology of the Church of England* confesseth, it doth with reverence retain those ceremonies which do neither endamage the Church of God, nor offend the minds of sober men; and only departed from them in those particular points wherein they were fallen both from themselves in their ancient integrity, and from the Apostolical Churches, which were their first founders.”

The tone and temper therefore of the Church of England appears to be that of a body earnestly and stedfastly protesting against Romanism, against all the errors, abuses, and idolatries of the Church of Rome, and the usurpation of the See of Rome; but yet acknowledging that, with a fearful amount of error, the Churches of the Roman Communion are still branches, though corrupt branches of the universal Church of Christ.

The divine who has been commonly considered as the most accredited exponent of the principles of the Church of England, thus speaks in her behalf:—

"In the Church of Christ we were (*i.e.*, before the Reformation), and we are so still. Other difference between our estate before and now we know none; but only such as we see in Judah; which, having some time been idolatrous, became afterwards more soundly religious by renouncing idolatry and superstition. . . . The indisposition of the Church of Rome to reform herself must be no stay unto us from performing our duty to God; even as desire of retaining conformity with them could be no excuse if we did not perform our duty. Notwithstanding as far as lawfully we may, we have held and do hold fellowship with men. For even as the Apostle doth say of Israel that they are in one respect enemies, but in another beloved of God (Rom. xi. 28) in like sort with Rome we dare not communicate touching her grievous abominations, yet, touching those main parts of Christian truth wherein they constantly still persist, we gladly acknowledge them to be of the family of Jesus Christ."¹

"This is not," says the late excellent Bishop of Winchester, "the language of one great man, but most consistent with it have been the statements of almost all those eminent writers of our Church who are known and revered as the great types of Anglican piety, learning and charity."² It is infinitely to be desired, that there should be no relaxation of our protest against error and corruption; but the force of a protest can never be increased by uncharitableness or exaggeration. Let Rome throw off her false additions to the Creed, and we will gladly communicate with her; but so long as she retains her errors, we cannot but stand aloof, lest we should be partakers of her sins."³

"So many of our articles," concludes this much revered divine, "specially enter upon the errors of the Church of Rome, that the subject may require very brief notice here. By 'matters of faith,' probably it is not intended to express articles of the Creed. Had the Church of Rome rejected the Creeds, and those fundamental articles of the

¹ Hooker, *Eccles. Pol.*, iii. 1-10.

² The student may consult Palmer *On the Church*, ch. xi., where he will find quotations from Bishop Hall, Archbp. Usher, Hammond, Chillingworth, Field, &c.

³ *Exposition of the XXXIX. Articles*, Harold Browne, p. 458.

Faith contained in them, the Church of England would probably have considered her distinctly as a heresy, and not as a corrupt and erring Church. But there are many errors which concern the faith of Christ besides those, which strike at the very foundation, and would overthrow even the Creeds themselves.

Amongst these we may reckon all those novelties and heterodoxies contained in the Creed of Pope Pius IV., or of the Council of Trent. They are thus reckoned up by Dr Barrow¹:—1. Seven Sacraments. 2. Trent doctrine of Justification and Original Sin. 3. Propitiatory sacrifice of the Mass. 4. Transubstantiation. 5. Communicating under one head. 6. Purgatory. 7. Invocation of saints. 8. Veneration of relics. 9. Worship of images. 10. The Roman Church to be the mother and mistress of all Churches. 11. Swearing obedience to the Pope. 12. Receiving the decrees of all Synods and of Trent—(and we might now add the modern ones of the “Immaculate Conception,” Decrees of Vatican Council, the Syllabus, and Infallibility of the Pope when he speaks officially from his chair.

“It is true these do not involve a denial of the Creeds, but they are additions to the Creeds, and errors may be shown in excess as well as defect of belief. They are to be received by all members of the Church of Rome as articles of faith. They are not with them mere matters of opinion. Every priest is required to swear that they form parts of the Catholic faith, without which no one can be saved.² Now the Church of England holds all of them to be false; several of her Articles are directed against these very doctrines as fabulous and

¹ Barrow on the Pope's Supremacy, p. 190.

² The Creed of Pope Pius IV. begins with a declaration of firm faith in the various articles of the Nicene, or Constantinopolitan Creed, and then continues with a like declaration of firm faith in the twelve novelties contained in the text. It finally rejects and anathematizes all things rejected and anathematized by the Council of Trent, and concludes with a solemn vow and profession of all this as “the true Catholic Faith,” out of which no one can be saved. “Hanc veram Catholicam fidem, extra quam nemo salvus esse potest—sponte profiteor ac veraciter teneo, spondeo, voveo, et juro. Sic me Deus adjuvet, et hæc sancta Dei Evangelia.”—*Concil Trident, Canones et Decreta*, pp. 370-373.

dangerous ; and therefore she must conclude that the Church of Rome hath erred, not only in living and manner of ceremonies, but also in those very points which she herself hath declared to be 'matters of faith.'"¹

But we will conclude this matter with a quotation from Mr Russell's *Memorials of Fuller*, anent the point in question. "Bishop Davenant," says this biographer, "as able a controversial divine as the Church of England ever produced, places among the fundamental points as well the *Decalogue* as the *Creed*; and, in respect of the Decalogue remarks: "Viderit itaque Romana ecclesia, quæ fundamenta Fidei Christianæ suâ potissimum operâ gloriatur fuisse hactenus conservata, an in fundamentalibus Decalogi non erraverit crasse et damnabiliter: ut de erroribus aliis nihil dicam"² (ad Fraternal Communionum inter evangelica Ecclesias restaurandam adhortatio, p. 98, Cantab., 1640).

The following three letters from our Bishop to Dr Ward are important as illustrating contemporary political history. The first contains a reference to the action of Parliament, touching tonnage and poundage—one of the burning questions of that day—and the King's feeling on the subject ; the second announces his dissolution of the Parliament ; and the third combats his Arminian view of Election. The two first were written in the spring of 1628. It was about this Parliament that Fuller says: "Bishop *Laud* had no great cause to be a mourner at the funeral of this Parliament, having entered it in his Diarie, that it endeavored his destruction."³

It will be remembered that when our Bishop was appointed to the See of Salisbury in 1621, his young nephew, the future accomplished Church historian, had just come into residence at the College of which Davenant was then

¹ XXXIX. *Articles*, p. 468.

² *Memorials of Fuller*, by A. I. Russell, p. 256.

³ *Church History*, Cent. xvii., book ii., p. 133.

President. Thomas Fuller, who had been educated four years at a private school at Aldwinckle (where his father, the Prebendary of Salisbury, was Rector), under the Rev. Arthur Smith, was admitted on June 29th, 1621, at Queens' College, Cambridge, the tutors being Mr Edward Davenant, the Bishop's nephew, and Mr John Thorp. He had gone through the regular curriculum of arts and sciences, under these eminent and distinguished men, during the last four years, and his career had been a very brilliant one, taking his first degree of Bachelor of Arts with flying colours. It is expressly stated that he took it with unusual credit, and hence it was the result of assiduous application to his studies. This was in 1624-5, and in the same year Fuller's cousin and fellow-student, Robert Townson, who had taken the Bachelor's degree along with Fuller, was elected, doubtless through the influence of his Uncle Davenant, to a Fellowship at Queens' College (November 25th). But no such good fortune attended young Fuller. His anonymous biographer relates that he would have been elected to a Fellowship at Queens' College, but that the statutes forbade two fellowships to be held together at the same time by natives of his county. The same writer adds that he might have had a dispensation, but declined it. The following correspondence, however, of his uncle, Bishop Davenant, would lead us to infer that this account was altogether unfounded.

Our Bishop, still manifesting great interest in the progress of the most promising of his many nephews, Thomas Fuller, was now, amidst the cares of his bishopric, making earnest entreaty by letter with his successor in the President's office, Dr Mansel, of Queens' College, to obtain a Fellowship for the young bachelor. Davenant's autograph letters, now preserved in the Bodleian, refer to this matter. They are addressed to his very intimate friend Dr Ward, Master of Sydney-Sussex College, and his suc-

cessor in the Divinity Chair of the Margaret Professorship, Cambridge. The first letter which makes mention of Fuller is dated July 17th, 1626, and is as follows:—

To y^e right woorth his very loving friend Dr Ward, Master of Sydney Colledg, and one of y^e Publicq Readers in Divinity give this.

Salutem in Christo.

GOOD DR WARD, I hope you will make a jorney this summer into these Western parts¹ and visitt us here in Salisbury on your way. Had not God taken from vs our woorthy friend I might perchance have accompanied you unto Wells; but now those viadges are with mee at an end. I would intreat you to cast about, where I may have y^e best likelihood for preferring my nephew Sr² ffuller to a fellowship, yf hee cannot speed in Queens Colledg. Dr Mansel has yet given mee no answer one way or other, but I think ere long hee will. I pray when you come down this way, so cast your business yt I may enjoy your company here as long as your occasions will p'mitt; you cannot doe mee a greater kindness. And thus wth my harty commendations I comitt you to God, and rest alwaies

Your very loving friend,

JO. SARŪ.

Fuller's name does not appear in the correspondence for upwards of a year; the next letter which mentions him is dated 23rd September 1627. It was written from Lacham, near Chippenham, in Wilts, the seat of James Mountagu (third son of Henry Mountagu, created, 1626, Earl of Manchester), who had acquired the estate by marriage; and from him descend the Mountagus of Wiltshire. The Fullers were intimate with the Mountagus, and this circumstance may in part account for the presence of our Bishop at Lacham. The letter shews that the subject of it was still at present in writer's mind, as when he last wrote.

¹ Dr Ward, Master of Sidney College, was also Archdeacon of Taunton.

² The academic title "Sir" was at the time applied to those who had taken degrees or were in holy orders.

To y^e right woor^d his very loving friend Dr Ward, M^r of Sidney Colledg: and one of y^e Divinity Professors in Cambridg give this.

Salutem in Christo.

GOOD DR WARD,¹ So soon as I have opportunity, I shall think of these points w^{ch} you mentioned unto mee in your last letter. But I am at this present unfurnished of bookes, and am like so to continew till I return to Saru. The number of those who die weekly is not great, but y^e danger is that ever and anon some new howse is infected. I pray God wee may savely return thither at Christmas. I am now going to y^e Bath, to try yf I can gett away y^e noise in my head. I have writt unto the Master of Queens Colledg, to know what likelihood ther is for y^e preferment of my nephew Thomas ffuller vnto a fellowship. Hee is to be Master of Artes next commencement (11 July 1628): and therefore I am resolved (yf ther bee no hope ther) to seek what may bee done els-where, and herein I must crave your favour and assistance. I pray therefore (yf you can prefer him in your own colledg) let mee intreat your best assistance therein: or yf you have no means to do it there, make trial what Dr Preston thinks may bee doune in Immanuel Colledg. In briefe, I should bee gladd to have him spedd of a fellowship in any Colledg, and should not be vnthankful towards that Society, w^{ch} for my sake should do him y^e favour. I am unwilling to write vnto any but your selfe, unless I first might vnderstand

¹ "Dr Samuel Ward was one of the most learned theologians of this truly theological period. From a fellowship in Emmanuel College he was chosen to the mastership of Sidney College in 1609. He was with Dr Collins, Provost of King's College, and Dr Brownrigg, much in request at Buckden, at the table of the most munificent, learned, and hospitable Williams, the too obsequious servant of King James, and one who would have been truly great if he had been less ambitious."

Dr Ward was with Davenant deputed to represent the Church of England at the Synod of Dort. In discipline he inclined to the Puritan. He was remarkable for his gravity of deportment and for the integrity with which he discharged the duties of his mastership.

"His Theses whilst Lady Margaret Professor of Divinity attest his readiness in the scholastic theology of those times, now peradventure too lightly esteemed."—Russell's *Memorials of Fuller*, p. 77.

"He turned with the *times*," says Fuller in his *Worthies*, "as a rock riseth with the *tide*; and for his uncomplying therewith, was imprisoned in St John's College, in Cambridge. In a word, he was counted a *Puritan* before these times, and *Popish* in these times, and yet being always the same, was a true Protestant at all times. He died anno 1643, and was the first man buried in Sidney College Chapel."—Fuller's *Worthies*, *Durham*, vol. i. p. 334.

from you wher is y^e best likelihood of prevailing : and then I should write willingly, vnto any whome you finde willing at my motion to doe him good. Thus wth remembrance of my love, I comit you to God, and rest alwaies

Your very loving friend, JO. SARŪ.¹

On the 25th of the following month Dr Davenant, from the same place, again writes to his friend, and expresses his impatience with the President of Fuller's College. He also admits us into other interesting family matters.

To y^e right woor^d his very loving friend Dr Ward M^r of Sidney Colledg, and one of y^e Divinity Professors in Cambridg give this

Salutem in Xp̄o.

GOOD DR WARD, I have spent some time in considering those pointes concerning ffreewill w^c you mentioned in your last letter. But I am altogether destitute of my bookes, and cannot possibly bee furnished wth them, unless myselfe (w^{ch} I am yet loath to doe) should goe over to Salisbury. I am therefore loath to send you my bare conceat of those questions ; but so soon as I can have y^e help of my books, to advise wth all, you shall have my opinion.

Dr Mansell has not yet given mee a resolute answer : whether S fuller bee in possibility of beeing chosen at their next election or no. But I have now writt unto him and expect a full and finall answer yf ther bee no hope of speeding in Queens' Colledg : I should thinke my selfe behoulding vnto you (as I formerly writt) yf you would take pains to inquire in what other Colledg hee might be spedd. Whersomever that favour should bee doune him : I should not forgett to take some opportunity of requiting it : I once motioned another matter unto you. w^{ch} I would desire you still to think of. It was this, that when you know any discreet man, competently provided for, who intends marriadg, you would (as from your selfe), wish him to bee a suiter unto some of our maidens (*i.e.* the Townsons, of whom there were six young ladies) wherof two are now marriadgable (Margaret² and Gertrude were the two eldest). My sister (the widow, Mrs Townson, who lived with the Bishop at the Palace till her death) will give reasonable portions, and I shall bee ready to doe somewhat for any woorthy

¹ Tanner MSS., vol. lxxii. fol. 207.

² Margaret married John Ryves, LL.D., Archdeacon of Berks (1634-1665). Gertrude married James Harris, Esq., of the Close, Serum, the ancestor of the Earls of Malmesbury.—Searle's *Queens' College*, p. 416.

man that shall match wth any of them, as occasion is offered mee. The sicknes continues so at Salisbury, that I doubt, I shall keep my Christmas here at Lacock. Thus comitting you to y^e protection of y^e Almighty I rest alwaies

Your very loving friend

Lacham,
Oct. 25th, 1627.

JO. SARŪ.¹

Dr Ward seems accordingly to have busied himself in the young student's behalf, all the more willingly when he found the brilliant youth deserving of it. But the Bishop, finding that his application to Dr Mansel and the Fellows of Queens' is not likely to be successful, although he seems to have received a kind of promise from the former, urges Fuller's father to see what he can do in the matter. The next letter, dated Nov. 28th, 1627, also from Lacham, and containing further particulars of his nieces, the Townsons, is as follows:—

To y^e right woor his very loving friend Dr Ward, Master in Sidney Colledg, in Cambridg give this.

Leave this at y^e Bull in Bishopsgate Street, given unto the carrier (*i. e.*, Hobson²) of Cambridg.

Salutem in Christo.

DR WARD, I hartily thank you for your mindefulness of my nephew S^r ffuller: what Queens Colledg. will doe for him I know not: I have writt unto his father to make a jorney to Cambridg, and to see whether anything is likely to be done in our own Colledg, y^t yf bee no hope there, wee may seek abroad in time. As for my nieces y^e elder is seventeen yeer ould: a maide of a sober and gentle disposition, and every way fitt to make a good wife for a divine. The next is but fifteen yeer ould, not yet ripe for mariadg, but will bee by that time a good husband bee found for her: and I doubt not but shee will in all good qualities match her sister. The greatest portion which my sister gave was £300: and in truth it is by y^e one halfe more than ther due portions amount vnto: ffor what shee gives wth any of them above 150, shee gives freely out of her own estate: w^{ch} widowes vse not to doe.

¹ Tanner MSS., lxxii. p. 213.

² This was the celebrated Hobson—from whom comes the phrase Hobson's choice—that or none.

Her two younger daughters had not so much as y^e eldest: yet I think for those that are now vnmarried, shee will bee brought to give £300 apeece or fast uppon it so y^e time of payment bee reasonable: and y^e parties w^{ch} shall match wth them, will make them assurance of any competent estate other in money or otherwise, in case they should be left widowes. . . . (The remainder of the letter takes up a theological argument—"How farr y^e preparatory acts unto conversion are pleasing unto God.")

When our Bishop's nephew, Fuller, took his M.A. degree (which he received with great applause) at the annual commencement, 1st July 1628, two hundred and sixteen Masters of Arts graduated on this occasion. Both his degrees were (we are told) "taken with such general commendation, and at such unusual age, that such a commencement was not within memory." But his course of studies was soon to be modified, and he had to betake himself to that queen of sciences, theology, and to prepare for the responsible duties of a parish priest.

The long continued endeavours of our Bishop to obtain for his nephew a Fellowship were of no avail: for at the election of 1628, he was passed over, perhaps from the want of inclination on the part of the President (Dr Mansel) to advance his promising scholar. But this action, or rather inaction, on Mansel's part has never been yet satisfactorily cleared up. Fuller's future now came under the immediate consideration of his friends, having completed his seven years' study. His father probably began to feel the burden of the expense of maintaining him at the University, for he had others now dependent on him. And yet it was necessary for his son, being intended for the Church (like the majority of the Fuller family), to continue at Cambridge to qualify himself for the degree of Divinity. Before the first of these (B.D.) could be taken, it was required by the Statutes that Masters of Arts should remain in full residence for a further term of five years. There is evidence to show that Fuller's friends and relations had it under their consideration how they might keep up his con-

nection with the University. The prospects of the young Master of Arts are fully set forth in the following important letter, dated Oct. 21, 1628, from the pen of Dr Davenant :

To his very loving freind Dr Ward professor of Divinity and Master of Sidney Colledg deliver this.

Salutem in Christo.

DR WARD, I am informed they have made a late election at Queens' Colledg, and utterly passed by my nephew. I would the Master had but doune mee that kindenes, as not to have made mee expect some kindenes from him. I should have taken it much hetter, then his dooing of lesse than nothing, after some promise of his favorable assistance. I am loat Mr ffuller should be snatched away from y^e Vniversity before hee bee growen somewhat riper. His ffather is p'swaded to continew him there, vntill I can provide him some other means : but hee think it will bee some disparagement and discouragement to his sonne to continew in that Colledg, where he shall see many of his punies stept before him in preferment. In w^{ch} respect hee is very desirous that hee should remoov vnto your Colledg, there to live in fellowes coñmons till hee shall bee otherwise disposed of. Wee nether intend nor desire to make him fellow in yours or any other Colledg, but only that hee may bee conveniently placed for y^e continuance of his studyes. I pray doe him what kindenes conveniently you may in helping him to a chamber and study, and in admittance into fellowes coñmons, wth as litle chardg as y^e orders of your howse will give leave. In Queens' Colledg, M^{rs} of Art had many times y^e favour granted to come into coñmons w^{thout} giving plate or any other such like burdens w^{ch} lay uppon young gentlemen fellow coñmoners. I make no doubt of your readines to doe him any lawful favour : but y^e cheife thing w^{ch} I am at in his remooval is, that hee may also have your sup'vision and direction bothe in y^e course of his life and study. And thus wth remembrance of my love I coñmitt you to God and rest alwaies

Your very loving friend,

JO. SARŪ.¹

Fuller's anonymous biographer gives, as we have seen, another account of the reason why he did not obtain his much coveted Fellowship. Referring apparently to the same circumstances, he states that during Fuller's stay at Queens', a Fellowship fell vacant, and that the young

¹ Tanner MSS. vol. lxxii. p. 296.

student, "prompted thereto by a double plea of merit and interest besides the desire of the whole house," became a candidate for it. But one of the College statutes was to the effect that *two* fellows could not be admitted on the foundation at the same time, being natives of one and the same county. Now there had been already one student elected from the County of Northampton, of which he was a native. In all probability, it was Fuller's own cousin Robert Townson (whose father, formerly of Queens' College, and subsequently Bishop of Salisbury, Davenant's immediate successor, had been beneficed near the Fuller's at the Vicarage of Willingborough, and the Rectory of Old or Wold, near Brixworth, in Northampton) elected two years before, who, we may assume, stood more in need of it than Fuller. It will be remembered that these Fellowships at Queens' were given to the more needy, and for this reason, Davenant himself being in affluent circumstances, for a long time refused the offer of one. Fuller accordingly "quitted his pretensions and designation to that preferment." The biographer adds that he "totally declined" though he was assured that a special dispensation could be obtained in his particular case by which the election might have been assured. Thus rather than the statutes of the College should be altered on his account, and that an irregular precedent should be formed, he allowed his own merits and interests to suffer, "not willing to owe his rise and advancement to the courtesy of so ill a precedent that might usher in more immodest intrusions upon the privileges and laws of the College."

Be this as it may, his connection with Queens' was soon after severed. His course of study had begun with eagerness and bright anticipations, and finished with credit all round, and he must have left his associates and the time-honoured walls of the old royal College of St Margaret and St Bernard with a mind well informed, and a memory (and he had a wonderful reputation for a retentive faculty)

well stocked. His seven years had been well spent, and it laid the foundation of that marvellous and successful career of his. As the quaint epitaph on his monument at Cranford states, he spent his life making others immortal, and thereby attained immortality himself. At this time he must have been something more than a mere "general scholar." In after years he ever looked back with a grateful recollection to those critical seven years he had spent within the College walls. He thus affectionately concludes his notice of the house in the *Annals* of his University¹: "And thus I take my farewell of this foundation wherein I had my education for the first eight years (1621-8) in that University. Desiring God's blessing to be plentifully poured on all the members thereof."

In November Fuller was admitted at Sydney-Sussex College, not as a "Tanquam socius," as has been stated by one of his biographers (Mr Russell), but only "ad convictum sociorum," *i.e.*, as a fellow commoner, under the tutorship of Dr Ward, the master, and Mr Richard Dugard. Fuller says, in Pembroke Hall "a *Tanquam*,² it seems, is a Fellow in all things save the name thereof."

¹ Sect. v., ¶ 39, p. 82. As to period of time here mentioned, we find him again saying of Queens' College: "to which I owe my education for my first seven years in that University" (*Holy War*, bk. v. chap. xxiv. p. 270). The latter period of time noticeably agrees with that given in the register of Sydney-Sussex College. Fuller probably took a long holiday in the country before entering his new College in the following year.

² So Dr Dove, Bishop of Peterborough, was many years previously retained at Pembroke Collegè, in the same University, as a "Tanquam Socius." "He (Dove) was afterwards chaplain to Queen Elizabeth, who made him Dean of Norwich, being much affected with his *Preaching*, as wont to say that *The Holy Ghost was again come down in the Dove*. He was a constant *Housekeeper* and *Reliever of the Poor*, so that such who in his life time condemned him for *covetousnesse* have since justly praised his Hospitality. Now, though *Doves* are generally said to want gall, yet the *Non-Conformists* in his Diocesse will complain of his severity in affecting *Ecclesiastical Discipline*, when he silenced five of them in one morning, on the same token that King James is said to say *it might have served for five years*. He was an aged man, being the only *Queen Elizabeth's Bishop* of that Province, which died in the

And he again defines the word as "a fellow's fellow." To acquire the privilege of a fellow commoner higher fees had to be paid, the necessary annual charges being about £60 or £70.¹ The extra expense in Fuller's case was perhaps defrayed by Bishop Davenant. Fuller refers to his College maintenance in one of his Cambridge Sermons, making an appeal to "us who are or should be scholars, whom our Parents have bred up at Fountains of Learning and Religion, till our Portions are almost shrunk into our Education."²

Fuller was not ordained by his uncle, Bishop Davenant, as his anonymous eulogist informs us.

One more letter from Bishop Davenant's pen is extant, with which we will conclude this domestic series. Fuller's brother, John, after the lapse of the usual terms, took his master's degree in 1639, when his uncle, in addition to his annual allowance, proposed to make him a gift of £20. John Fuller does not seem to have wished to enter the Church as a clergyman, for which so many of his relations had been educated; and he induced his uncle to allow him to study for the law. A letter dated "Salisbury, Oct. 29, 1639, thus mentions his request:

"My nephew, John Fuller, is resolved to betake himself to y^e study of y^e Civil Law: and albeit I could in likelihood doe him more good in another way (*i.e.*, of course by advancing him in the Church) yet I love not to force any of mine vnto a calling whereunto they stand not affected above others. I conceive it will bee moste fitting for him to converse wth men of y^e same profession: and therefore I have him to remove unto Trinity Hall (evidently then as now the *law* College, par excellence). What favour you can doe him by your comendation to y^e master or any of y^e ffellowes I pray let him have it: And thus wish-

reign of *King Charles*, living in a *poor Bishoprick*, and leaving a *plentiful estate*: to shew that it is not the *moisture* of the *place* but the *long lying* of the *stone*, which gathereth the great *mosse* therein."—Fuller's *Church History of Great Britain*, book xi., p. 141.

¹ *Dr Ewes' Life*.

² *Sermon of Assurance*, p. 15.

ing your good health and Happiness, I comend you to y^e Giver thereof, and rest ever

“Your verie loving friend,

“JO. SARŪ.”¹

It will be seen that our Bishop took a warm and lively interest in his relations to the very last, and in the welfare of his nephews as well as his nieces, our maidens, who lived at the Palace. But it must be borne in mind that he remained a celibate for this very purpose, at the request, some say the command, of his royal master (King James I.), who advanced him to episcopal honours.

Salutē in Christo.

GOOD DOCTOR, I have received bothe your letters ; but I cannot yet finde time to pforme that wch I promised concerning y^e State of Infants baptized, and not Elected : but I hope to doe i ere long Williams his sermon was preached at Sleeford in Lincolneshire, & not at Buckden as you suppose. Dr Goad has shewed mee y^e propositions, wch ye ministers of that country tooke exceptions against & I have now ioined them, wth Dr Overalls Censure, whervnto they give some light. For y^e order wch wee spake of, sent to y^e Vniversity by King James ; wherin Arminius his doctrine was taxed ; mee thinks Mr Harrison should bee a likely man to help you to it, or at least to remember y^e effect of it. Yf Dr Jacksons book bee published, it is contrary to my Lord of Lichfields liking, & without his knowledg, as hee constantly avoucheth. I my selfe saw divers Censures vppon sundry passages of that book, wch the Bishop himselfe had sett by in y^e margent therof. Yf they goe on contrary to his Mai[e]sties Declaration, it is not like others will bee silent. Dr Goad had your letter y^e last week. Vppon Moonday last y^e howse of Coñmons adorned them selves till Wednesday : but when they were mett again vppon Wednesday, there came a message from y^e King bothe to their Howse & ours, for a further Adiornment vntill moonday next. An abrupt end of y^e Parliament was much feared ; and what y^e event will bee God knowes. It should seeme his Maiesty is not well pleased, wth their proceedings in y^e matter of Tonnage &

¹ Dr Davenant to Dr Ward. Tanner MSS., Bodl. vol. lxvii., p. 147. This John Fuller did not marry Anne Townson, his cousin, as some have said. Mr Townson's fourth daughter married one "Cooke." (See Searle's *History of Queens' College*, p. 416.)

Poundage. And I must needs say, I verily conceived, that vpon y^e fair declaration wch y^e King made concerning that busines, it would have been presently settled to y^e contentment of all. For y^e poynts of Doctrine controverted, I see not how the Howse of comons can of themselves doe any good in settling of them. But I am still confident, that yf either y^e Doctrine of Election vpon præscience of psevering Faith, or of the Total or Finall falling away of men truly Justified adopted & sanctified, should come to bee handled in y^e convocation howse, none would so much disparadge their own reputation, as to maintain that ether of them¹ was ever since Queen Elizabeths time received or reputed for y^e comon Doctrine of our Church. Nay I dare further add, that bothe those opinions whensomever they were publicly broched were taxed for y^e singular & erronious fancies of y^e brochers : and that this is Notorious to all that were not asleep, when such doctrines were on foot. Thus wth my best love remembred, I comitt you to God, & rest

Your loving friend,

Feb. 27, 1628.

JO. SARŪ.

[*Endorsed* :—] To y^e right woorth his very loving freind Dr Ward Master of Sidney Colledg in Cambridg give this.

Feb. 27, 1628.

My L^d of Sarum his Lett^r.

Salutem in Christo.

I am sure y^e sadd newes of y^e Parliaments suddain dissolution, has outrunn my letter ; what badd effects it may produce heerafter God only knowes. It is somewhat strange to mee that any of your Cambridg Doctors should incline to y^e Arminian prædestination (ex prævisa fide,) so cleerly reiected in our 17th article. Their distinction of Election to glory & election to Grace cannot shelter : for our article does manifestly diduce election to effectual grace, from Gods election of y^e same psons vnto glory : as out of y^e very tenour of y^e article may easily bee collected. As for y^e Lambeth articles, they were not only subscribed unto by D^r Overall, but (as appears by a letter written from y^e Bp. of Cant: to D^r Goad) [were shewed by y^e sayd Bp. vnto D^r Baro : Who although hee seemed to make some frivolous & childish obiections against one or two of them only, yet hee did confesse, that they were all true ; and added therunto, that they did not impugne

¹ MS. then.

any of his assertions.] These are y^e expres words in y^e Archbishops letter. And to say y^e truthe, yf D^r Baro his sermon contened no woorse matter, then it comprised in his assertions wch you inclosed in your letter; hee might well avouch that they were not contradictory to y^e Lambeth articles. I will see yf I can gett Bp. Hooper vppon y^e comãdments; and then you shall have my opinion concerning his Doctrine. Thus leaving you to y^e protection of y^e Almighty I rest alwaies

Your very loving freind,

March 6, 1628.

JO. SARŪ.

[*Endorsed* :—] To y^e right worth his very loving freind Dr Ward Master of Sidney Colledg in Cambridg give this.

March 6, 1628.

My Lrd of Sarū his Letter.

Salutem in Christo.

GOOD MR DR WARD, I have received y^e letter you sent from London; that likewise wch you sent from Ambrose-bury came to my hands long since. By y^e conference you had wth my Lord of Carlile, I am induced to think, y^t those wch countenanced Mr Mountagues book, have now at length looked into it, & finding it in some poynts flatt opposit to y^e received doctrine of our Church, are desirous to have those poynts buried heerafter in silence. It was ever my opinion, that no Bishop would undertake y^e approving ether of that Conditional Post-destination wch y^e Bishop of Chichester seems to strive for, or of that Total falling away from Grace vppon y^e comission of every mortall sinne, wch hee indevors to proov; or last of all, of y^e Finall falling away, & eternal damnation of any who having believed once in Christe were thervppon iustified, sanctified, & made y^e Adopted children of God. Those three positions (to let all other lighter matters passe) are so manifestly contrary to y^e received doctrine of the Church of England, as yt none of them were ever broched, but they were presently censured, and comūnis opinio Doctorū acknowledged to stand for y^e contradictory. Why that should now bee esteemed Puritane doctrine, wch those held who have done¹ our Church y^e greatest service in beating down Puritanisme, or why men should bee restrained from teaching that Doctrine heerafter, wch

¹ MS. dome.

hitherto has been generally, & publicly maintained, (Wiser men phapps may) but I cannot vnde[r]stand. As for y^e Synod of Dort, wee may boldly affirm, that there is no one of y^e 5 points there determined, but jumps wth y^e doctrine wch our Professors in y^e Chair, & our Preachers in the pulpit have comonly taught with y^e approbation of our Church. And y^e contradictory to any of them, has never gained further amongst vs, then to bee reputed a singular & erroneous opinion, whosomever held it. For D^r Jacksons book (yf it concern these Arminian controversies) I am afrayd it will give some new cause of offence. In his former book concerning the Divine Essence & Attributes; hee so speaks of Gods Love & Mercy, that (for ought I can see) hee acknowledgeth No special love, or special free grace, wherby some are Specially and Infallibly brought vnto Salvation. And yet this Speciall free grace, is a doctrine Evidently grounded in y^e Articles, wch wee all subscribe vnto. I woonder y^e Bishop of Ely, should require an vnvsual subscription from M^r Goodwin: I durst not doe it in y^e like case. For y^e reprinting of our Suffrage, I think it not amisse: that so notice may bee yet more generally taken, that wee favour not those absurd opinions, wch some falsly conceav to have been allowed in y^e Synod of Dort: though wee oppose those new-fangled opinions, wch some would father vpon our Church. For y^e additions wch you intend to make, I think they will bee to good purpose. I would have somewhat more added. As before your Propositions¹ Shew y^t y^e Justification or Regeneration of Infants pteins not vnto this controversy, or yf it doe not it makes not at all for them, or against us. I think this may easily bee cleered, & I can afford you some rude materialls, so you will bee y^e workman in framing them.

As for your second proposition, I think it will bee fitt not only to shew it out of St Augustin, but to shew some way of reconciling y^e contrary testimonies, as also to add y^e testimonies of some late writers (esppecially such as they conceav to favour their opinion) as Luther, Bucer, etc., and of our own Overall, Hooker, or any other of Note. My Readings de Morte Christi, are ready for y^e presse: but those other concerning Predestination are not. Wee will advise heer after concerning the Publishing of them. For y man of your Colledg (wch I take to bee Mr White) I rely so farr vpon your comendation as I shall willingly intertein him for my howshold Chaplain, so soon as I can provide for Mr Thorp who is now wth mee. And for y other matter wch you mentioned, I think him very fitt; and when you have opportunity, yf you bring him over hither, hee may see, & bee

¹ A line is, after this one, crossed through.

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seen, & further proceedings may follow in due time. Thus I comitt
you to God, & rest

Your very loving freind

Nov. 4^o, 1628.

JO SARŪ.

[*Endorsed* :—] To y^e right woor^t his very loving freind Dr Ward
Mr of Sidney Colledg, in Cambridg give this wth speed.
Leav this at y^e Cambridg carriers in Bishopsgate street.
For the porter to send It to cambreg carier. 3d.

4 Novemb. 1628.

My L. of Sarum.

CHAPTER XII

BISHOP DAVENANT'S FAST SERMON¹ AT WESTMINSTER ABBEY (1628)

“Pottage for milk. In these licentious times, wherein religion lay in a swoon, and many pretended ministers (minions of the times) committed or omitted in Divine Service what they pleased; some, not only in Wales, but in England, and in London itself, on the Lord's Day (sometimes with and sometimes without a psalm) presently popped up into the pulpit, before any portion of Scripture, either in the Old or New Testament, was read to the people. Hereupon one in jest-earnest said that formerly they put down *Bishops* and *Deans*, and now they had put down *Chapters* too. It is high time that this fault be reformed for the future, that God's word, which is all gold, be not justified out to make room for man's sermons, which are but parcel-gilt at the best.”—FULLER'S *Meat Contemplations*, xxxiv. part 1.

ONE OF THE SERMONS

Preached at Westminster

The fifth of APRILL, (being the day of the Publike Fast;)

*Before the Right Honourable Lords of
the High Court of PARLIAMENT, and
set forth by their appointment.*

BY THE BISHOP OF SARVM.

LONDON,

Printed for *Richard Badger*, and are to be sold by *John Stempé*
at his shop at the East end of *S. Dunstan's Church-yard* in
Fleet-street. 1628.

¹ This sermon was preached on occasion of one of the Public Fasts, on April 5th, 1628, at Westminster Abbey, by Dr Davenant. The writer of the short biographical sketch of his life says:—“In the following year (1628) our author printed in London a sermon on Jeremiah iii. 22, on the occasion of a Fast, but of this the Editor has vainly endeavoured to procure a sight, and probably there is now no copy in existence.” The writer of these memoirs has been more successful, and, after a long search, has been fortunate enough in dis-

JEREMIE iii. 22 (the latter part of the verse).

Behold, wee come unto thee, for thou art the Lord, our God.

SOME wonderful sight out of all quetion was heere to be seene, or else men never durst have been so bold, as to have called to the great God of heaven to behold it. Some pleasing spectacle out of all doubt was to be exhibited, or else the great God of heaven would never have vouchsafed

covering it at the British Museum. For the first time it is therefore put before the public, and, being the only one of his sermons extant, it is printed according to the author's own spelling. As a rule the writer has followed Archbishop Trench's advice, or rather his custom, to modernise the spelling after the time of Elizabeth. This being Davenant's only sermon extant the rule has been for this reason deviated from. During the Civil commotions these public fasts were frequent, to deprecate the wrath of God, and by way of humiliation. But as these troubles increased they became more frequent and stated. Thus in Fuller's time there were two fast days, one ordered by the Royalists and one by the Parliamentarians. In the early part of the commotions a monthly fast was held by order of the King. "Our general fast," says Fuller, "was first appointed to bemoan the massacre of our brethren in Ireland." It was appointed January, 1642, the last Wednesday in each month being devoted to it; and it was ordered to continue as long as the condition of the country indicated that the Divine displeasure rested upon it. Some of Fuller's best sermons were preached on these fast days. His great sermon on Reformation was preached at the Savoy Chapel on a Fast day appointed by the Parliament, which was kept on a Friday. After a time the Friday began to be kept as a Fast day by the Royalists. The old Wednesday Fast day originally appointed by the King (8th Jan. 1641-2) continued to be kept with increased rigour by the Parliament, who intended that the King's appeal to arms should be regarded as an indication of the increase of God's displeasure to the nation—to avert which was the chief intention of the fast. The King accordingly ordered that fast to be discontinued (Oct. 5th, 1643), but the Royalists continued to observe that day as a festival. In the new proclamation reference was made to the ill use that the Wednesday fast had been put to by "many seditious lecturers," and it was commanded that a solemn monthly fast should be religiously observed on the *second Friday* in every month, in all churches, chapels, &c., with public prayer and preaching where it may be held, to the end that a happy peace might result. He had therefore caused devout forms of prayer to be composed and printed for that service. Upon the *first* of these *new* fast services (Oct. 13th, 1643) Chillingworth, who was not a Royal Chaplain, preached before the King a sermon on 2 Timothy iii. 1, which, after his death in the year ensuing, was published by Royal command.

There were thus then *two* monthly fasts being observed. Fuller writes in

the casting downe of his gracious eye upon it. It was so indeed. A wonder above all other wonders: the stony and rebellious hearts of men suddenly turned into soft and obedient hearts. A joyfull spectacle unto God above all other spectacles; runnagate servants returning unto the service of their Sovereigne Lord; rebellious children repenting, and running as it were into the bosome of their gracious God, and loving Father. If wee will beleeve him who is *Truth* it selfe, this is the principall, if not the onely sight upon earth, which gives contentment, and brings joy unto Heaven, unto the Saints, unto the Angels, yea unto the blessed Trinity it selfe.¹ I have chosen this, as a Text fitting the present occasion, because we are now doing the very same thing, which the Israelites then did: For tell me, I pray, what doe we intend by this solemne generall Assembly, or what doe we pretend by this publique Fasting, Praying, and humbling our selves under the hand of Almighty God, but this serious protestation; *Behold, we come unto thee, for thou art the Lord our God?* Bold, profane, and wretched men we are if wee deride our Maker, and call unto him, that he would out of heaven behold a Sight heere upon earth when in truth there is no such Sight to bee seene. Dutifull, holy, and happy men we are if God looking downe from heaven, behold in us, that which we pretend and he expects. Now that we may the better understand what this is, let us come to a particular consideration of the Text; which is nothing else, but a short and direct answer of God's people, unto a Proposition which God had made unto them in the words immediately going before. God's proposition was this: (*O returne yee*

1647, in reference to them: "During these *Civil Wars* Wednesday and Friday fasts have been appointed by different authorities. What harm had it been, if they had both been generally observed? . . . Do not our two lasts more peremptorily affirm and avouch our mutual malice and hatred? God forgive us. We have *cause* enough to keep ten, but not *care* enough to keep one monthly day of humiliation."—Fuller's *Good Thoughts in Worse Times*, No. xvii.

¹ Luke xv. 7.

backsliding children, and I will heale your rebellions). The Israelites answer hereunto, is very punctuall and direct. (*Behold, we come unto thee for thou art the Lord our God.*) In which answer, we may observe these two generall parts :

1. A protestation of their sincere obedience, (*Behold, wee come unto thee*).

2. A declaration of the motive inducing them thereunto, *For thou art the Lord, our God.*

This protestation consists not of many words, and yet it containes many matters of great importance ; which I will speake of in order, as the words shall offer them unto me.

(1.) The first is the inward Obedience of their Hearts, implied in the word, *Ecce, Behold* : For howsoever the Heart bee not expressly named, yet this *Ecce*, calls as it were upon God, to take notice of the secret resolution of their hearts, and to behold their obedience, in bowing and bending of them, unto his most just, and holy commands. In all acceptable obedience unto God, the Heart must be the ringleader : if that be wanting, the seeming good actions of a Heartlesse Christian, are but like the walking or stirring of a liveless body, which affrights many, but pleaseth no beholder. *Omnia honesta opera volunt as inchoat.*¹ It is the Heart or Will, which gives the beginning unto every good action : and this is it which in the first place the Israelites presented unto God : And surely there was good reason, and a just cause of their so dooing.

First, because their unfaithfull and stubborne heart was it, that had led them out into open rebellion against God, and therefore it was necessarily required, that a loyall and obedient heart should also be their Leader, in this their Submission, and comming in unto Almighty God. Againe, whensoever God calls unto a Sinner to returne, his meaning is, that his heart should first answer unto the call. *My Sonne give me thy heart* ; and *Hebrewes* the x. 22, *Let us draw neere unto God with a true heart.* As good stay

¹ Seneca.

behinde; as come when God calls, and leave our hearts behinde. Last of all, it is the Heart upon which God's eyes are principally fixed, whensoever we present our humble service unto him: and it is one of his Royall Prerogatives, to be the Discerner of Hearts. Wee may therefore well suppose, that these Israelites durst never have called God to Behold their comming, had not their hearts beene their leaders. For they could not be ignorant of that peremptory conclusion (*If I regard wickednesse in my heart, the Lord will not heare me*).¹ Now if any man aske me whence came this admirable change, that men of brasen foreheads, and iron hearts, are so suddenly become men of humble, soft, and religious hearts, all that I can answer is this: The same God that had long called unto them for their hearts, had now at length given them new hearts, and a new spirit, and had taken the stony heart out of their body, as the Prophet *Ezekiel* speakes.² *Bona voluntas est hominis propria, sed Deo inspirante concepta*.³ "A good will, or a good heart, is a man's owne when he hath it: but it is the divine inspiration from whence hee hath it." Let us now for a while leave the consideration of these Israelites, and their new hearts, and come to consider our owne. Wee all make the same protestation this day, of our obedient and penitent hearts which they did. Wee all in effect intreate GOD to looke downe from heaven, and to Behold this unfeined and sincere resolution of our Hearts. Take heede of drawing neere unto GOD with your lippes, and remooving your hearts farre from him. Be sure of that constant resolution which was in holy *David*, when he made this profession: *I desire to doe thy good will (O my God) yea thy law is within my heart*.⁴ *Pars prima bonitatis est velle fieri bonum*. "The first part of goodnesse, is to have the Will of beeing good." I cannot pierce into your hearts, and see your secret intentions and purposes: God can, and doth,

¹ Psal. lxvi. 18.

² Chap. xxxvi. verse 26.

³ Prosper.

⁴ Psal. xl.

and your owne hearts also can and doe take notice of your inward resolutions. Hath any man therefore had a filthy, lustfull, and adulterous heart; aske it whether it bee now resolved to keepe it selfe a pure, chaste, and undefiled heart. Hath any man had a covetous or an ambitious proud heart, let him search into it, and see whether it now be resolved, to renounce the world, with all the vaine pompe and pride thereof. Hath any man had an uncharitable contentious, and malicious heart; let him examine himselfe, whether hee bee fully bent to purge out this old and sowre leaven of maliciousnesse or no.

If our outward humiliation be sever'd from this inward resolution, What is it but (as Tertullian speaks) *Impietatis secreta superficialibus officijs obumbrare*.¹ "To hide the depths of wickednesse under a Superficies of holiness" I hope there is none such here; but if there be, let them know, that a dissembling Nation is stiled, *The People of Gods wrath*;² because hypocrites are (to use the Philosopher's phrase) *in ultima and proxima dispositione*, "in the last, neerest and fittest disposition," to take fire at the devouring flame of Gods wrath. In this day therefore of our solemne Fast, and of our professed new obedience, it much imports us to be sure that wee are sound, and not rotten at the heart; least when wee shall come hereafter to pleade with God, as those hypocriticall Jewes did; *why have we fasted, and thou seest it not? Why have wee punished our selves, and thou regardest it not?*³ Wee receive the same answer. *Behold, in the day of your fast, yee seeke your owne will; Behold, you fast to strife and debate.* If there be in our hearts a resolution onely of abstaining from meate and drinke for certaine howres, but no purpose of waining our selves from our owne wills, all outward shews of intended reformation, will but make to our deeper condemnation. *Qui laudatur ab hominibus vituperante Deo, non saluabitur ab hominibus damnante Deo,* "He who is praised of men, whilst God

¹ *Adversus Marc*, 4.² *Essay* 10, verse 6.³ *Essay* 58.

accuseth him, cannot be saved by men, when God will condemne him." But I am charitably perswaded, that every one of us, who this day present our selves unto the view of God, hath brought with him a new heart, fully resolved upon a new and holy life.

2. There is a second point now to be considered in this Protestation of their obedience; and that is, the outward performance answerable to the inward resolution and purpose of their hearts: wherein I will first speake briefly of the Act it selfe, and then of the severall circumstances considerable in the same Act. This Act God expresseth by the name of returning (*O returne yee disobedient children*). The Israelites terme it Comming. (*Behold, we come unto thee*). Both words note unto us one and the very same thing; to wit, the forsaking of our wicked and sinnefull waies and the walking in the undefiled way of God's Commandments. For as sinne, is *Aversio à Creatore & ad creaturam*, an inordinate turning from God unto the creature; so on the contrary, Godlinesse or righteousnesse, is a turning from the vaine creature, and a Returning or comming unto God our Creator. *Ad Deum non loci monemur sed moribus*.¹ "We come unto God, not by shifting of places, but by changing of our manners and practises." Comming unto the Church (as now we doe) is but comming unto the materiall house of God: ceasing to doe evill, practising to doe well; that is our true returning unto God. *Let the wicked forsake his waies and the unrighteous his owne imaginations, and returne unto the Lord*.² If there be not this outward practise, answerable unto the pretended inward obedience of our hearts; out of question the former pretense was but false and counterfeit. *Nemo veraciter dicit volo qui non facit illud quod potest*.³ "No man truly saies: I am in Will and Heart resolved, unlesse according to his ability, he indeavour to perform his resolution."

¹ August.

² Es. 55. 7.

³ Parisiensis.

But every man will alleage for himselfe, that he is none of those that come unto God in pretended resolutions of obedience; hee comes in deed, that is, in the practise of a Godly life. Let us examine a little the truth of this allegation. There is but one way of comming unto God; there are many crooked by-paths (yet broad and beaten waies too) which carry us quite away from him. He who walkes in the way, which God's Word hath chalked out unto him, he, and none but he, is comming unto God; and how few bee there that care either to finde or follow this way; They which follow the guidance of their own corrupt and crafty reason, may come unto wealth or worldly preferment, but certainly by this way they can never come unto God: and how many bee there that wander in this way all their life long. But the Apostle hath given them their doome. *The naturall man perceives not the things which are of God, neither can he, for they are foolishnesse unto him.*¹ They which follow the bent of their owne sensuall appetite may wallow in bodily and filthy pleasures; but by this way they can never come to God, nor to those pleasures *which are at his right hand for evermore.* Last of al, they which walke in the way wherein the Multitude walkes, and follow onely the fashions of the present time, they may at length arrive at that place, where they shall meete with most company, but never there where they shall meete with God, and the best and most blessed company. *Tritissima quoque via maxime decipit.*² "The most beaten and broad way, leads us farthest out of the right way." What therefore remains, but onely this? If thou wouldest have assistance, that thou art in the number of those that truly come unto God, see whether thou takest his word for *a lanterne unto thy feete, and a light unto thy paths*; for this alone is the straighte way chalked out by God and bringing men unto GOD. And let this suffice for the Act of our

¹ 1 Cor. ii. 14.

² Seneca.

comming unto God; the Circumstances of this act must now bee handled, which are in number three.

1. The first, is the Generality of the persons returning or comming unto God, implied in the word, *Wee*; that is, All wee, the whole Congregation, *Behold*, wee come. Had not there comming beene a joynt and generall comming, they could not thereby have obtained that which they sought for. What was that? The removall of such heaveie judgements as lay upon them, and the averting of more heaveie, which by the Prophets were threatned against them. A particular man by returning unto God, may turne away a particular judgement hanging over his owne head; but where the rebellion have beene generall, and where the judgement prepared is some generall calamity, there it must bee a generall conversion and comming unto God, that must turne away his wrath. *Noah, Daniel, or Job*,¹ may deliver their owne soules by their particular repentance, but they shall save neither sonnes, nor daughters, they onely shall be delivered, but the land shall be wasted. If the sea roare and swell, threatning to breake downe the banks, and overflow some large plaine; it is not the care of one or two in keeping or repairing their banks, that can prevent the inundation: even so when God, (that I may use the phrase of the Prophet *Jeremy*) *shall roare from above against a nation, and be ready to swallow them up*: If there be not a generall indeavour in stopping him from making a breach, the indeavours of some few cannot prevent the deluge of his wrath. Would we therefore (the people of this land) prevent a generall calamity, which out of doubt hangs over our heads for our generall impiety; let us troope together, and one call upon another: *Come let us returne unto the Lord, for he hath spoiled us and he will heale us, he hath wounded us, and he will binde us up againe*.² *Let the children of Israel and the children of Juda Come Together,*

¹ Ezek. xiv. 14.

² Hos. vi.

*and weeping seeke the Lord their God:*¹ In briefe, let us all joyning together, hands, hearts, and voices, say truly and unfeinedly unto God, *Behold wee come unto thee*; and then there is no doubt to be made, but he will turne away his fierce wrath from us. But alas, what hope or likelihood is there of such a joynt and generall returning unto God? Every man indeed seems willing that others should turne from their sins and come unto God, but the most are desirous to stay behinde themselves, or to be the very last in this returne. The Laity are much troubled, and heartily grieved at the Scandalous sins of the Clergy, and by all meanes they would have us forced to come unto God joyntly and generally, without leaving any one stragler of our company behinde us. But when the matter concernes themselves, I see no such generall displeasure against their owne sins, no such care or indeavour to returne joyntly and generally unto God in their owne persons. And I am afraid wee of the Clergy are quit with them in the same kinde: inveighing mightily against their sins, and crying aloud unto them, *Returne*, and yet in the meane time going on in our own. I might say the same of the great and mighty men of the land, compared with the poorer and meaner sort of people. Both have their proper and knowne faults; each of them are wondrous earnest that the other might be reclaimed, and neither so forward as they should be in reforming themselves. I see but one way to make us come joyntly and Generally unto God; and that is, if we can fall amongst ourselves at an unwonted and unheard of, but most allowable and happy strife, who shall be the first in comming unto God. I am sure there is every where strife more then enough for worldly precedence: I would I were able to kindle in your hearts a spirituall ambition about this Holy Precedence, in comming unto God. Let us of the Clergie begin the contention; and as we have a prerogative of more neere and speciall attendance upon God in regard of our sacred

¹ Jer. l. 4.

function: so let us strive to come first and nearest unto him in holiness of conversation. If we proove dull and slacke herein, you the Nobles, the Magistrates, the great men of the kingdome, step forth and claime your privilege. The high Officers of the Kingdome in Civill matters challenge a right of precedence before other men: but this is not all; take notice I pray, of your full right. You are stiled and inrolled *Officers of Gods Kingdome*,¹ and therefore you must hold your precedence, as well in the Service of God as of the King. If neither Priests nor Nobles, Ministers nor Magistrates, will put in for this right of precedence: you of the commonalty, you of the lowest and meanest of the commonalty, strive to get the precedence from us both. It is neither pride nor evill manners, in this case to thrust before your betters. Nay, in so doing, you make your selves more holy then your Priests, more noble then your Princes. It was the saying of a Philosopher; *Philosophia inspicit*. The Divine may say as truly; *Theologia stemma non inspicit*; "Divinity lookes not upon pettigrees." Hee is nobly borne, who is borne againe of the Spirit; he is honourable, who makes it his honor, to be one of the first and formost in Gods service. *There is a seede of man which is an honourable seede: and this honourable seede are they which feare the Lord*.² Now my wish and prayer unto God, and my earnest exhortation unto you is this; that you would all grow ambitious of this honour, that you would lay aside all other strife, and make this your onely strife, who shall first leave his sinnes, who shall first come unto God. If this strife were once a foot amongst us, no doubt but we should come jointly and generally unto God, as the Israelites here did.

2. The second Circumstance observable in this Comming of the Israelites unto God, is now to be considered; which is, the Celeritie or present haste used in this their Comm-

¹ Wisd. vi. 4.

² Eccl. x. 20.

ing. (*Wee Come*) in the present tense ; not wee will come ere long ; not we will consider upon it when will bee our fittest time to come unto thee. No such matter. Here is obedience without delay, present comming, answerable unto Gods present calling. When God calls upon sinfull men to repent and returne unto him, the most give him an answer, not unlike that which *Felix* gave unto *Paul*, *Goe thy way for this time and when I have convenient time, I will call for thee againe.*¹ But we must not refuse God's convenient time, and thinke to make him waite upon our convenient time. No, the practise of these Israelites must bee our patterne and instruction. *Obedientia non discutit Dei mandata, sed facit.*² True obedience doth not debate the case when God commands, but presently falls in hand with executing his command. Excellent is that example of faithful *Abraham*. God saith unto him, *Get thee out of thy countrey, and from thy kindred, and from thy Father's house, unto the land that I will shew thee.*³ And so *Abraham* presently departed. Even so when GOD bids the true seed of faithfull *Abraham*, to leave their corrupt affections, to forsake their wonted wicked courses, and come into that land of Righteousnesse which hee shewes unto them, they presently leave the one, and come into the other. Delay is alwaies dangerous in matters of importance, but in this our comming unto God, it drawes three Mischiefes after it, and they are mighty mischiefes too.

The first is, an unspeakable and intollerable Indignity, offered unto the Sacred Majestie of God himselfe. For when God calls us to come unto him, What staies us from comming, upon whom doe we waite in the Interim? upon whom (as much as in us lies) doe wee make the great God of heaven to waite? I will tell you. It is our owne base and sinfull lusts which stay our comming unto God. For as the new married man answers in the Gospell unto Gods invitation ; *I have married a wife, I cannot come :*⁴ so sin-

¹ Acts xxiv. 26.² Prosp.³ Gen. xii.⁴ Luke xiv. 20.

full men answer when God invites them to come unto him by true repentance ; We are wedded to our owne lusts ; wee cannot come. But who hath made this marriage betwixt thine owne heart, and thy sinfull lust ? Who is it that perswades thee, to forsake the commands of God thy Father, and of Holy Church thy Mother, and to cleave unto this strumpet, which thou callest thy wife ? Sure the Author of this is neither better nor worse, but even the divell himselfe. Now consider seriously ; is the infinite Majesty of the great God of heaven, a fit Subject to have such a scorne and contumely put upon him ? What earthly King would not storme and rage at the Indignity, if calling one of his servants to come unto him, he should answer, Sir, I am sporting with some of mine idle companions, and therefore your Highnes must bee content to waite my better leisure. But if hereunto hee should adde ; heere is an old Rebell and Arch-traitor against your Majesty, who perswades me not to come at your call, and I must be ruled by him ; this would aggravate the matter, and make it bee taken farre more hainously. This in effect is all that the Fornicator, the Drunkard, the Covetous, the Ambitious person hath to say for himselfe, why upon Gods call he comes not presently unto him. His sinfull lusts intreate him to imbrace them yet a little while longer : and the divell whispers unto his heart ; *Da mihi quod præsens est, Deo quod futurum est, mihi florem étatis, illi reliquias.*¹ “Give mee the present time, allow God the future, give mee the flower of thy youth, let God have the bran of thine old age.” Thus wretched men to the infinite dishonour of their Creator, let the divell take his choice, and put God to waite for his leavings ; which in all likelihood will in the end prove either nothing, or worse then nothing.

2. The second Mischiefe which followes upon it, when wee come not presently at Gods call, is the manifold

¹ Nazianzen.

wrongs and Hurt which thereby wee doe unto our owne soules. Wicked men whilst they linger on the time of their returning unto God, thinke that they doe their Soules great pleasure, at least that they doe them no great harme : but they consider not that whilst the Soule takes her sinfull pleasure, shee withall takes her deadly bane. Shee falls into a Consumption of spirituall grace, if ever shee were indued therewithall : and is not a Consumption a dangerous disease. Shee contracts a Schirrus, or spirituall hardnesse, which makes the soule scarcely penetrable by the dew of grace whensoever it falls upon it : and is not this a grievous malady? Last of all (if God be not wonderfully mercifull) shee comes to have a cauterized conscience, and to be given over unto a Reprobate sense, which is *ultimum Terribilium*, the last and most terrible evill that can befall a man, who is not yet in hell. These things considered should make a Christian who hath any care of his own soule, to beware of the divels Dilemma, who alwaies adviseth men in the point of Repentance, as the Philosopher did in the case of marriage. If a young man aske his counsell ; when shall I repent, and returne unto God? his answer will be *Nondum*, not yet, it is a great deale too soone. If an old man aske him the same question, his answer will bee, *Nunquam*, not at all, it is now much too late. But we may build upon it, that whensoever God calls unto us, (as at this very present hee doth unto us all,) it is neither too soone nor too late, and therefore let young and old presently come unto him.

3. The third and last Mischiefe, which attends upon Delay, is a number of unknowne dangers, whereupon such men put themselves, every moment that they continue impenitent in their sins. They trifle away their time, and delay their comming unto God ; but in the meane time who can assure them that God's vengeance will delay the comming unto them? It is safe and wise counsell ; *Make no tarrying to turne unto the Lord, and put it not off from*

*day to day : for suddenly shall the wrath of the Lord breake forth, and in thy security shalt thou be destroyed.*¹ The longer thou makest the patience of God, expect thy returne, the heavier will the load of God's judgments light upon thee, for not returning *Quo diutius expectat durius damnat.*² "The longer he waites, the harder he strikes:" Dost not thou tremble to thinke, that whilst thou are sporting with thy sinfull lusts, God may be Swearing *in his wrath, that thou shalt never enter into his rest?*³ What was it but delaying to come when God called, which drowned the old world, which consumed *Sodom* with fire and brimstone, and which at length carried away the Jewes into the *Babylonian Captivity?* And why may not *England* feare, lest by the same fault, wee suddenly draw upon us the like destruction? *Consider this, yee that forget God, least he teare you in pieces, and there be none to deliver you.*⁴ O consider this yee that feare God; and that he may imbrace you within his armes of mercy, say presently unto him from an unfeined resolution; *Behold, wee come unto thee.*

Having spoken of the Generality of the Persons which must come, and of the Present haste to bee made in coming; the last Circumstance remaines; which is, the Direct Course heere used: (*Wee come unto Thee*). They come in a most Direct line unto God himselfe. And in this streight line, they moove not onely towards him, or till they come somewhat neere him, but they come up close unto him; never resting, untill they come to rest, as it were in his very bosome. This alone is the Streight, Short, and perfect way of coming unto God; other courses, are but crooked by-paths, or circular compassings, and will not answer the expectations of the Commers, as shall be cleered to you in the particulars.

It is a rule in naturall Philosophie, *Omnis motus est propter indigentiam*; "Everie thing moves for supplying some

¹ Eccles. v. 7.

³ Heb. iii. verse 11.

² Gregory.

⁴ Psal. l. verse 22.

want wherein it stands." Now the sinner by this motion which we call Repenting, Returning, Converting or Comming (for all is one) seekes after three things, whereof no one can be had, but by comming directly unto God himselfe for it. And the least of these three things is of more worth than all the wealth, all the honour, yea all the world besides: and therefore must be duly sought.

The first is *Venia*, Pardon for all our sinnes passed; for obtaining whereof, who can imagine a more proper and direct course, then to come immediately and directly unto God the Father, by the *True Way*, God the Sonne, taking for our guide God the Holy Ghost? In this motion there is no crooked turning into by lanes, no circular and frivolous running in a round, but a most direct and streight comming unto God. And this is just as God would have it. *O Israel, if thou returne, returne unto mee, saith the Lord: I, even I am hee, that putteth away thine iniquities for mine owne sake.*¹ And therefore *Tertullian* said well in this case; *Quo fugiam pœnitendo, nisi ad eius misericordiam cuius potestatem contempseram peccando?*² "Unto whom shall I flie for pardon in repenting, but unto his mercy, whose power I contemned in sinning?" and as for pardon of faults, so likewise for Release from Punishments which we feele or feare, the same direct course unto God must bee holden. For the same hand which hath wounded us, can onely heale us, the same mighty arme which hath broken us, can onely binde us up againe,³ as the Prophet speakes. The young Prodigall when he came to his right minde, understood that none but his Father could either pardon his faults, or free him from his miseries: and therefore his resolution is; *I will arise, and goe to my Father, and say; Father I have sinned against heaven, and before thee,*⁴ &c. You know the gracious entertainment which hee found. Shall wee then when wee find our selves troubled in conscience with the guilt of our sinnes, hope to get absolution

¹ Jeremie iv.² Esay 43.³ Hosea vi.⁴ Luke xv.

and remission from sinfull men, standing in as much need of remission as our selves? By no meanes: For, albeit *the ministry of Reconciliation*¹ be committed unto men; yet there was never man invested with the Authority of Remission, but onely *the man Christ Jesus*,² who was God and Man in unity of Person. Shall wee when wee feele the smart of God's scourges, or tremble for feare of some future punishments, hope to cleere the score by purchasing some plenary Indulgence from Christ's pretended Vicar. Away with such foolery. Let the Pope first prove that he needs no pardon for his owne sins, or that he can pardon himselfe, and then let him trie what good his pardon can doe unto others. And as for release from any punishment, whereunto God hath adjudged a sinner, I am sure that if it were but one fit of a burning ague, the Popes plenary Indulgence, with that most favourable and liberall clause, *Quantum se extendunt claves Petri*, can doe him no helpe or good at all. Doe wee therefore seeke to be freed from the burden of sin which presseth our consciences, or from the burden of punishment which lies upon our backs, or hangs ever our heads; let us take the onely streight and direct way, which is, by a true Faith, and a new life to come unto God; and in so doing wee assure our selves of finding that which we come for.

2. There is a second want, to wit, of sanctifying Grace, which the penitent soule hopes to have supplied; for supply whereof there is no other possible way, but onely this, to come directly and immediately unto God. For this grace whereby wee are enabled and strengthened to leade a godly Righteous and Sober life, is a gift *that comes from above from the Father of Lights*; ³ and therefore if any man lacke this heavenly gift *let him come to aske it of God, which giveth to all men liberally*, and reproacheth no man, as the same Apostle speaketh. To imprint this lesson in our hearts, Blessed Saint *Paul* makes it a usuall Salutation

¹ 2 Cor. v. 18.

² Matt. ix. 6.

³ James i. 17.

in the forefront of his Epistles ; *Grace and Peace from God our Father, and from the Lord Jesus Christ.*¹ The very heathen Philosopher had some glimmering of this Truth, that man's goodnesse is God's gift : which made him say *Bonus vir sine Deo nemo est. Nulla sine Deo bona meus.*² "There is no good man ; nor no good minde in any man without God." Doth the soule therefore of any man hunger and thirst after righteousnesse, doth it long to be refreshed with the dew of divine grace, seeke it at the *Fountaine of living waters*, and not in *broken pitts, which can hold no such precious water.*³ Some are so foolish as to thinke spirituall grace may bee found in holy water, in Reliques and such like superstitious observations. Some hope to fetch it from Rome, Loretto or Jerusalem by a tedious and long pilgrimage. Some suppose the directest and readiest way, is to begge it of the Saints, and especially of the Blessed Mother of our Saviour Christ. But God conveigheth not his grace into the soules of men, thorough any of those channels. Wee must come unto him for it, and in the use of his ordinances, we shall receive heavenly grace immediately from the hand of our heavenly Father. *Gratia immediate ex ipso Fonte descendit in cor humanum, alium alveum, aut aliam causam non habet.*⁴ "Grace doth immediately descend into the heart of a man, from God the fountaine of grace ; other course or other cause it hath none." All therefore that thirst after this sanctifying grace must come directly unto God for it. Here every man will be ready to say ; there is none of us so wretched and profane that comes not directly and daily unto God, for this gift of heavenly grace. I will shew you what manner of men refuse to do this, and then I will leave it to every man's own conscience whether hee be in the number, or no. Those who finde not themselves over-pressed, and wearied under the burden of their sinnes : Those who feele not in themselves a hungry and thirsting after righteousness, those that care not for the

¹ Rom. i. 7.² Seneca.³ Jer. ii. 13.⁴ Parisiensis.

meanes of obtaining grace ; to wit, Prayer, the Word, the Sacraments: In briefe, those that are more desirous to enjoy their sinfull lusts, then to subdue and conquer them: these, and all these refuse to come unto God for his sanctifying grace. Nay, I may goe a step further ; If God come and offer his grace unto any thus disposed, they are ready to thrust it backe ; and had much rather obtaine from God (if it were possible) a dispensation to live still after the sinfull lusts of their owne hearts, than a power and strength to overcome the sinfull lustes of their owne hearts. If GOD should presently offer unto us all, our choice of these two : how many of us would be at a stand which to choose? How many may we justly suspect would choose the latter, and the worsor part? I presse this no further ; let every man judge of himself by that which hath been sayd, whether he say unto God, as these Israelites did, *Behold I come unto thee*, for thy sanctifying grace.

3. Now there remains the third and last thing which a sinner returning seekes after, and that is Glory, or Eternall life. There were no great benefit by comming unto God for pardon of our misdeedes, and grace to live well, if these two drew not after them the benefit of eternall life. But when we have truly repented, obtained pardon, and indevoured our best to lead a new and holy life ; for all this our consciences will tell us, that we fall short of deserving eternall life. Surely then there is but one direct course to obtaine it, and that is by addressing our selves as humble petitioners unto God, and saying : *Behold wee come unto thee*,¹ to begge that which we know wee cannot merit. *For all have sinned, and are deprived of the glory of God, and have no other hope to obtaine it, but by way of free gift, through Jesus Christ our Lord.*² And yet let me tell you this ; that if we come unto God for it as we

¹ Rom. iii.

² Rom. vi.

should, that is, by faith *and holinesse of life*: this verie comming is a most certain leading way thereunto, though not a deserving cause thereof. It is a short but a sound determination of S. *Bernard*; that good works, or a godly life is, *Via regni, non causa regnandi*. The Apostle hath taught us the same doctrine; *that by continuance in well doing, wee seeke glory and honour, and immortalitie and eternall life*.¹ But, alas, how manie be there in the world that dream they seek after eternall life, and yet never take this direct course of comming unto God for it? Will your proud Papistical merit-mongers come to God for it and begge it at his hands? No sure. They will rather urge God to bring it unto them, and paie it as a due debt, which by their condigne merits they have long ago deserved, *secundum æquivalentiam rei adrem*, as their Jesuiticall Doctors have taught them to speake. Doe prophane Epicures, and ungodly worldlings seeke it by comming unto God for it? No questionlesse: They rather seeke it from the divell; as if they beleaved not onely that boasting lye of his, *All the kingdomes of the earth are mine, and to whomsoever I will, I give them*:² But as if they beleaved that which the Father of lyes durst not affirme; that the Kingdome of Heaven was at his dispose, and that by his service it might be gained. Last of all, Doe hypocrites (thinke you) and dissemblers come to God for eternall life? Nothing lesse. They make a shew sometimes of comming towards God, and drawing very neere unto him, but in their hearts they are resolved never to come to him. It should seeme they thinke to get into heaven, not by comming unto God in the plaine and direct way of a lively Faith and a holy life, but by deceiving God, and slipping in some blinde back-dore of their owne making. But to shut up this point, and withall the former part of my Text. Let every man that desires either pardon of his sins or release from Gods judgements, that hopes either for infusion

¹ Rom. ii. 7.² Luke iv.

of sanctifying grace here, or participation of eternall glorie hereafter, come to God for all these, and come to him in that direct way which he hath appointed. And thus much for the Israelites' protestation of obedience.

We are now come to the other branch of my Text, which containes a Declaration of those Motives which induced them to obey; in these words, (*For thou art the Lord, our God.*) Heere is a double chaine to binde men unto obedience. The strong chaine of Gods infinite Power and universall dominion, which ties all men alike. (*For thou art the Lord.*) The pleasant golden chaine of God's speciall love and mercy, which in speciall manner tied these Israelites unto him. (*Our God.*) He that acknowledgeth God to be the universall and Omnipotent Lord over all the world, feare should drive him to obey his commands. He which beleeves him to be *His God*, love should draw him to obey his commands. He whom this double chaine cannot binde unto obedience, is in a farre worse case then that *Demoniack* in the Gospell, *Whom no man could binde, no not with chaines.*¹ Let us begin with the former.

God is heere acknowledged, *The Lord*. Not a Lord, over this or that Nation within the precincts of this or that place; but *The Lord* over all nations, over all countries, over all Lords, over all Creatures. *I am the Lord, this is my name, and my glory I will not give to another*, Esay xlii. 8. Now God is such an universall Lord, in three respects.

First he is the Lord Creator, that makes all his subjects, that makes the subjects of al other Lords, yea, that makes the Lords themselves and that out of Nothing. Our bodies with all the members thereof, our soules with all the faculties thereof, are of his making. It is hee that made us, not we our selves. Not our earthly parents; who

¹ Marke v. 3.

were unable to frame the least part of our bodies, much more unable to breath into us living soules. *Qui filium generat non habet potestatem ut concipiatur, ut nascatur, ut vivat.*¹ "He which begets a childe, hath neither the conception, the birth, nor the life of his owne childe, within the limits of his power." If our Parents had beene our Makers, wee had beene but like dead idols, which have eyes and see not, eares and heare not, hands and handle not, feet and walke not. This ground worke beeing now laid, that God, is the Lord of all men by creation, let us consider what force this ought to have in drawing us to obedience. First, I am sure, that God himselfe judgeth it a most forcible motive. Why else should he set such a *Memento upon it? Remember thy Creator in the daies of thy youth.*² Out of doubt God knew that it was impossible even for a young man to grow rebellious, whilst he remembers the Lord to be his Creator. Why should God charge every wicked and ungodly man, with an *Oblitus es Domini Creator is tui, Thou hast forgot the Lord thy Maker,*³ but that he knowes, if this were not forgotten, his commands would never be disobeyed. Not onely God, but all good men have conceived the force of this motive to be so great, that upon the apprehension thereof, they presently conclude in their owne soules: *Come let us fall downe and kneele before the Lord our Maker.* If Grace were wanting, yet Reason is able to make this inference: If God be my soveraigne Lord by right of Creation, I cannot resist him but to mine owne destruction. *For woe will be unto him that strives with his Maker.*⁴ This reason makes all creatures though devoid of reason, ready to obey at God's beck. God made the Sunne; and therefore if hee bid it stand still in the firmament, it dares not but stand, if he bid it goe backe so many degrees, it dares not but goe backe; though in its own nature it rejoyceth like a Gyant to runne his perpetuall course. God made the fire; there-

¹ Lactantius.² Eccles. xii.³ Deut. xxxii. 18.⁴ Essay 4. 9.

fore if he forbid, it dares not burne the three children, nor singe so much as one haire of their heads. The like obedience to their Creator hath shewen it selfe in the most fierce beasts, in the most ravening birds, in the most venomous Serpents. What shall we say then is the cause, that this most forcible reason, hath so little force in mooving reasonable men unto obedience? That whereas every childe if he bee asked who made him, can presently answer, God; yet few men when GOD who made them asks for their obedience, have learned to answer from the heart, Behold, we obey. I can give no better reason hereof then this: that men deceive themselves, whilst they suppose they firmly beleefe that as an Article of their faith, which they onely assent unto for company or fashion sake, because other Christians hold it for an Article. Such a beleefe is but a slight opinion swimming in the braine, it is no true and lively faith, rooted in the heart. Such men when they call God their Creator, deale with him as the Jewes did with Christ; who clothed him in a royall robe, and salute him with the royall title of a King, and yet at the same time they scorne him, buffet him, and spit in his face. Doth not the Drunkard, the Fornicator, the Swearer, and in a word every bold and rebellious sinner deale with God in the same manner? He calls him his Creator, he bowes the knee unto him as to his Maker, and yet he feares not to cast the filth of his sins into the very eyes of this his Lord and Maker. *Cuires nomini subjecta negatur, nomine illuditur.*¹ It is but a flat mockery to give God high titles, and to denie him answerable duties: and those which doe it, are but Christians in name, and Infidels in deede and truth. The true Christian that beleeves from a sound heart God to be his Maker, cannot but in some good measure from the heart obey God his Maker.

2. Secondly, GOD is not onely The Lord Creator, but also The Lord High Protector, or Generall Preserver of

¹ Tertullian.

all his creatures, and more especially of mankinde. For God is not like an artificer; who when hee hath finished his worke, quits his hands of it, and leaves it for-lasting or perishing to the strength of the materials, whereof it consists. No; we must conceive a perpetuall *Mamutenentia divina* (as the Schoolemen terme it) without which, men and Angels, heaven and earth, with all the creatures in the world, would in a moment fall backe into that Nothing out of which they were at first made Something. Upon this ground *Durandus* maintaines; *Verum est dicere de quavis creatura, quod quamdiu est, creatur à Deo.*¹ “We may truely say of any creature, that so long as it Is, so long God Creates it.” His meaning is, that Creation and this Conservation are the same action being considered in God; and only differ thus: That Creation respects the Being of the Creature, as newly produced out of Nothing by Gods infinite power: and this Preservation respects the Beeing of the same creature, as continually supported from falling into nothing, by the same infinite power of GOD. But to let Schoole-speculations passe; the Scripture can best teach us how this title of Universall Lord Protector belongeth unto the Almighty. *He is before all things, and in him all things Subsist,*² saith the blessed Apostle. And againe, *Omnia portat, Hee beareth up all things by his mighty power.*³ So that if this our great Supporter, should but for a moment withdraw his Preserving power, the whole world in the twinkling of an eye, would vanish into Nothing. Neither is it our Being only, which depends upon God’s continuall preservation; but all our well-being is also derived from his gracious providence and protection. It is this bountifull Lord which *opens his hand, and filleth us with his blessings*; which holdeth his hand over us, and keepes us out of manifold dangers, which stretcheth out his helping hand unto us, and pluckes us out of all our miseries. Such a Generall Powerfull and Carefull Lord

¹ Durand.² Colos. i. 17.³ Heb. i. 3.

Protector, is our God unto us. Now this being granted, is it not an effectuall motive to make all men dutifull and obedient unto such a Lord? I am sure that our Sovereigne Lords upon earth, for this very cause of protecting their subjects, and maintaining them in peace and safety;¹ challenge and justly challenge, both obedience and tribute at their hands. How much more then may the Sovereigne Lord of Heaven, who protects both Prince and People, challenge the tribute of obedience ffrō them both? Out of doubt he will and doth require it, and therefore it is our best to pay it. The wise *Solomon* tells us, There is no rising up against the King.² And the Hebrewes have a Proverbiall saying: *Migrandum ex loco in quo Rex non timetur.* "It is time to leave that Countrey where the King is not fearēd" as if alwaies some great judgement were hanging over it. What then may we think is like to befall that Nation, which is up in rebellion against their heavenly King, which deny obedience to their omnipotent Lord, and gracious Protector? I am either much deceived, or this matter doth very neerely concerne us. No Nation in the world hath seene more apparent effects of God's admirable protection over them, then we have done. No Nation in the world hath been more laded, and over laded with plenty of all manner of blessings, then we have been: And (which I am sorrie may truly be added) no Nation in the World hath shewed themselves more carelesse, and thanklesse and gracelesse, towards so gracious a Lord, and Mighty Protector then wee have done. I cannot thinke of the generall impietie of these times, but me thinkes I see withall a terrible blacke storme gathering over our heads: Mee thinkes I see God withdrawing his wonted favourable protection from us, and suffering us to be overwhelmed with such judgements, as our folly and impiety hath long agoe deserved. There is but one meanes to prevent those miseries which hasten towards

¹ Rom. xiii. 6.² Pro. iii.

us ; and that is, betimes to cease from farther provoking our mighty and gracious Protector. *Provoke me not to anger by the workes of your hands, and I will doe you no harme :*¹ it is God's owne promise, by the mouth of the holy Prophet.

3. I am now come to the third and last Respect, wherein God is truely stiled *The Lord* ; that is the Universall Lord over all mankinde. And this is, in regard of his Judiciary Office and Power, which makes him the true Lord Chiefe Justice through the whole world. For the Office ; it is in expresse termes ascribed unto him by the Psalmist. *The Lord hath prepared his throne for judgement ; for he shall judge the world with righteousnesse, and the people with equity.*² And this Office, doth not onely extend it selfe to the punishing of the wicked who hate God ; but to Gods owne children also when they disobey him. *I will visit their transgressions with the rodde, and their iniquity with stripes.*³ None but such prophane Atheists, who wish God out of this Office, durst ever denie it to belong unto him. *Marcion* was anciently branded in the fore-head for this heresie. *Judicis officium à Deoremone, & ei solum bonitatem adscribit,* saith *Tertullian*. But no doubt long since, his owne experience hath made him recant this error in hell. It may be, though God have this Office of an universall Judge over all the world, yet this Circuit is so large, that he wants Power or Meanes fully to execute it. This cannot be imagined ; the contrary so evidently appears thorough the whole Scripture. *When all flesh had corrupted their waies upon earth,*⁴ an end of all flesh is presently determined by the Judge of heaven ; and the whole world is sentenced to be drowned ; and the sentence is as easily executed, as if it had beene pronounced but against some one particular man. *When the crie of Sodome and Gomorrhah had pierced ihe heavens, God adjudged them to be*

¹ Jeremie xxv. 6.

² Ps. ix. 7.

³ Ps. lxxxix. 32.

⁴ Gen. vi. 12.

burned with fire and brimstone; ¹ and presently he rained fire and brimstone upon their heads. I will not trouble you with heaping up more examples of Gods power in this kinde; I had rather stirre you up to feare and obedience, upon consideration of the unresistable power of this Supream and Universall Judge. Shall the Lyon roare and shall not the beasts of the field quake? Shall the great Judge of heaven threaten vengeance against rebellious sinners, and shall not dust and ashes fall downe at his feete, and humbly sue for mercy? Shall the Divell himselfe upon the knowledge of Gods supream Judiciary power beleve and tremble, and shall men more Divelish then the Divell beleve God to be an Omnipotent Lord and Universall Judge, and yet never tremble at the matter? It were hard to thinke there were any such Gyants in the world, who durst fight against God, and despise both the Office and Power of this Sovereigne Lord, and Universall Judge, but that wee see them daily with our eyes, and heare them with our ears. Is not the strong Church-robber one of these Gyants, who dares openly say; *Come let us take the houses of God into possession*; ² never fearing that which follows: *O my God, make them like a wheele, and like stubble before the winde*. Is not the abominable swearer one of these Gyants, who dares tosse and tumble the reverend name of God in his foule mouth, though God have threatned that for such irreligious oathes the land shall mourne. Is not every filthy fornicator, every beastly drunkard, and in a word, every shamelesse and daring sinner of the race of these Gyants; who knowing and confessing that this great Judge hath already passed a sentence of death against these sinnes, ³ yet sport themselves with them and gibe at the Judge himselfe. *Tush, the Lord shall not see it, neither will the God of Jacob regard it*. But I hope there is none heere of this rebellious rout: nay I hope every man heere present is in all humility &

¹ Gen. xviii.² Ps. lxxxiii.³ 1 Cor. vi. 9.

obedience ready to say unto this great Lord and Judge, as the Israelites doe in the Text. *Behold, wee come unto thee, for thou art the Lord our God.* And now let us passe from the Generall Motive, unto the more speciall in the two last words, (*Our God.*)

(Our God :) The former Motive was common to the Israelites with all other nations: for God is the Creator, Protector, and Judge of all men: but this is proper unto them, as they made the Body of Gods visible Church, for it is the Church alone, which can challenge God by peculiar right to bee her God. And this shee may doe in a double respect. *Jure Confederationis, Jure redemptionis.* By right of Covenant, or confederation; and by right of Ransome or Redemption.

1. First, by right of Covenant established betwixt God and the seed of *Abraham, I will establish my Covenant betwixt mee and thee, and thy seed after thee.*¹ And for further ratification of this covenant, God would needs have the seale of circumcision put unto it. If this bee not enough, God over and above hath confirmed it, by swearing thereunto. *I sware unto thee, and entred into a covenant with thee and thou becamest mine.*² In respect of this speciall Covenant, God claimed the Jewes for his speciall inheritance & peculiar people; and they challenged him for Their God, in a more speciall manner then all the world besides could doe. Now as God was by a speciall covenant God of the Jewes under the Old Testament, so now he is become God of the Christians under the New. Our Baptisme is the sealing of this Covenant, wherein the blessed Trinity, Father, Sonne, and Holy Ghost, receive the party Baptized into speciall favour and protection: and the party there indents with the same blessed Trinity, so soone as he shall come to understand this Covenant, presently *to forsake the Divell and all his workes, constantly to believe Gods holy*

¹ Gen. xvii. 7, 10.

² Ezek. xvi. 8.

Word, and obediently to keepe his commandments. Now I have shewed the Nature and quality of this Covenant, which then warranted the Israelites, and now warrants us Christians, to call God, *Our God*; let us consider how forcible it is, or ought to be to draw us all unto obedience.

First, this very Covenant must put us in minde of obedience; because otherwise wee loose the Benefit thereof, for not Taking hold of the said Covenant. The Prophet Esay¹ hath taught us, that the keeping of Gods commandments, and chusing the things that please him; is the very taking hold of this Covenant: and therefore it will follow from the contrary, that he despising of Gods Commandments, and doing those things which he hates, is the loosing of this hold.

Againe, we are farther to consider, that all our happines or unhappines in this life, and after this life, depends upon the keeping or breaking of this Covenant. *If yee will consent and obey, you shall eat the good things of the land,*² *But if you will not obey, but despise mine Ordinances, and breake my Covenant, then I will set my face against you,*³ &c. It is a Chapter worthy of our most diligent perusall. For in it as in a glasse we may cleerely see, how it comes about, that we the people of this Land, who were sometimes crowned with all Gods blessings, begin of late to be stripped out of them one after another, and are in danger of being deprived of them all. We may likewise see, from whence it comes that wee have beene consumed at home with plague & pestilence, that abroad wee have fallen before the sword of the enemy; in these and all other judgements which have or shall light upon us, we must take notice of *Our God*, as avenging the quarrel of his Covenant.⁴ What quarrell can God have against us about this Covenant? He hath a double quarrell, First, for our Hypocrisie; in that we call him *Our God* and make

¹ Chap. lvi. 4.

² Levit. xxvi. 15.

³ Esay i. 19.

⁴ Levit. xxvi. 25.

shew as if we were his peculiar people; in that we call him *Our Father*, and pretend that wee are his true children, and yet in the meane time wee will neither serve him as *Our God*, nor love him as *Our Father*. It is Gods agreement with his people: *Thou shalt call mee*, saying, *My Father, and shalt not turne from me.*¹ He that will needs call God Father, and yet will turne away from him in the course of his wicked life: If God call him sonne, it will be no more to his comfort, then when *Abraham* said to the glutton in hell, *Sonne, Remember thou in thy life time tookest thy sinneful pleasures, and therefore now thou must be content to undergoe eternall torments.*²

But yet God hath a farther quarrell against these Covenant breakers, and that is not only for their hypocrisie, but for their plaine treacherie. For as if it were not bad enough to forget the Covenant established betwixt God and them, they most traiterously account, *the bloud of this Covenant as an unholy thing,*³ and make a new confederacy with Gods knowne enemies, the world, the flesh, and the divell. They shame not to boast and brag of this their new league. *We have made a Covenant with death, and with Hell we are at an agreement.*⁴ But let every man that by vertue of the Covenant calls God his God, detest all hypocrisie, abhor all treachery; and remember that his happinesse depends not upon the entring into a Covenant with God, but upon the true keeping of the Covenant. And for the more effectuall stirring up of every man here present to repentance and newnes of life, according to the tenor of the Covenant, I wil adde this one thing. That whatsoever our carriage hitherto hath been, this very Covenant may assure us, that *Our God*, and *Our Father*, neither will nor can refuse graciously to accept us into favour, upon our submission and amendment. He is ingaged by speciaall promise. *If my people, among whom*

¹ Jeremie iii. 19.

³ Heb. x. 29.

² Luke xvi.

⁴ Esay xxviii. 15.

*my name is called upon, doe humble themselves and turne from their wicked waies, then will I heare in heaven and be mercifull to their sinne, and heale their land.*¹ *Promissa hæc tua sunt, & quis falli timeat cum promittit ipsa Veritas?*² “These are thy promises, O Lord, and who needs doubt the performance, where Truth it selfe makes the Promise?” But if any man should doubt whether this Promise be strong enough to binde God, to accept the submission of a rebellious servant; yet there is no doubt, but his tender fatherly affection is strong enough, to make him accept the submission of a Repenting Childe. *Ephraim is my deare sonne, therefore my bowels are troubled for him; and I will surely have compassion upon him, saith the Lord.*³ Let us therefore now at last come unto our God, with humble, lowly, and penitent hearts, and then wee shall speede no worse then the Prodigall childe did: That is, our loving Father will have compassion upon us, *hee will run and fall upon our neckes, hee will kisse us, and put the best Robe, even the rich Robe of his wel-beloved Sonnes righteousnes upon us.*⁴

There remains the other title of Redemption to be briefly touched, in regard whereof the Israelites terme God, their God, and on the other side God also termeth them his peculiar people: And this Redemption was twofold: God was called their *Strong Redeemer*, and they were stiled *the people whom God had Redeemed*, in regard of that famous and miraculous deliverance out of the Egyptian thraldome. God esteemed this Temporall and Corporall redemption so great a benefit, and so forcible an inducement to Obedience, that hee thought it fit to bee ingraven in the fore-front of his ten Commandments. Yet this is not it which I purpose now to insist upon. There is therefore another Redemption wrought by the bloody Passion of the Messias; obscurely represented in the Leviticall

¹ 2 Chron. vii. 14.

³ Jer. iii. 14.

² August.

⁴ Luke xv. 20.

Sacrifices, more plainly described by the Prophets, but most evidently pointed out unto us by the holy Apostles. This is our Spirituall and eternall Redemption, whereby we are redeemed out of the jawes of the divell, from eternall Death and Damnation of body and soule, which otherwise, we must have undergone, and indured world without end. Now albeit the Generall Power of this redemption extend it selfe unto the whole world, yet the Declaration and Application thereof belongs in speciall manner unto the Church; & therefore it is the Church which out of this respect calls God her God; and it is likewise the Church, which for this cause God owns as his peculiar people. This is the Redemption whereof every member of the Church ought with holy *Job*, to take speciall notice. *Scio quod Redemptor meus vivit. I know that my Redeemer liveth.*¹ And not onely so: but I know that this my Redeemer hath ransomed both my body and soule, not with gold or silver, but with his owne precious blood; *to the end that being thus Bought with a price, I may glorifie him both in body and soule.*² If all which hath benee formerly urged, cannot perswade men to returne to the obedience and service of God, yet this Motive, that he is *Our God*, and that by Right of Redemption should inforce us thereunto. Our Creation out of nothing was an infinite benefit, and ties us straitly to God our Creator. But this our Redemption at such an inestimable price, when we were worse then nothing, is infinitely greater then that other infinite benefit, and ties us in a more strait band unto God our Redeemer. Our Creation cost God no more but the word speaking, *Dixit & factum est, hee said it, and hee did it*; but our redemption was not so easily wrought; *Multa tulit fecit que Deus, sudavit & alsit.* What man so thanklesse that would not for ever acknowledge him for his good Lord and Patron, and strive to doe him all acceptable service, who had but redeemed him from the

¹ Job xix.² 1 Cor. vi. 20.

Turkish Slavery, and rowing chained in their gallyes. How much more then stand we obliged in all duty and service unto our God, who hath redeemed us from being the Slaves of Sathan, from the chaines of darknesse, and everlasting damnation. They have no sense of this Redemption nor no part as yet in it, who are not inflamed thereby *to serve God in holinesse and righteousnesse, and to become a pecuiliar people unto him, zealous of good workes.*¹ But alas, where shall God our Redeemer finde such zealous servants, amongst millions of men that confesse and professe themselves to be redeemed with his blood? The World and the Flesh have a world of Servants at command; nay the divell himselfe is so well attended, that Saint *Cyprian* brings him in, thus bragging against our Saviour Christ, and insulting over us silly and sinfull wretches. *Ego pro istis nec sanguinem fudi,*² &c. I have spilt no one drop of blood for any of these, I have taken no paines to doe them any good; nay all my study and paines ever was, and ever shall be, to bring them to death, and eternall damnation. Notwithstanding all this; *Tuos tales demonstra mihi Christe,*³ "O Christ, (if thou canst) shew me so many, so busy, so painefull, so dutifull servants of thine," as I am able to shew unto thee every where of mine. O what a shame is it unto us all that beare the name of Christians, *Hæc dici potuisse, & non potuisse refelli:* "That such things may truely bee objected against us by the divell, and cannot truely be denied, or confuted by us."

O what a griefe is it unto our Lord Christ, that a cursed Murtherer should be able to entise away so many servants, from a blessed Redeemer? This point should rather be prosecuted with teares, then words; nothing now remaines, but that every man heere present, search into his owne heart and life, inquire and finde out his owne proper sinnes, turne speedily from his wicked waies; and that all of us say with a joynt and constant resolution as these Israelites did:

¹ Tit. ii. 14.² Serm. de Eleemosyna.³ *Ibid.*

Behold, wee come unto thee, for thou art the Lord, our God.

That Almighty God who hath this day called us unto him by his word, draw us unto him by the effectuall operation of his holy Spirit ; that so renouncing the service of the World, the Flesh, and the Divell, and returning unto the service of our true Lord ; wee may recover his favour here, and enjoy his everlasting favour hereafter. Grant this Most Mercifull Father, for the infinite merits of thy wel-beloved Sonne, to whom with thee and the Holy Ghost, be ascribed all Praise, Power, Majesty, and Dominion, this day and for ever. *Amen.*

FINIS.

CHAPTER XIII

DAVENANT PREACHES BEFORE THE COURT — HIS TROUBLES AS A COURT PREACHER — BIRTH OF A PRINCE (CHARLES II.), 1630

“I appeal to the moderate men of these times (1651-5) whether, in the height of these woful wars, they have not sometimes wisht (not out of passionate distemper, but serious recollection of themselves) some such private place to retire unto, where, out of the noise of this clamorous world, they might have reposed themselves and served God with more quiet.—FULLER'S *History of Abbeyes in England, Church History*, bk. vi. 263.

IT will be remembered that Bishop Davenant preached a sermon in London at Westminster Abbey, on the occasion of a Fast, from the words of Jeremiah iii. 22, which we have given *in extenso*, as it is the only known extant sermon of our Bishop, and about which the writer of the short sketch of Bishop Davenant's life says: “Of this the editor has vainly endeavoured to procure a sight, and probably there is no copy in existence.” After several attempts, the writer of these Memoirs at length had his search rewarded by discovering a copy in the British Museum, which is given at length in a previous chapter. It must be owned that the Bishop did not shrink from stating his opinions on “the Doctrines of Grace” very boldly, and evidently had the courage of his convictions. It contains very unmistakably what might be termed “strong meat,” and its doctrinal weight fully comes up to the required standard; “sixteen ounces in the pound.” It was strong even for those days of dogmatical strength; and hardly suited the tastes of some of the new rising generation of Churchmen. The Church was passing through a crisis, and a reaction was taking place in men's minds. People

had had a good "dose" of teaching on the subjective side, or pietetic phase, of religion, and now by the usual reaction were swinging round towards something more objective—a platform more tangible and realistic. Thus it has ever been. Some people's very temperaments incline them either to an internal or external development of Christianity. From the nature of the case it must be so. And when men's minds have been dwelling too much on the Contemplative side of Religion, they will, as with the measured beat of the pendulum, swing over to a more practical exhibition of their principles. Coleridge used to say that all men were born either Platonists or Aristotelians—the men of ideas, *i.e.* correlated with the platform of private judgment, and the men who acknowledge some outward Controlling Authority, *i.e.* the Church. Thus in our day the Cambridge movement, which had regard to doctrine, was by a logical necessity followed by the Oxford movement, which took into its purview discipline, the externals of Church observance, which were indeed its supplement. The Cambridge movement was remarkable for its preaching of the Doctrines of Grace, the Atonement, Justification by Faith, the work of the Spirit on the individual soul; whereas that of Oxford brought out more clearly and fully the Dogma and tact of the Incarnation, with the teaching of the Sacraments as its development and extension. It also made its appeal more stringent to the old Catholic Fathers and Doctors, as the former had gone straight to the unerring Word of God. Both movements were necessary. The one was corrective and correlative of the other. Each was required to make a perfect equipoise, both as to doctrine and discipline, and the two together set the Anglican system, *viz.* Evangelical truth and Apostolical order, before the eyes of Church people.

Something of this sort was going on in these days, and men were passing from a subjective to a more objective way of looking at Divine truth. The school of Davenant and

Usher and Hall was merging into that of Laud, Jeremy Taylor, and Heylin. A new king had arisen. Charles I. had succeeded his theologically-minded predecessor, James I., and great changes had taken place in men and measures, in civil and ecclesiastical matters, and greater still were pending. The muttering of the coming storm could even then be heard, and those pregnant commotions were then coming to the birth—the prelude of the final crash—the fall of the Monarchy and the humiliation of the Church—the destruction of Crown and Mitre—to end with the death of the King and that of his Archbishop.

Charles I. had ascended the throne under the most favourable auspices. The new king was known to be scrupulously conscientious and devoutly religious. It was noted that, unlike his father, at the special request of Bishop Laud, he joined in the prayers of the Royal Chapel, instead of expecting the sermon to be commenced immediately upon his entrance. They heard with approval how sternly he rebuked an Irish Romanist noble who interrupted the royal devotions by loud conversation in the ante-room. Men whispered about the story that the prince had said to his favourite bishop that he could never be a bishop, since nothing would induce him to plead the cause of a rascal.

Scholars and writers and artists were captivated with a sovereign who was not only a patron, but was also a genuine admirer of all that was beautiful and well written; and who himself was no mean student in literature, “a competent judge in music,” and in art an accomplished critic of the styles of the great painters of the Renaissance. Rubens and Van Dyck painted for him; Milton wrote masques and pastorals for his courtiers; Walter Davenant (not the divine, but the poet), Crashaw, and Herbert were among the band of graceful and devotional poets who expressed the feelings and aspirations of the dominant party. Manuscripts of Greek, Arabic, and Hebrew were added to the libraries; and the royal collection of pictures

was said to be the best in Europe ; while the faultless architecture of Inigo Jones was ready to construct palaces and porticoes and galleries for the refined pleasures of an educated society delighted by the revival of art and learning.

Dignified and silent, passionately fond of England, loving order and decent economy, upright in all his dealings, and a pure and dutiful husband, Charles seemed to be the king exactly suited to the mind of the serious Englishmen who formed the bulk of the middle classes. He had none of the pedantry, and none of the insolence of his father. He was brave, and intent on making his country play a chief part in the affairs of the world.

All these changes naturally affected our Prelate. And three years after writing his scholarly letter to Bishop Hall (of Exeter), Davenant, whose principles (though very popular, as well as his person, with James) had long been out of favour at Court, fell under the open displeasure of the head of it.¹ Laud was now the dominant fact, and supreme in ecclesiastical matters, and was carrying out his reforms, which were indeed much needed, with a high and stringent hand. To silence all disputes upon the Predestination controversy, Charles, under Laud's advice, had prefixed "His Majesty's Declaration," which still remains

¹ And yet "Judging from frequent royal visits to Sarum, Bishop Davenant must have been highly esteemed by both James I. and Charles I. The former was staying at the Palace in 1623, and the latter in 1625 and 1632. On the last occasion Charles I. was at Salisbury, and attended the daily service in the Cathedral. Fuller, at this time Prebend of Netherbury, speaks of having had the honour to see the King solemnly 'heal,' *i.e.*, 'touching for the evil' in the Choir of Salisbury."—*S.P.C.K. Diocesan Histories, Salisbury* (Jones), note, p. 204.

"James I. was frequently in Salisbury, as the guest of the Bishop, for many days at the time. These visits occurred 1609, 1611, 1615, 1618, 1620, 1623. No notice apparently exists of his touching for the evil, in the Cathedral Church. Charles I. also was in Salisbury in 1629 and in 1632, for some days, and attended the daily service at the Cathedral, but there is no record of his healing—most likely both the Kings touched, but, being usual, is not mentioned."—*Bailey's Life of Thomas Fuller, D.D.*, note, p. 88.

at the head of the Thirty-nine Articles, requiring "all curious search" on that subject to be laid on one side. These Articles had been agreed upon by the Archbishops and Bishops of both Provinces, and the whole clergy, in the Convocation holden at London in the year 1563, for the avoiding of diversities of opinions, and for the establishing of consent concerning true religion: reprinted by His Majesty's commandment, with His Royal declaration prefixed thereunto, &c.

In "His Majesty's Declaration" these words occur, which, as it will be seen, cover the ground of complaint, and gave our Bishop's adversaries the opportunities they required:—

"That therefore in these both curious and unhappy differences, which have for so many hundred years, in different times and places, exercised the Church of Christ, we will that all further curious search be laid aside, and these disputes shut up in God's promises, as they be generally set forth to us in the Holy Scriptures, and the general meaning of the Articles of the Church of *England* according to them. And that no man hereafter shall either print, or preach, to draw the Article aside any way, but shall submit to it in the plain and full meaning thereof, and shall not put his own sense or comment to be the meaning of the Article, but shall take it in the literal and grammatical sense."

This was the point upon which the action of our Bishop's adversaries turned.

When the Royal injunctions were published by Laud it brought upon him a storm of unpopularity, which raged fiercely for a considerable time. To compensate him, however, for this, there came to him in April this year (1630) the pleasing news that he had been elected Chancellor of the University of Oxford; and soon after, the Queen having been delivered of a son, the King paid him the high compliment of allowing him to baptize the infant, although this had been always esteemed the special privilege of the Archbishop of Canterbury. King Charles, indeed, seems to have regarded Laud with a real and sincere affection,

and to have adopted his opinions on theological matters and doctrinal topics so that any, even the least, divergence from them excited his indignation. Thus our Bishop, preaching this Lent before the Court, ventured to enlarge somewhat on the "thorny" points of Predestination and Election. The sermon was preached on one of the Sundays in Lent, at Whitehall, before the King and his Court. His text was the latter part of Romans vi. 23: "The gift of God is eternal life, through Jesus Christ our Lord"; the former part of the verse, "The wages of sin is death," having been the subject of a discourse in the previous year. He touched on the matter of election, and some of his adversaries at Court thought "to make him fall totally and finally from the King's favour," as the King's Declaration, which is still prefixed to the Thirty-nine Articles (as we have just seen), seemed to forbid preaching on predestination and the difficult cognate points of theology. The King was much displeased at this boldness, not only infringing (it was said) His Majesty's declaration lately prefixed to the Articles, but before his own face, and in his own hearing. Bishop Davenant was informed by Archbishop Harsenet, Bishop Neile, and the Lord Chamberlain, that the King was very angry at his sermon, and he was summoned to attend the Council-table on the following Tuesday. The Bishop, who was not aware that he was at fault, appears to have been overcome with terror at the summons. He presented himself on his knees, before the *Privie Council*, "and so," says his nephew, "had still continued from any favour he found from any of his own function there present (*i.e.*, the spiritual Peers). But the *Temporall Lords* bad him arise and stand to his own defence, being as yet only accused, not convicted." "Then," says Davenant, "the Archbishop of York (Harsenet, deputed by the King to manage the whole business) made a speech half-an-hour long, aggravating the boldness of mine offence, and showing many inconveniences it was

likely to draw after it." The Archbishop appears to have been very vehement against him, but Bishop Laud (who was, it will be remembered, consecrated the same day as Davenant) walked by all the while in silence, and spake not one word; and he was, some say, the real mover in the affair. The accused Bishop defended himself, with much force of manner and argument, by saying that he had only treated on the matter of Article XVII., but he was told in reply "that the *King's will* was that for the peace of the Church these high questions should be forborne." Upon this he answered that he was sorry that he had not understood his Majesty's intention, but he would conform to it in future. The Lords of the Council seem eagerly to have caught at these words as a means of ending the unseemly dispute. They had been sitting all the time in silence, while Harsenet had been seeking to justify his promotion by his violent oration, and Laud remained silent. Bishop Davenant was dismissed, and the next day, being admitted to kiss the King's hand, was told by the Bishop of London's (Laud) royal pupil that "he would not have this high point meddled with or debated one way or other, that it was too high for the people's understanding, and the points which concern reformation and newness of life were more needful and profitable." Whatever opinion may be entertained as to the soundness of the King's sentiments, it may excite the astonishment of some to find him thus quietly assuming the *rôle* of universal Bishop. The affair made a great noise at the time, and created no little stir in clerical circles. It has also been very much discussed in all its bearings since that time. By the lengthy reference to this unfortunate episode, it is clear that Fuller exerted himself to clear his uncle's fame; and Davenant's own account of the matter to his loving friend Dr Ward shows the excitement the incident was causing both in Church and State. With the increasing influence of Laud, Davenant (who, however, as one of his

suffragans, appears to have been on very good terms with him when made Primate) henceforth could have had little hope of favour from the Court, and the remaining part of his life was probably spent in his own diocese. To this examination of Davenant, Dr Ward thus alludes in a letter to Archbishop Usher: "I suppose your Grace has heard of my Lord of Sarum, how he was questioned before His Majesty in the beginning of Lent last, the particulars of which you shall understand by the enclosed parcel of a letter he wrote me. I am right sorry the established doctrines of our Church should be thus questioned."

Davenant, however, was not the only Prelate who was annoyed by the Court at this time. Not to mention the long and bitter persecution with which Williams was harassed for so many years, and which is detailed in all its disgraceful features by Bishop Hacket: who can hear without indignation, one of the most illustrious ornaments of the English Church, Bishop Hall (whose book on the "Old Religion" we noticed in a previous chapter), Bishop of Exeter and then of Norwich, complain that he was brought three several times on his knees before the Council, to answer false and idle criminations, and that he only escaped further worrying by plainly telling the Archbishop that he would rather resign his mitre than be subject to such persecutions. So that our Bishop was not a solitary instance.

However, the incident in question created such a stir at the time, and has been so frequently canvassed since, in discussing the possible re-adjustment of the relations of Church and State (more especially with regard to the action of the Judicial Committee of the Privy Council, which accidentally became the ultimate Court of Appeal for cases Ecclesiastical, more than sixty years ago), that it may not prove unacceptable to our readers to hear the whole account of the transaction, from the pens of those

most interested in the case before us. Fuller labours hard to put matters straight with his Uncle the Bishop (and who was the original of his word-portrait of "The Good Bishop"), and Davenant tells his own version of the story to his loving and tried friend Dr Ward, Master of Sidney College.

"Dr John Davenant, Bishop of Salisbury," says Fuller in his *Church History*, "preached his course on a *Sunday in Lent at White-Hall*, before the *King and Court*, finishing a *text, Rom. vi. 23*, the former part whereof he had handled the year before. In prosecution whereof it seems he was conceived to fall on some *forbidden points*, in so much that his *Majestie* (whether at first by his own *inclination*, or others *instigation*, is uncertain) manifested much displeasure thereat. Sermon ending, his *Adversaries at Court* hoped hereby to *make him fall totally and finally from the King's favour*, though missing their mark herein, as in fine it did appear.

"Two daies after he was called before the *Privie Council*, where he presented himself on his knees, and so had still continued for any favour he found from any of his own function there present. But the *Temporall Lords* bad him arise and stand to his own defence, being as yet only accused, not convicted. *Dr Harsenet, Archbishop of York*, managed all the businesse against him (*Bishop Laud* walking by all the while in silence spake not one word) making a long oration uttered with much vehemency to this effect :—

"First, He magnified *King James* his bounty unto him (Davenant) who from a private *Master of a Colledge in Cambridge* (without any other immediate preferment) advanced him by an unusuall rise to the great and rich *Bishoprick of Salisbury*.

"Secondly, He extolled the piety and prudence of *King Charles* in setting forth lately an usefull Declaration, wherein he had commanded that many intricate questions tending more to distraction than edification of the people, should utterly be forborn in preaching, and which had already produced much peace in the Church.

"Thirdly, He aggravated the hainousnesse of the *Bishops* offence, who so ill requited his *Majestie's* favour unto him, as to offer in his own presence, in so great an *Auditorie*, to break his *Declaration*, inviting others by his example to doe the like.

"Fourthly, that *high contempt* was the lowest tearm could be given to such an offence, seeing ignorance could in no probability be pretended in a person of his reputed learning and eminent Profession.

"What the other answered hereunto will best appear by his own

letter written to his worthy *friend Doctor Ward*,¹ giving him an exact account of all proceedings herein in manner as followeth :—

“As for my Court businesse, though it grieved me that the established Doctrine of our Church should be distated, yet it grieved me the lesse, because the truth of what I delivered was acknowledged even by those which thought fit to have me questioned, for the deliverie of it. Presently after my sermon was ended, it was signified unto me by my *L. of York*, and my *L. of Winchester*, and my *L. Chamberlain* that his Majesty was much displeased, that I had stirred this question which he had forbidden to be medled withall, one way or other : My answer was that I had delivered nothing but the received Doctrine of our Church established in the 17 article, and that I was ready to justify the truth of what I had then taught. Their answer was, the Doctrine was not gainsaid, but his Highnesse had given command, these questions should not be debated, and therefore he took it more offensively that any should be so bold, as in his own hearing to break his royall commands. And here my *L. of York* aggravated the offence, from many other circumstances. My reply was only this. That I never understood that his Majesty had forbid a handling of any Doctrine comprised in the Articles of our Church, but only raising of new questions, or adding of new sense thereunto, which I had not done, nor ever should doe. This was all that passed betwixt us on Sunday night after my sermon. The matter thus rested and I heard no more of it, till coming unto the Sunday Sermon, one of the Clerks of the Councell told me, that I was to attend at the Councell-Table, the next day at two of the Clock. I told him I would wait upon their Lordships at the hour appointed. When I came thither, my *L. of York* made a speech welnigh of half an hour long, aggravating the boldnesse of mine offence, and shewing many inconveniences it was likely to draw after it. And he much insisted upon this, what good effect his Majesties Declaration had wrought, how these controversies had ever since been buried in silence, no man meddling with them one way or other. When his Grace had finished his speech, I desired the Lords, that since I was called thither as an offender, I might not be put to answer upon the suddain, but that my Lords grace would be pleased to charge me point by point, and so to receive my answer, for I did not yet understand wherein I had broken any commandement of his Majesties, which my Lord in his whole discourse took for granted. Having made this motion I gave no further answer, and all the Lords were silent for a while. At length my Lords Grace said I knew well enough the point which was urged against me, namely the breach of

¹ Mar. 16, 1629. (Bodleian Library, xlili., Tanner MS. 290, fol. 86, b.)

the King's declaration. Then I stood upon this defence, that the Doctrine of Predestination which I taught, was not forbidden by the Declaration. First, because in the Declaration all the Articles are established, amongst which the Article of Predestination is one. Secondly, because all Ministers are urged to subscribe unto the truth of the Article, and all subjects to continue in the profession of that as well as the rest. Upon these and such like grounds, I gathered, it could not be esteemed amongst forbidden, curious, or needless Doctrines: and here I desired out of any clause in the Declaration it might be shewed me, that keeping myself within the bounds of the Article, I had transgressed his Majesties command; but the Declaration was not produced nor any particular words in it; onely this was urged that the King's will was, that for the peace of the Church these high questions should be forborne. My answer then was, that I was sorry I understood not his Majesties intention, which if I had done before, I should have made choice of some other matter to intreat of, which might have given none offence; and that for the time to come, I should conform myself as readily as any other to his Majesties command. The Earle of *Arundell* seemed to approve of this my answer, and withall advised me to proceed no further in my defence. This is in substance all which was done or said in this matter, and so I was dismissed. The Lords said nothing either in approbation of what I had alleaged, to shew that I had not wittingly broken the King's known command or in confirmation of the contrary, urged against me by my Lords Grace. At my departure I intreated their Lordships to let his Majesty understand, that I had not boldly, or wilfully and wittingly, against his Declaration, medled with the fore-named point; and that now understanding fully his Majesties minde, and intention, I should humbly yeeld obedience thereunto. This businesse thus ended, I went the next day to my *L. Chamberlain*, and intreated him to doe me the favor, that I might be brought to kisse the King's hand, before I went out of Town, which his Lordship most readily promised and performed. When I came in, his Majesty declared his resolution, that he would not have this high point medled withall or debated, either the one way or the other, because it was too high for the people's understanding: and other points which concern Reformation and newness of life, were more needfull and profitable. I promised obedience herein, and so kissing his Majesties hand, departed. I thought fit to acquaint you with the whole cariage of this business, because I am afraid many false reports will be made of it, and contrary one to another, as men stand contrarily affected. I shewed no letter or instructions, neither have any but these generall instructions, which King James gave us at our going to Dort, which

make little or nothing to this business. I sought amongst my papers, but could not finde them on the suddain, and I suppose you have them already. As for my sermon, the brief heads were these: *Eternall life is the gift of God, through Jesus Christ our Lord.* As in the former part I had spoken of the threefold miserie of the wicked: so here I expounded the threefold happiness of the Godly to be considered.

"1. *Happy* in the Lord whom they serve: God in Christ Jesus.

"2. *Happy* in the reward of their service: Eternall life.

"3. *Happy* in the manner of their reward: χάρισμα, or *gratuitum donum in Christo.*

"The two former points were not excepted against. In the third and last I considered Eternall life in three divers instances; in the eternal destination thereunto which we call election, in our Conversion, Regeneration or Justification, which I termed the *Embryo* of eternall life. John iv. 14. And last of all in our coronation, when full possession of eternall life is given us. In all these I shewed it to be χάρισμα or the free gift of God through Christ, and not procured or premerited, by any special acts depending on the free-will of men. The last point wherein I opposed the Popish Doctrine of Merit was not disliked. The second wherein I shewed the effectuall Vocation or Regeneration (whereby we have Eternall life inchoated and begun in us) as a free gift was not expressly taxed. Only the first was it, which bred the offence: not in regard of the Doctrine it self, but because (as my Lords Grace said) the King had prohibited the debating thereof. And thus having let you know the carriage of this business I commit you to the protection of the Almighty."¹

What Dr Ward's answer was to our Bishop's letter, the writer has not been able to ascertain. But it is certain we do not hear much of Davenant being at Court again after this, and he seems to have retired to his bishopric, and to have thrown himself heart and soul into the work of his important Diocese, correcting abuses and reforming morals.

During our Bishop's sojourn in London, he received two letters from his friend Dr Ward, but which he was unable to answer till his return to Salisbury.

Here Davenant wrote the four following letters—the

¹ Fuller's *Church History of Great Britain*, book xi., section 16, pp. 138-141.

first discussing Melanchthon's views; the second, our XVIIth Article; the third, the probable new Dean and the Arminian position; and the last, the abstruse doctrine of Præterition.

They were written in the early part of 1629, and the originals are to be seen at the Bodleian Library, Oxford.

On his return, too, Dr Davenant and the Capitular Body had a controversy with the Corporation of the town, in consequence of the pretensions advanced by the latter over the former. James I. had given the Cathedral Chapter a Charter, which was in itself an infringement of the feudal rights of the bishop, and subsequently they had begun to interfere with the privileges of the Close. Hence the Bishop opposed the renewal of the Charter in 1630, and the jealousy their contending claims created, was manifested in a way not altogether dignified. The contention lasted from 1631 to 1634, when it seems to have been amicably settled.¹

The Chancellorship of the Order of the Garter pertained to the See of Salisbury from 1450 to 1539. Henry VIII. and his successors made a practice of conferring the office on laymen. In 1636 Dr Davenant petitioned the King to restore the office to his See, and the matter was debated till 1640, when the troubles in Scotland caused the Bishop to relinquish his suit.² Several papers relating to this matter are among the Ashmote MSS. In 1671 Dr Seth Ward, who succeeded Alexander Hyde as Bishop of Salisbury on his decease, who had married Maria,³ the youngest daughter of Dr Townson, and one of our bishop's nieces, procured this recovery of the Chancellorship.⁴ Dr Seth Ward was translated from the bishopric of Exeter and

¹ Hatcher, *Sarum*, iii. 80 (quoted in Searle's *Queens' College*).

² Ashmote, *History of the Garter*, p. 24.

³ Another sister Ellen, Dr Townson's third daughter, married Humphrey Henchman, precentor of Salisbury, Bishop of Salisbury 1660-63, and of London 1663-75.—(Searle's *Queens' College*, p. 416.)

⁴ Cassan, *Bishops of Salisbury*.

held the See of Sarum from 1667 to 1689, being succeeded by Dr Gilbert Burnet, the author of an "Exposition of the 39 Articles of the Church of England," and on the "Pastoral Care," a book frequently put into the hands of the younger clergy.

It was about this time that an interesting event took place of great national and political importance, which was destined to affect in many ways the future fortunes of the royal house. When the Cambridge students were being dismissed to their respective homes on account of the spread of the plague, which was raging in that locality, a royal prince (Charles II.) was born on May 29th. "Great," says Fuller, "was the general rejoicing thereat. The University of Oxford congratulated his birth with printed poems : and it was taken ill, though causelessly by some, that Cambridge did not do the like : for then the wits of the University were sadly distracted into several counties, by reason of the plague therein ; and I remember Cambridge modestly excused herself in their poem made the year after, at the birth of the Lady Mary ; and it will not be amiss to insert and translate one tetrastic, made by my worthy friend, Master John F. Borth, of Corpus Christi College, Cambridge.

' Quod fuit ad nixus Academia muta priores
Ignoscat princeps *Carolus*, ægra fuit
Spe veniente novâ si tunc tacuisset amores
Non tantum morbo digna, sed illa mori.'

(' Prince Charles forgive me that my silent quill
Joy'd not thy birth : alas ! sore sick was I,
New hopes now come : had I been silent still,
I should deserve both to be sick and die ')."¹

The birth of this young prince, as it gave cause of rejoicings to all good subjects, so it gave no small matter of discouragement to the Puritan faction, who had laid their line another way, and desired not that this King

¹ Fuller's *Worthies*, *Westminster*, p. 239.

should have had any children ; insomuch that at a feast in Friday Street, when some of the company showed great joy at the news of the Queen first being with child, a leading man of that faction (whom I could name were it worth the while) did not stick to say, that he could see no such cause of joy as the others did. Which said, he gave this reason for it, that God had already better provided for us than we had deserved, in giving such a hopeful progeny by the Queen of Bohemia ; whereas it was uncertain what religion the King's children would follow, being to be brought up under a mother so devoted to the Church of Rome.¹

The birth of the Princess Mary (afterwards mother of William III.) occurred on Nov. 4th, 1631 (the following year). This event, as we see from Fuller's words just quoted, exercised the brains of the poetically minded Cantabs, who determined to celebrate the births of the two royal infants by the publication of their efforts with the Muses. They accordingly produced *Genethliacum Illustrissimorum Principum Caroli et Mariæ a musis Cantabrigiensibus celebratum*, Cantabrigia, 1631 (4to). As might have been anticipated, the name of "Tho. Fuller, Coll. Sid. Suss, appears as a contributor, loyally labouring in a Latin piece of six verses, 'ad serenissimum regem,' to set forth that since the month of November was in many ways associated with important events connected with Charles, the year would now begin better with November than January."

Heylin, in his *Life of Laud* (as will be seen from the quotation already given), to instance the disloyalty of the Puritans, tells us that on a birth in the Royal family, they stood aloof from the rejoicings, saying that they looked toward the Bohemian branch, that illustrious branch which even now flourishes, whilst Divine Providence has swept away the Stuarts from the throne of this kingdom. Thus

¹ Heylin's *Life of Laud*, p. 209, 1668.

the Puritans were true prophets; they knew that a family which had united itself to an idolatrous interest was not in the way of blessing; they knew better than their opponents the essential evils of Romanism, and its spiritual mystery. We speak, of course, of the right-minded amongst them; of men who, like Dr Sibbes, seemed to have been far better judges of such questions than some of those who were more immediately mixed up with these matrimonial transactions.

Meanwhile, in his Cambridge parish of St Bene't, Fuller, spite of his poetical sallies, continued to discharge his pastoral duties with faithfulness, success, and credit to himself. He had not only endeared himself to his parishioners, but he was attracting considerable notice as a popular preacher, and winning fame as a rising divine, even in a wider area than his parish, among the members, especially the younger ones, of the University itself. It may be presumed that his uncle, the Bishop, was waiting till some vacancy occurred in his gift, which his nephew might suitably occupy, instead of, or in addition to, his pastoral charge. When, therefore, on the 18th June, 1631, Dr John Rawlinson, Prebendary in the Cathedral of Sarum, died, the vacant post was bestowed on Fuller.¹ The Prebendal stall was that of Netherbury-in-Ecclesia, Beaminster, Dorsetshire. It was regarded as a valuable piece of preferment. "The manor of Netherbury, now called Netherbury-in-Ecclesia, together with the impropriation of the whole parish, constitute the prebend in the Church of Sarum so named. The Prebendary grants the farm for three lives, and presents to the Vicarage."² Hence Fuller

¹ Davenant Registers—Sarum.

² Hutchin's *Dorset*, i. 263. The value of the prebend (of "Nytherbury and Beyminster") was £60 in 1621. In 1379, temp. Richard II., it was certified to be worth by the year, £106, 13s. 4d. (Foxe, quoted in Brewer's edition of Fuller's *Church History*, ii. 351). It was returned (26 Henry VIII.) to be of the annual value of £43, 12s. 6d. (Hutchin's *Dorset*, ii. 105). Fuller's composition for £39, 5s. 3d., dated 25th November 1631, and paid in four

himself, alluding to its value, said of it that it was "one of the best prebends in England."¹ Fuller's subscription to the Articles, in his own writing, is still preserved in the Bishops' registers, and his composition for first-fruits, &c., in the Record office.

Fuller's eulogist makes the following incorrect statement with respect to this gift:—"This being *the King's Donation* was some further reason for abandoning his most pleasant studies and conversation in Cambridge, for that also by the statutes of both Universities it is provided that no person who shall have £10 *per annum* in the King's books shall be capable of a fellowship in either of them."² He here overlooks the fact that Prebends, or Honorary Canons, as they are called in some Cathedral chapters, are invariably in the gift of the *Bishops*. The King as yet knew nothing of Fuller (although presently he was destined to be tutor to the young Princess, and Chaplain-in-ordinary to Charles II.), and as his uncle, the exemplary Bishop Davenant, was now, as we have just seen, owing to his predicatorial escapade, in disgrace at Court, it is not likely that it was obtained at the King's request, or through his intervention.

Fuller's anonymous biographer just as carelessly tells us that his hero "retired from the University," upon receiving this Prebend. Bishop Davenant did not forget his favourite nephew in the disposal of the patronage of the See of Sarum. "That Prebend of Salisbury," says his biographer, "was a commodious step to a more profitable place." This was the Rectory of Broadwindsor, which fell vacant in the year 1634, on the death of Francis Isaac. He did not, however, permanently leave for some years, for he was still in possession of the Incumbency of St Bene't. Having

equal sums, every six months (the last on 1st August, 1633) is in the Record office. His sureties are his relations, "Edwardus Henchman, paroch. Sancti Andrea in le Wardrobe London, et Maurit. Henchman de eadem generos."

¹ *Appeal*, i. 286.

² Page 6.

in view, moreover, his next degree (that of B.D.), he kept up a nominal residence at his College, in accordance with the Statute, by the terms of which students were allowed, after seven years from the time of commencing the M.A. degree, to proceed to the higher degree. This would bring us down to the year 1635, when he actually took his degree in Divinity. Possibly he left Cambridge for a short period, to enter on the possession of his stall, and to familiarise himself with its extra duties. From this time, also, there is no doubt but that he spent a greater part of his leisure time at Salisbury as the guest of his uncle, and with his aunt, Mrs Townson, and the cousins.

The same eulogistic biographer, who seems ignorant of the events of this period of his life, now states that when betaking himself to his priestly function (the Prebend) he was "*ordained* by the Right Reverend Father in God the Bishop of Salisbury;"¹ but he was already in Orders when he received the Prebend, and, as can be easily proved, his ordination must have taken place the previous year, in the diocese of Ely, and before he could have taken the pastoral sole charge of St Bene't's, a church and parish in Cambridge.

To his position in the Cathedral of Sarum at this time, Fuller thus alludes in his controversy with Dr Peter Heylin, who had charged him (Fuller) with being unjust in his *Church History* to Bishop Wrenn. "My extraction—who was *Prebendarius Prebendarides*, and relation (as the animadverter knows) to two (no mean) bishops, my uncles—may clear me from any ecclesiastical antipathy. I honour any man who is a Bishop; both honour and love him who is a religious and learned Bishop."²

This "Prebendary and son of a Prebendary" retained his Prebend at Salisbury all through those momentous and troublous times, during the Civil Wars, the Anarchy in Church and State, and the downfall of the Church and Monarchy, and it is a pregnant illustration of the vitality

¹ *Life*, p. 6.

² *Appeal*, pt. iii., p. 614.

of capitular institutions, supposed to be the weakest and most vulnerable point in the Church's armour—in fact its *tendon Achilles*—that although the distractions of those times were the most severe and trying which could come upon any country, or could possibly strain the relationship of both Church and State, Fuller was enabled to hold his Prebendal stall and official status in the Chapter through the whole crisis, and retain it to the day of his death. It is true that its revenues were sequestered, and he did not regain them till late in life, and at the Restoration, but the wonder is that the office still remained intact. He had to fly from his post as "Minister" of the Savoy, he was compelled to give up his living at Broadwindsor in Dorset, he became a mendicant Divine and cavalier parson, he assisted at the defence of Basinghouse, and was tutor to the young princess (Henrietta) at the siege of Exeter, in turn, but the *Prebend* never really passed out of his grasp. Turn to which of his celebrated writings we will, early or late, there is but one style by which he is invariably recognised in them all, from first to last, and that designation is "Prebendary of Sarum."

We have said that the Capitular Institutions have been always taken for granted as being the weakest and most vulnerable part of the Church's armour, and yet the very reverse is the fact. "Thirty years ago," said the late lamented Archbishop of Canterbury, Dr Benson, at the opening of Truro Diocesan Conference, "Cathedral bodies were in the very depth of unpopularity. Nothing but some heaven-born instinct in the English people then prevented their extinction. They were mutilated, yet that 'there was some good thing to be found in them' in these ancient and universal societies, was still believed. Even then a foreign liberal minister shared with England's most liberal Churchman and educationalist his horror at the Parliamentary mania which was bent on dribbling away the Cathedral funds which ought to be kept together for such Church

purposes as had grandeur and greatness in them." "The Cathedrals," wrote Bunsen to Arnold, "ought to be the fountains both of practical and theoretical divinity." "The Chapters," he wrote again, "ought to share in the government of the Church, as the book of Canons intends them to do, and as they do in other countries." Towards such large and noble views the Church reaction moves slowly but surely. The Cathedrals have long regained their place in public interest. Their mutilation is a subject of grief to men who now see what they might have done. Victimised first by the Ministers of George II., who, in an age of bribery, found them the least costly kind of bribes; next farmed by men of business, who by birth or political connection stood within reach of them, who took Orders with a view to accumulate their leases on themselves and their families, under a vicious system now impossible; who regarded their commanding positions as *otium cum dignitate*, and who often amassed large sums of wealth by unscrupulous pluralism: these old mother churches became mere camps, and entrenched alike bishops and parishes. Up to the period of which I speak there is scarcely a name of any Church author, or thinker, or preacher, theologian, philosopher, commentator, antiquarian, or sacred poet who was not a member of some Cathedral or Collegiate Church; after that, until quite recently again, such names are few and far between upon their lists. So that their defenders, when short work seemed likely to be made of them, only urged that they were venerable places of retirement for worn-out scholars and clergy, and that they were schools of sacred music. Strange that it had to be rediscovered that their one ancient character and intent were in exact harmony with the most practical of modern needs, that first they were intended to invest the bishop with a council of his learned and experienced clergy; and secondly, that they had been provided with a staff of diocesan officers, who, at the centre of the diocese, were charged with

functions corresponding to those of our secretaries of civil government. The Cathedrals of the new foundation (*i.e.*, Henry VIII. and his time) were less complete in their adaptation; but those of the old foundation, of which Exeter was an admirable type, were simply perfect in their organisation. Man's wit has never devised a more sensibly practical kind of institution.

"Singular it seems," again remarks the late Primate, "that when these magnificent establishments, instead of being really substantively utilized, were virtually desiccated, the four offices were everywhere left, and even enriched sometimes. At Exeter itself (and there alone) a fifth canonry was allowed to remain, but was allowed (I may be permitted to observe), on the urgent solicitation of the far-seeing Bishop Philpotts, with an especial view to Cornwall. The *prebendal stalls* (like Fuller's at Sarum) though rifled, were everywhere left as names of honour, with their old local titles, with their rights and duties of voting and assembling unimpaired; and even in the Cathedrals of the new foundation, where no prebends had been founded, there were in 1852 attached to each Cathedral a body of twenty-four honorary canons. About honorary canons, it should be remarked that every great writer on ecclesiastical jurisprudence in all centuries has laid it down that the possession of endowment is not an essential element (however convenient an adjunct) to a Cathedral canonry. In the history of the Church many a time canons had no property; have held common property; have been some of them endowed, some unendowed, in the same church; have had every farthing confiscated, have even had no daily or common service at all, and yet their status was unaffected, because their position had relation to the council of the bishop and to diocesan affairs, which were unaffected by the accidents of their funds and property. 'There now' (the nation virtually said to the Cathedrals in 1852) 'we divert your property to other uses; but we leave you your lines of existence, nay, we even bring them out more clearly and fully. Resume, if you will, your place in our respect; win your way to confidence again as your predecessors did.' It might have been supposed that the dispossessed stalls would remain vacant. It was so supposed. The clause which (framed by Bishop Blomfield) preserved those stately outlines, when the endowments were confiscated, was passed by the Commons with contemptuous laughter. 'What Churchman,' it was said, 'will ever accept a penniless post?' When some one asked that at least the fees of institution might be remitted to encourage the maintenance of the old rank,

'No,' said Lord Melbourne, 'if gentlemen like to wear feathers, they shall pay for them.' Yet there have never been wanting men to keep up the tradition, and support its burden, until better times came. It is said no stall has ever been declined in England."¹

The following four important letters from the pen of Bishop Davenant, never before published, are those referred to, p. 315.

Salutē in Christo.

I received two letters from you, whilst I was at London; but could finde no leysure to answer either of them. Now beeing quietly settled at Salisbury I will return a breif answer to them both. For Melancthons opinion concerning Prædestination, I make no question but hee fully agrees with vs, in acknowledging Faith Perseverance & all Grace infallibly bringing men to Salvation, the proper effects or fruits of eternal election. This is enough to overturn y^e Arminian Tenet; though it bee granted that all Comfortable knowledg or pswasion of a mans own particular election does Follow Faith, & effectual Grace: and though it bee further gran[ted] that God from all eternity Forsees Faith & Perseverance, in all those who are to bee made partakers of eternal life. For how is it possible that God Freely electing men unto Salvation, should not forsee in them those Graces wch hee Decrees to woork in them, as y^e means wherby they must bee brought vnto Salvation? The Distinction betwixt the Order of Execution, & Intention, does fully satisfy y^e Arminian obiections concerning y^e Antecession of Faith and Perseverance, in regard of our Introduction into Eternal life. Ariba his speculation may serve to shew, that Gods prædestination does *not infringe or alter y^e proper operation of mans will*; but how from it should bee deduced, that Faith Perseverance, & all Saving Acts & Qualities grow out of mans *Freewill by y^e Help only of Comon Grace*, I doe not conceav. Whosomever fetcheth Faith & pseverance from Predestination, & not Predestination from Faith & pseverance, turns vp Arminianisme by y^e Roots. Bee it granted, that God in y^e Nunc æternitatis wch never passeth, does Decree y^e Salvation of all men wch are Saved or to bee saved; I see no advantage that y^e Arminians, can make out of it, to prove that Prævisa Fides is it, wch drawes election of pticular psons after it. Concerning Dr Jenysons opinion, who makes y^e Promise of Giving Faith & Giving Perseverance to y^e Elect, an absolut Promise,

¹ Paper on the "Cathedral Body," by Dr Benson (when) Bishop of Truro, read October 26th, 1877, at the first Truro Diocesan Conference.

though y^e Promise of Salvation bee conditionally propounded ; in my opinion it must thus bee explicated. Not that in Scripture there is an *Absolute Promise of God revealed*, concerning his intent of Giving Faith or Repentance to this or that particular person—for no Minister or Preacher can say *Certitudine fidei*, to this or yt man, thow art one of them to whome God has made an Absolute Promise of Giving Faith & Perseverance : But because God has revealed in holy scripture, that hee has Promised a Faithful Seed vnto his sonne Ch. our Saviour ; & *Gods promises to Ch. & his Church, haue their Absolute Certainty from Gods powrful & infallible operation*, & not from mans contingent & vncertain Freewill. I woonder Dr Beal or any man els who vnderstands y^e Doctrine of our Church, should make it a question whether God gives *Ipsū velle, as well as Posse, or invitare*. Now to come to your other letter ; I am of opinion that where somever y^e Gospel is preached, & attentively heard, there goes wth it such a Spiritual effect as Illuminates the Minde, & mooves the Will so farr, as makes all prophane p̄sons & Revolters guildy of Positive Infidelity & Impoenitency, though y^e Special Gift of *Faith & Repentance bee not given vnto such*. As for y^e words *Elegit nos in Christo*, I think y^e Tru & proper meaning of them is not as our New Dutch Doctors would haue it, *elegit nos Existentes in Christo p̄ Fidem et p̄severantiā prævisam* ; but, God who Appointed his sonne for a Saviour Appointed also certain p̄sons to bee Saved by him ; who beeing geuen vnto him by his Father, receavd from him all such Graces as are necessary vnto y^e obtaining of eternal life. As for your question, whether men bee elected in Ch. *propter meritū Christi prævisū*, I remember a saying of Scotus, *hoc est præcipuū in merito Christi, quod meduit vt non vnita membra sibi vnirentur*. Whatsoever Grace therefore is Imparted vnto any member of Christ, (even y^e first Grace whereby they are made Members, wch is Faith) depends vpon Christes merit. But as for y^e Decree of *Election it selfe*, as it is antecedent to y^e Donation of Grace, & is an eternal and secret purpose of Preparing Effectual Grace for y^e elect I think it is more properly referd to y^e Liberty & free will of God, then to y^e Forseen Merits of Christ. For Dr Jacksons obiections, against y^e Truth of Exhortations admonitions etc. where wee pre suppose a sentence of Reprobation already passed ; they are but idle, & y^e Arminians are as much bound to answer them as wee, who defend Augustins opinion receaved & allowed by our Church. For all who know what they speak of, when they speak of Gods eternal decrees acknowledg them Imutable : so that whether Judas were left Inter Non electos by God's decree Forseeing his Infidelity & Impoenitency tanquā antecedaneis ad Non electionē or by for seeing his Infidelity & Impoenitency, as

Consequents though not as Effects of his Decree, all is one, & there is y^e selfe same vse of exhortations, & y^e selfe same Truth in exhortations. As I remember moste of these questions forementioned, are touched vpon in my Treatise of Predestination, wch is now in your Custody. And I pray keep it privat to your selfe. For, by exceptions wch now taken against my sermon lately preached at y^e Court, I vnderstand, that howsoever y^e Doctrine of our Church is not disclaimed in y^e poynt of Predestination, nor y^e doctrine of y^e Arminians allowed, yet for peace sake his Maiestyes resolution is, that this high poynt should neither by Preaching nor Writing bee Debated one way or other. Thus having breifly & suddainly answered your questions I comitt you to God, & rest

Your loving freind

Febr. 23, 1629.

JO. SARŪ.

[*Endorsed* :—] To y^e right woorll. his very loving freind, Dr Ward, Mr of Sidney Colledg in Cambridg give this.

Leave this wth the Cambridg Carrier in Bishopsgate Street.

23 Febr. 1629.

My Lrd of Sarum.

Salutē in Christo.

I perceave by one of y^e letters wch I receaved from you, that some are of opinion, that y^e composers of our 17th article favored y^e Doctrine of prædestination. Ex fide prævisa. I am sure what somever they did inwardly they shewed litle favour towards it in y^e Article it selfe ; where every clause crosseth it. First, Prædestination is an Everlasting Purpose of Gods secret council ; but Ego servabo Credentes et Perseverantes is that Open and known Will of God, wch stands Reveled in y^e Gospel. Secondly, Prædestination is a secret Decree of effectual delivering some pticular psons from Damnation ; but Ego servabo Credents et Perseverantes is an Open Decree or Law, of Delivering & saving every man, who shall pforme those conditions. Thirdly, Prædestination in our Article, is of those whome God hathe Chosen in Christ out of Mankinde ; but the Arminian prædestination is of those that had in God's prescience first chosen Christ & adhered vnto God even to y^e last gasp, & that Before this gracious decree of Prædestination. Fourthly, Prædestination (as it is conceived in our Article) is a Decree of bringing men chosen in Ch. by Christ vnto Salvation : but in y^e Arminian tenet, Prædestination does not give or bring any man either vnto Christ, or vnto Salvation by Christ ; but when vpon tender of comon sufficient grace, a mans own Freewill has brought him to Christ, kept him in Christ, & ledd him vnto

y^e Gate of heaven, then Prædestination laies hould vpon him, & p modū legis, setts it down, This man must bee receaved into heauen. Fiftly, Prædestination is there supposed, to bee an Excellent Benefit of God, from whence flowes our Calling according to Gods Purpose, Effectual Conversion, Justification, Adoption, Sanctification, Glorification : but in y^e newfangled opinion of Arminius Prædestination is no Special Benefit Guiding a man in y^e way to life, for it imbraces no man before hee bee considered as at y^e End of his way. It is y^e Cause of no mans Special vocation, Effectual conversion, Justification, etc.: because (yt wee believe Arminius) it follows all those in Order of consideration, & does come in only at y^e very last moment of Perseverance, & before y^e first moment of Glory. Sixtly, Prædestination (as our Article describes it) is a poynt full of vnspeakable comfort to Godly & Regenerated psons, Who feel in themselves the woorking of y^e Spirit of Christ : but y^e Arminian prædestination following vpon y^e condition of Perseverance in Faith & obedience vnto y^e end of a mans life, can bring no such vnspeakable comfort vnto a Regenerat man though Feeling y^e effectual operation of y^e spirit in himselfe ; because notwithstanding this feeling, hee may bee in y^e Number of y^e Reprobate, & those wch were Forseen as Falling away from Grace, & so never vnder y^e Decree of Election ; Lastly, the Doctrine of Prædestination as it is laid down in our article is vnto curious & carnal psons a dangerous downfall ; but Arminius his Prædestination, wch is comprized in this Decree, Quisquis crediderit et pseueraverit salvus erit, has no such Danger in it, though it bee conti[n]ually before y^e eyes of psons never so carnal. To bee breife, the Arminians have vtterly mistaken, The Revealed doctrine of y^e Gospel with ex æquo apperteins vnto all men : for y^e Concealed Decree of particular Election, wch makes a Difference betwixt men, in whome it found none.—Now for M^r Hoopers præface, I see nothing in it wch makes for Prædestination com̄ing after Faith and Perseverance : Hee shewes that y^e Evangelical Promise, Crede et salvus erit is General ; & that no man is Excluded from reaping y^e benefit therof but by Infidelity nor Included but by Faith ; wch y^e very Tenour of y^e Covenant implies. Further hee truly teacheth, that God does not violently wth necessity or ruse pull one by y^e hair into heaven, & thrust another headlong into hell : lastly hee setts it down, that no man can bee Partaker of Election, vnles hee Receave y^e Promise in Christ by Faith, nor no man Judg of his election but by y^e true signe therof, wch is y^e Apprehending of Gods Mercy promised in Christ, by a lively Faith. In all wch assertions hee follows Melancthons manner of speaking ; but never Denies that Faith or Perseverance are effects of Gods eternal election, [*some words crossed through here*] nor ever affirms that men are considered

as in y^e last moment of p̄severance, before y^e gracious Decree of Præ. destination passed vpon them. I have thought vpon y^e Argument drawn from Infants, wch is vsed against our Doctrine of p̄severance & have in some Propositions indeavored to cleer yt poynt; but I can not send it now, because I want my scholler who should transcribe it. M^r White has been wth vs heer, & I have interteined him into y^e Number of my Chaplains; I expect him again before y^e Coñfession & have hope of pleasuring him shortly wth some good Prebend. Good Benefices are so scarce wth mee, that I could wish some of his other freinds were able to pleasure him in yt kinde; because I know not how long it will bee, ere any fall in my gift. Thus coñmitting you to God, I rest alwaies

Your very loving freind

May y^e 5th,
1629.

JO. SARŪ.

[*Endorsed* :—] To his very loving freind D^r Ward Master of Sidney Colledg deliver this.

5 May 1629.
My L^d of Sarum.

Salutē in Christo.

Wee know not yet, who shall bee our Dean: the speach hath lately runn much vpon Dr Beal. I should bee gladd of a Cambridg man, so wee might have him Resident amongst vs, as by Oath and Statute hee is moste strictly tied. Concerning Prædestination ex prævisa Fide, I dare say Luther holds it not; and for Melancthon, and y^e Augustan confession (in my opinion), they rather shew, by what way men are to come vnto y^e comfortable knowledg of their election, and their eternal salvation, then by what Way or in what Order God does Elect. I can never think that Melancthon, or any Melancthonist had hee been asked, whether conversion, Justifying Faith Perseverance were Fruits or Effects of God's eternal Prædestination or noe, that hee would have defended the Negative as Arminians are inforced to doe. Neither doe I believ, that yf Melancthon had been asked, whether vpon y^e Administration of universal Grace, some men are Forseen of God, as Repenting Beleiving, Persevering vnto y^e last gasp, in Order of consideration, before hee Elects them, that ever hee durst have avouched it. The truth is; Melancthon did purposely avoyd y^e Question of Gods eternal and secret Prædestination, and instead of yt Decree, called men to behold y^e General Revealed Decree of God published in y^e Gospel, wch is; Hee yt Repents Beleivs & Perseveres to y^e end, shall bee Saved. Corvinus in his answer ad Notas Bogermanni, confesseth as much. Pro decreto

Prædestinationis, ponit ipsū Evangelij decretū. And out of y^e Saxon confession, hee bringeth these woords. Quia conscientijs in poenitentia consolationē ponimus, non addimus hic quæstiones de prædestinatione, seu de electione : sed deducimus omnes ad verbū Dei, et iubemg vt voluntatē Dei ex verbo eius discant. *For my part* I am of opinion, that there is no save or possible Way for any singular person to attein y^e comfortable psuasion, that hee is Elected vnto Salvation, but a Posteriori ; that is by finding y^e Effects of Prædestination in himselfe ; but to inferr (as the Arminians doe) that therefore these effects of serious Repentance, lively faith constant p̄severance, were forseen in men as springing from cōmon grace, & drawing after it y^e Special Grace or Benefit of Election, I hould it erroneous, & contrary not only to y^e Judgment of our Church, *but of Melancthon* himselfe. Read him vpon ye 8 & 9th to y^e Romans both in his 3 & 4 part, & you shall finde, that hee makes not Forseen Faith to draw after it Gods eternal election ; but Present Faith, to draw after it y^e knowledg and assurance of our Election vnto Life. Yf y^e Arminian opinion were tru that men were Predestinated vpon their Forseen faith, and p̄severance, it followes vnavoidably, that Prædestination is ex meritis, in yt sence, wch Meritū was taken bothe by Augustin, & y^e Semipelagians themselves. Take for proof heerof, these axiomes of their Ringleader Faustus Attrahentis Dei misericordia Dignis datur, quia studio humanæ servit impendetur. More plainly. Præscientia gerenda prænoscit, Prædestinatio retribuenda describit. Illis prævidet Meritis, hæc Præordinat præmia. Hee yt Denies Prædestination to bee y^e Antecedent Cause from whence our Good Acts of converting Believing Persevering have their original ; as Faustus did & y^e Arminians now doe : must (vnles hee will crosse himselfe) grant that Antecedent Repentance Faith & Perseverance, are Merits of Prædestination, in the same sense wherin Faustus & y^e semipelagians used y^e woord merit. Hence Faustus willingly grants, y Prædestination, does p̄tinere ad Justitiam. Justitia Dei periclitabitur, si Absq Merito indignus eligatur. Concerning your determination about y^e Effect of Baptisme (vnles there were great necessity of defending your selfe), I would not advise you to sett yt controversy on foot. Though it be y^e opinion of Antiquity, & to mee appears more probable then y^e contrary, yet at this time when y^e Arminians cleav so close one to another, it is not convenient to bee at open controversies amongst our selves. Thus wanting paper, & further leysure, I cease to trouble you.

Yours ever

JO. SARŪ.

Decemb. 15^o, 1629.

[*Endorsed* :—] To y^e right wor^{ll} his very loving freind Dr Ward
Master of Sidney Colledg.

15 Decemb. 1629
My Lrd of Sarū his lett^r

Salutē in Christo.

I received a good while since both a letter from you, & a paper inclosed, containing certain propositions concerning y^e order of Prædestination & Præterition. When wee meet I shall willingly conferr wth you about them, but to sett down or define any thing touching those Diversa Signa Rationis, I professe I cannot doo it to satisfy my selfe, & therefore much lesse to satisfy others. The thing is meerly Imaginary : & therefore as men's Imaginations are divers, & sometimes quite contrary one vnto another ; so are all y^e Delineations of Priority & Posteriority in God's inward or secret Decrees, wch I have yet seen or read. I know not two that agree in all poynts, but either in y^e Order, or in y^e Number they vary. There is one certain Fundamental truth, Wch S^t Augustine out of y^e Apostle has invincibly proved against all Pelagian and erroneous fancies, namely : That in y^e obtaining effectual Grace, & Eternal life Gods Gracious Decree, [*words crossed out here*] & special manner of operation according to that decree, procedeth & causeth all such special Acts or Qualites as are found in those wch Infallibly are conducted vnto y^e Kingdome of glory. And as for those wch fail or come Short of Eternal life, & consequently fall into y^e gulfe of Eternal Death : Original sinne alone is sufficient to make them Reprobables : the Negation of y^e former decree makes them Reprobatos or Præteritos : the Damnable Guilt wherin they die makes them iustly Damnatos, & Cruciables Whosomever goe about to finde any Forseen Good in men, wherby they are Distinguished before hand, & as it was fitted for y^e gracious Decree of Election to lay hould vpon them : in my opinion cannot free themselves from Pelagianisme, And whosomever will needs finde men Vnder y^e Divine Decree of Eternal Death & Damnation, before they bee considered vnder a Just Demerit or Guilt of Damnation are as farr wide from Truthe as y^e other. Gods Election is a ffree act, & y^e Cause of all Saving good in y^e elect : his Præterition or nonelection is also a Free act, & Imports y^e Not causing of Effectual or Infallible grace, in y^e Nonelected. But his Prædamnation is an act of Justice, and respects y^e subiect as liable vnto his vindicative Justice : either in regard of his Inhærent,

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or actual sinns, or bothe. Thus much without Curiosity may bee affirmed ; further I am not willing nor able to Goe. Thus wishing you health & happines I rest alwaies

Your Loving freind

Jan. 24th, 1630.

JO. SARŪ.

[*Endorsed* :—] To y^e right woort^t his very loving freind Dr Ward Master of Sidney Colledg deliver this.

CHAPTER XIV

WILLIAM LAUD, ARCHBISHOP OF CANTERBURY, PRIMATE
OF ALL ENGLAND AND METROPOLITAN, 1631 : BORN
1573, DIED 1645

“Grand is the difference betwixt an hireling whose mind is merely mercenary and him that works for his hire.”—FULLER'S *Pisgah Sight*, ii. 277.

THE character of William Laud has been long before the world, whether for praise or blame. From the time of William Prynne downwards to the days of Hallam and Macaulay, the pen of bitter malignity has been wielded against him, and probably he himself, in the line which he took, was not over-anxious to make himself popular, and was quite prepared for the calumnies which pursued himself when alive, and have since clung to his memory. Some of the charges brought against him are answered by the patent logic of facts. Hallam, *e.g.*, speaks of his talents as being hardly above mediocrity, and Macaulay even more sneeringly remarks that he wrote nothing which was above the comprehension of any old woman. Now it seems to be utterly incredible that he could have overcome all the difficulties of his birth and early position, and have raised himself to what was virtually the position of Prime Minister of England, if his abilities had not been of a very remarkable order. And when we add to this that he was the author of one of our most valuable theological treatises, and that he compiled it at the very time when he was fully occupied with State affairs of every kind, and that this volume contains specimens not only of close theological reasoning, but also of very powerful and eloquent writing, I do not think that we can, without grave injustice, regard his abilities as other than pre-eminently great. His great

opponent and bitter enemy, W. Prynne, did not thus undervalue him; nor would the King and the nobles of his Court have been disposed to defer to him as they did, if he had been a mere scheming adventurer, ungifted with any remarkable abilities. Macaulay's sneer, with reference to his smallness of stature, that Strafford was like a fallen angel, but Laud only like a little imp, may be passed by as a futile effort to raise a poor jest at his expense.

The character of Laud may of course be viewed in many aspects, as a politician, a courtier, an earnest and unsparing corrector of abuses, as a generous benefactor, and patron of literature and literary men, or as a theologian, and as having by his own teaching, and the school of learned men which he gathered round him, made a marked, and for more than two centuries a permanent impression, on English theology. It is in this latter respect that I propose to regard him in this chapter.

His birth took place at Reading in 1573, being the child of respectable, but by no means wealthy parents. His father was a clothier, but his mother, Lucy Webbe, was somewhat more highly connected, as her family bore arms, and her brother Sir Wm. Webbe had been Lord Mayor of London. The Puritans were very fond of reproaching him with his humble origin, and even exaggerating it. "He was born of poor and obscure parents in a cottage," says Prynne. "He was born between the stocks and the cage," says the Scots Scout. "A courtier," he adds, "one day chanced to speak thereof, whereupon his Grace removed them thence, and pulled down his father's thatched house, and built a fair one in the place," a gratuitous and somewhat ungracious mode of stating the simple fact that Laud built and endowed an almshouse in his native town. "Libel after libel," he said, "raked him from the dung-hill." Not that it made him ashamed either of his origin or of his native place, as one of the very last acts of his life, when a Prisoner in the Tower, was to provide further

due administration of his charities which still preserve his memory in that town. Laud was in danger of death in infancy from a severe sickness, and indeed, suffered from ailing health nearly all through his life. His schoolboy education was at the Grammar School at Reading, where he had the good fortune to be under a sharp and severe master, who, however, had sufficient discernment to anticipate for his pupil no ordinary career. "When you are a little great man, remember Reading School." Laud was noted, even at this early age, for untiring industry, methodical habits of study, surprising faithfulness of memory, and almost premature solidity of judgment. So bright were the anticipations of his friends that considerable sums were offered for his maintenance at the University, upon no other security than those early indications of his ability. Laud, in his MS. notes to Prynne's *Breviati*, admits his poverty, which Prynne with his usual spitefulness casts in his teeth. "I was poor enough, yet a Commoner I was till I was chosen a scholar of that house." He was nominated to his scholarship by the Corporation of Reading, as a tribute of respect to his father, "who had borne all offices in the town, except the Mayoralty," but whose circumstances appeared to have been reduced at this time. It was likewise a testimony to the credit he had already gained in the College as a successful student. He was fortunate in being placed under the tuition of John Buckeridge, subsequently a divine of considerable and deserved reputation, and to whom probably we owe it that Laud's theological studies were directed into an orthodox channel. It is not uninteresting to remark that Buckeridge succeeded Andrewes in his London Parish, succeeded him next but one in the See of Ely, preached at his funeral, and in conjunction with Laud, edited his sermons. Buckeridge must, in his own line of study, have been an exception to the ordinary Oxford rule in those days.

Oxford then was by no means like the Oxford of the

present, or even of the last generation. It was neither wildly Latitudinarian, nor tentatively Catholic. It was purely Calvinistic. The theology which the Marian exiles had brought back with them was intensely and strongly developed. It carried everything before it. It impregnated the whole theological atmosphere. And it was moreover most intolerant and exclusive. Genevan doctrines were the regular authorised teaching and standard of the place. It was a heresy to dissent from them. Humphrey, the Regius Professor of Divinity was virtually a Nonconformist. In the early part of Elizabeth's reign he had sturdily refused to wear the academical habits, and excited the displeasure of even so moderate a Prelate as Jewell, who had some difficulty in bringing him to conformity. In the University he was true to his Calvinistic traditions. "He sowed in the Divinity Schools such seeds of Calvinism, and laboured to create in the younger men such a strong hatred against the Papists, as if nothing but divine truths were to be found in the one, and nothing but abominations to be seen in the other." The Margaret Professor is said to have been a man of like views (though I can learn nothing about him), and in order to increase the strength of the party, and to prevent the possibility of any reaction, a third divinity professorship was founded by Sir F. Walsingham; and Dr John Rainolds, subsequently the leader of the Puritans at the Hampton Court Conference, was appointed Professor. These points are dwelt upon in order to show the extreme difficulties which must have beset Laud in his theological studies, and what great external obstacles he must have had to overcome. The doctrines which we now term orthodox had no place in the University. They were simply proscribed. The true doctrines of the Church were overlaid with a thick incrustation of modern traditions, and to remove those modern accretions, and to bring the truth to light, was almost as difficult and as delicate a task as to remove the several coats of paint with which some

wall portraits have been daubed over, and to restore to view the lineaments which were originally painted. But Laud knew the grave necessities of the case, and he had a full confidence that he was equal to the necessities of the task, which he had voluntarily, and by a kind of chivalrous devotion, assigned himself. There were very few like-minded with himself. There was indeed his old patron and tutor Buckeridge, who most probably appointed him to a Divinity Lectureship in the College—in which post he struck his first blow. It was a bold act for a young M.A., who had only just been ordained Priest. It was a very strong blow, and it was felt at the time to be one. He evidently “fluttered the dovescotes,” and the vigorousness of his first onslaught was marked by the hostility it provoked. The act was as memorable as the publication of the first *Tract for the Times*, and it brought upon him the opposition of Abbot. The subject of his Thesis was “the constant and perpetual visibility of the Church of Christ derived from the Apostles to the Church of Rome, and continued in that Church, as in others of the East and West until the Reformation.” This bold act made him at once a marked man, and Abbot looked on the whole proceeding as a rebellion against the authority of him and of his party. The common belief in those days was that “the Pope was Anti-Christ, Romish orders were the mark of the beast, the Church of England was entirely separated from all connection with her mediæval existence, and the very idea of deriving her authority from a Roman fountain head savoured, to the post-reformation theologians of that day, of simple pollution instead of the dignity of antiquity.”¹

Laud's next step did not tend to make him more popular or improve his position in the University. But he consistently persevered in the line he had adopted. In the exercises for his degree of B.D., he maintained the doctrine

¹Christian Remembrancer, No. xlvii.

of Baptism Regeneration, and that there could be no true Church without bishops. Both these topics were exceedingly distasteful; and so long did this ill savour remain to his prejudice, that his thesis on Baptism was brought against him forty years after at his trial. He was accused of having taken his arguments from Bellarmine, a charge which would not be a serious one if Bellarmine's arguments were sound ones. But he stated in his defence that he had taken nothing out of Bellarmine but what he cited for his own advantage against him. Laud had up to that time retained a copy of his paper (probably in consequence of what was said against it at the time); but having been seized with the rest of his papers by Prynne, it has been lost. For his vindication of Episcopacy he was vigorously assailed by Holland the Professor of Divinity.

Two years afterwards he got himself into another scrape, as cautious men would say, and was convented before the Vice-Chancellor for a sermon containing in it sundry scandalous and Popish passages; and so great was the outcry made about it that it was almost made a heresy for any one to be seen in his company, and a misprision of heresy to give him a civil salutation in the streets. His very friends seemed inclined to cast him off as a dangerous, or at least an injudicious, man. But he was not diverted from his purpose by the cold looks of friends, or by the suspicions and sinister insinuations of enemies. He knew what he was aiming at, and kept his eyes steadily fixed on it. It is a matter of surprise that he should at this time have resigned his fellowship and retired to a benefice in Kent. Perhaps he required rest; perhaps he was tired out by the perpetual struggles in which his University life had involved him.

But he was soon to return to Oxford as the President of his College. Abbot the Archbishop made the most strenuous efforts against him, representing him to the Chancellor (Ellesmere) as "at least a Papist at heart and

cordially addicted unto Popery." He said himself (answer to Lord Saye): "When I was chosen President there was a bitter faction both raised and countenanced against me. (I will forbear to relate how and by whom.)" But he adds after the election: "I made all quiet in the College, and governed it in peace without so much as the show of a faction." The College might well have been proud of its head, who did not hesitate to use his new position and influence (he had been likewise appointed one of the King's Chaplains) in promotion of the great work he kept steadily in view.

About three years after his appointment, in a sermon on Shrove Tuesday, he reflected severely on some of the Puritan doctrines. Robert Abbot, the Archbishop's brother, who was then Vice-Chancellor, "bottled up his indignation all through Lent, but burst out on Easter Day." Laud was away from Oxford, but at the advice of his friends, and with true courage, made a point of attending on the following Sunday, when the sermon, according to custom, was repeated. Of course he knew what he had to expect, as such a virulent attack must for a whole week have been the talk of the Common Rooms, and the news of it had got into the country. Just imagine a preacher inveighing openly and without any disguise against a Brother Head of a College. Might not Christ say, "What art thou, Romish or English, Papist or Protestant, or what art thou? A mongrel compound of both. What, do you think there are two heavens? If there be, get you to the other, and place yourself there, for unto this, where I am, ye shall not come." Laud writes to his patron, Bishop Niel, that "he sat patiently and heard himself abused almost an hour together, being pointed at as he sat." "Perfect coolness and calm temper" exhibited itself not only at the time, but when he was cited to London on the subject; for he not only returned uncensured, but both the Abbots (the Archbishop and his brother) had to own their mistake.

Laud had now, through the instrumentality of his opponents, obtained the very position he would most have coveted, if he had been simply an ambitious and scheming man. No doubt he was ambitious; he sought for power, but he sought it not for his own sake, but for that of the Church, which he felt, both in doctrine and discipline, to be in a state of depression.¹ He had now been twice brought under the notice of the Court as one who had been unfairly dealt with, and in both instances he came forth triumphantly. His enemies gained nothing by their moves; they only brought him more immediately under Royal notice and patronage. This was, of course, exactly what he wanted: a place on which he could firmly set his foot, and from which he could carry on the great reformation which all along he had in view. He had, however, to wait patiently, for Royal favour was kept back by the influence of Abbot and his party, who knew too well the commanding abilities and the determined resolution of their rising opponent.

The Royal favour came at last in the grant of the Deanery of Gloucester, "a shell without a kernel," as the King termed it. But there was a very great work to be accomplished in that Cathedral, which demanded a vigorous and unflinching hand. The King, in making the appointment, informed Laud that that church was more or as much out of order as any church in England, and he required him to reform all that was amiss without delay. No time was accordingly lost. Early in the next year he proceeded to Gloucester, obtained the consent of the Chapter for the repair of the church, which was much decayed, and for placing the Communion table, which stood almost in the midst of the quire, at the east end of the church, where the high altar had stood. Due reverence was also ordered to be made at coming into the church, the early service in

"The Church has been low these hundred years, but I hope it will flourish again in another hundred," was a saying brought against him at his trial.

the Lady Chapel was restored, and an appeal, as we should now call it, issued to the gentry of the county for the purchase of a new organ. All this created a great hubbub in the place, the whole city was in an uproar; libels were circulated, and even thrown into the pulpit. The Bishop himself, Miles Smith, a very learned man, and one of the translators of the Bible (ever to be spoken of on other accounts with respect), headed the malcontents, and resolved that if the innovations were persisted in he would never again enter his Cathedral, a resolution which, it is said, he faithfully kept to the day of his death, being full eight years. Laud respectfully addressed him, but all to no purpose. There were even riots in the city, and puritan zeal was exhibited in the form it usually takes. Laud, however, remained firm, he conceded nothing, and after a few months of turbulence, order was restored.

The next important business in which we find him employed is his attending the King to Scotland as one of his chaplains. His fellow chaplains were Bishops (James) Montague and Andrewes. James was not ashamed of his religion. He was not a Presbyterian on one side of the Border and an Episcopalian (as they term it) on the other. He was resolved that the Church should assume her noblest appearance. An organ and furniture for the chapel, designed by Inigo Jones, were consequently sent down. Weldon says that they threatened to pull down the graven images after the King's departure, but adds humorously that the organs would find mercy, there being some affinity between them and the bagpipes. Great offence was given at the burial of one of the King's Guard, when the Dean of St Paul's desired the people to join with him in commending his soul to God, for which he had to apologise, and Laud said the office in his surplice, for which he did not apologise. Five years now passed away with only one recorded piece of Popery, the erection of an organ in St John's College Chapel, to which Prynne spitefully refers in

his Breviati. Laud defended himself by saying that it was given to the College by Sir W. Paddy.

Laud's advancement had hitherto been slow. He had been King's Chaplain for ten years before he was nominated to St David's, being now forty-eight years of age. He resigned at once his Presidentship, a fact which Prynne was mean enough to omit. St David's was not exactly the diocese for Laud. It was likely to take him away, in great measure, from Court, where, for the sake of the Church, it was important that he should remain; and it was probably for this reason that he was appointed to it. He, however, visited the diocese in the summer following his consecration, which, for those days, was a waste of remarkable energy, and gave a charge which was certainly very uncommon at that period. We have a record in his diary of a second visitation of the diocese, at which time he consecrated the chapel he erected at Abergwili House. So innocent an act as this could not escape censure. It was gravely brought against him at his trial, and Prynne is full of bitter jests at so Popish and superstitious a practice. Laud defended himself, as though the practice needed any grave defence, by the authority of Bishop Andrewes. Prynne exhibited a paper with great triumph, which Laud admits greatly troubled him. He requested to see it. He found it was not, as was alleged, a list of his own Chapel furniture. He pointed to the endorsement in his own hand, which shewed that it was Andrewes' Chapel and furniture. Prynne looked at it, must have been much ashamed, took it back, and finally printed it without the slightest reference to the unfair use which had been made of it. This paper is still preserved, with that endorsement, in the British Museum. The reader must have frequently seen copies of it in the well-known descriptions of that great Bishop's Chapel, the arrangements as to its furniture, and the ornaments, *e.g.*, cross and candles, of the altar.

It was in the interval between these two visitations that

he was busily engaged at Court in theological controversy. Fisher, the Jesuit, had succeeded in drawing away the Countess of Buckingham (the Duke's mother), and these public conferences, after the fashion of the times, were held in the hope of bringing her back. In the third of these conferences Laud took part at twenty-four hours' notice, as he tells us. He had had no experience in the arts of controversy, though he had carefully studied the question, as appears by his notes on Bellarmine, in a copy now preserved in Archbishop Marsh's Library in Dublin. Laud's share in the matter appeared in print, as a kind of appendix, and with the initials of R. B., one of his chaplains. In his preface to the enlarged edition of the book, which appeared in 1639, and which is the book generally known as *Laud's Conference*, he explains that he did not think his first brief sketch substantive enough to stand alone, nor yet worthy of the great duty and service which he owed to his dear Mother, the Church of England. Being such as it was, it nevertheless was considered worthy of a reply. Fisher answered in 1626, though the volume, having been printed abroad, did not reach Laud's hands for some years afterwards. He read it over, and found himself not a little wronged in it, but the Church of England, and, indeed, the cause of religion, much more. This, of course, set him upon thinking of a second and enlarged edition, which he was hindered from undertaking by occasions of State, for he had now become a Statesman as well as an Ecclesiastic, and several severe illnesses. His silence was misinterpreted, and "the scandalous and scurrilous pens of some bitter men" were turned against him. His friends came to him one by one, and urged him, for the sake of his own reputation, to reply. He had resolved to do so, and he was confirmed in this resolve by a command which the King put upon him at the Council Table. He gives the date, Michaelmas term, 1637, and early in 1639 the volume had passed through the press. We mention these

points because we deem it specially worthy of notice that a volume which ranks so deservedly among English theological treatises should have been composed in comparatively so short a time by one who was not only fully occupied with the cases of State, but who was, at the time, virtually Prime Minister, and Charles' chief adviser and confidant, but who was also personally assailed, almost every day, by the coarsest and most virulent libels. As Laud's theological reputation rests on this book, it may be well to mention in this place (though out of chronological order) the method he pursued in handling the Roman controversy, with some few passages as illustrative of his style, which, it must be admitted, is most clear and vigorous. We will take, in the first place, one or two passages from his Epistle Dedicatory to the King. "In this discourse I have no aim to displease any, nor any hope to please all. If I can help on to truth in the Church, and the peace of the Church together, I shall be glad, be it in any measure. Nor shall I spare to speak necessary truth out of too much love of peace, nor thrust on unnecessary truth to the breach of that peace, which, when once broken, is not so easily soldered again. And if for necessary truth's sake only, any man will be offended, nay take, nay snatch, at that offence which is not given, I will take no farce for that. It is truth, and I must tell it. It is the gospel and I must preach it. And far safer it is in this case to bear anger from men than a woe from God." Take again the following passage respecting the English Church:—"It is in a hard condition. She professes the ancient Catholic faith, and yet the Romanist condemns her of novelty in her doctrine. She practises Church government as it hath been in use in all ages, and in all places, where the Church of Christ hath taken any rooting, both in and since the Apostles' times, and yet the Separatist condemns her for Antichristianism in her discipline. The plain truth is, she is between these two factions as

between two mill-stones, and unless your Majesty look to it, to whose trust she is committed, she will be ground to powder, to an irreparable both dishonour and loss to this kingdom." "To the Romanist I shall say this:—The errors of the Church of Rome are grown now, many of them, very old, and when errors are grown by age and continuance to strength, they who speak for the truth, though it be far older, are ordinarily challenged for the bringers-in of 'new opinions.' And there is no greater absurdity stirring this day in Christendom than that the Reformation of an old Church, will we nill we, must be taken for the building of a new. And were not this so, we should never be troubled with that idle and impertinent question of theirs, 'Where was your Church before Luther?' for it was just there, where theirs is now. One and the same Church still, no doubt of that; one in substance, but not one in condition of state and purity." "Much talking there is on both sides, till both lips and pens open like a purse without money, nothing comes out of this, and that which is worth nothing out of them. And while the one faction cries up the Church above the Scriptures, and another the Scriptures to the neglect and contempt of the Church, which the Scripture itself teaches man both to honour and obey, they have so far endangered both the belief of the one and the authority of the other, as that neither hath its due from a great part of men; whereas, according to Christ's institution, the Scripture, where it is plain, should guide the Church, and the Church, where there is any doubt, should explain the Scriptures." Take another passage. "No one thing hath made conscientious men more wavering in their minds, or more apt to be drawn aside from the sincerity of religion professed in the Church of England, than the want of uniform and decent order in too many Churches of the Kingdom. And the Romanists have been apt to say the houses of God could not be suffered to lie so nastily as in

some places they have done, were the true worship of God observed in them, or did the people think that such it were. It is true the inward worship of the heart is the great service of God, and no service acceptable without it, but the external worship of God in His Church is the great witness to the world, that our heart stands right in that service of God. These thoughts are they, and no other, which have made me to labour so much as I have done for a decency and orderly settlement of the external worship of God in the Church ; for of that which is inward there can be no witness among men, nor no example to men."

It is difficult to compress into a few words the argument of a large and closely reasoned volume. But we are not far from right in stating that the general argument of the book is that the authority of the Church is to be found not in Roman infallibility, but in a true, free and general council, by which alone the present divisions of Christendom can be settled : that the Church is indefectible in fundamentals rather than inerrant in all details. The line of argument is in truth thoroughly Catholic, and barring expressions here and there, it might be accepted almost in its entirety by the great body of German and French theologians, who have been raising their protest against the decrees of the late Vatican Council to elevate into a dogma the Pope's personal infallibility, but without effect, to say nothing of the Syllabus itself. There was no one who sorrowed more than Laud over the divisions of Christendom, which at that very time were deluging Germany with blood : and no one who would have been better pleased if a true Catholic basis could have been found for the reconciliation of differences. No one felt more thoroughly than himself both the strength and the importance of the line of defence which he adopted. He says repeatedly in substance, "Being written in the way it is, I believe no Romanist will have much cause to joy at it,

or to think me a favourer of their cause. And since I am thus put to it, I will say thus much more: this book is so written (by God's great blessing upon me) as that when the Church of England (as they are growing towards it apace) shall depart from the grounds which I have therein laid, she shall never be able, before any learned and disengaged Christian, to make good her difference with, and her separation from the Church of Rome." The book evidently created a great sensation; for in the passage of his defence which has been just quoted, he added the names of a long list of English divines, including the well-known names of Ussher, Hall, Bedell, Bramhall, who had thanked him for his production. "But this list was never published," says Mr Bliss, "till I collated the printed volume of his defence with the original MS., from which I extracted the passage which Laud had endeavoured to erase, but which I was enabled to decipher. These testimonies, moreover, were not confined to English divines. Sir Edward Deny, a sturdy Puritan, said that he had smitten the Jesuit under the fifth rib, that St Paul's would be his monument, and his book against Fisher his epitaph."

But we must go back to Laud's history. He was, after having held St David's for five years, advanced to Bath and Wells, to the Deanery of the Chapel Royal on the death of Andrewes, and very shortly afterwards to London. This brought him back into direct contact with the political as well as the ecclesiastical world. One or two important affairs here occupied him. One of them was the overthrow of the scheme for the purchase of Improvements. This had been used in the most marked party spirit, and for the furtherance of the Puritanical interest. Laud had had his eye upon it for a long time, and now succeeded in suppressing it. His other great work in connection with the See of London was the restoration of St Paul's. That most beautiful Early English Church, with a wooden spire taller than any in England, which

had been burnt temp. Elizabeth, and had never been restored, was in most fearful disrepair. Inigo Jones was the architect, and though his additions and restorations were hideous enough, yet this does not detract from the merit of Laud's energy and self-denial. It was a pet scheme of his, and many fines levied in the High Commission were appropriated to the work. He gave largely himself. But even this did not secure him from the malevolence of the Puritans, who declaimed against the whole affair as the adorning of a rotten relique. And as his power increased he used it entirely for the service of the Church. The prevalent Calvinism was his special objection. He had suffered under it, and he resolved to restrain it. He would reform doctrine as well as restore Church ceremonial and external worship. The Articles (or rather the popular interpretation of them) stood in his way; and he boldly met the difficulty by claiming for them, by means of the royal declaration, which is still affixed to them, only their merest and barest grammatical meaning. The smallest amount of meaning was to be attached to them. They were to be interpreted in their driest and hardest, like a legal document, or an Act of Parliament. Little resulted at the time from this measure but the silencing of Calvinistic preachers; but we may trace in it the germ of the principle which has been more fully developed in our own days, and which has not only claimed, but established for the Articles the right of a Catholic interpretation.

Laud was now virtually Primate. All obstacles had been swept away from his path: he was the King's chief adviser, the Chancellorships of Dublin and of Oxford fell into his hands, and there remained only the death of Abbot to place him on the Archiepiscopal throne. This took place shortly after the King's return from his coronation in Scotland, whither Laud attended him. He went to Lambeth with a heavy heart. In reply to Strafford's

congratulations he writes, "I look not for many days there, for I am in years, and have had a troublesome life, nor for happy ones, because I have no hope to do the good I desire." It was evidently his intention not to spare himself. His work was cut out for him, and he resolved to go through with it. He seemed to possess a kind of official ubiquity with which he was himself amused. He says to Strafford, "I think you have a plot to see whether I will be universalis Episcopus, that you and your brethren may take occasion to call me Antichrist." All this did not make any addition to his personal dignity. Strafford at first treated him somewhat ceremoniously in his letters; for which he mildly lectures, or as we should say nowadays, "chaffs" him. "Now, my Lord, why may you not write as you did whilom to the Bishop of London. The man is the same, and the same to you; but I see you stay for better acquaintance, and till then you will keep distance. I will not write long letters and leave out my mirth. It is one of the recreations I have always used with my friends, and 'tis hard leaving an old custom, neither do I purpose to do it, though I mean to make choice of my friends to whom I will use it." In another letter, "There is not one word of your wonted recreation, so it may be, either you are not well acquainted enough at Lambeth, or else you are afraid that some sour ghost walks there."

It was a high sense of duty to the Church which led Laud to accept the Chair of Canterbury. His predecessor Abbot had been most careless and remiss. His own Chapel at Lambeth was in a filthy state. "It lay nastily, all the time I served in that house," said one of his chaplains. "It laid more indecently than is fit to express," says Laud, when censured at his trial, for the very moderate restoration he made of it. And what was the case at Lambeth was equally the cases with most parish churches in the Kingdom. In the last published Calendar of Documents in the State Paper Office (1837) there is a minute

account of the state of the Church in Bucks. Altars are pulled down in the North of England, and communion tables thrown out of the broken windows of the chancel; the surplice prohibited, no organs allowed. At Plymouth the Mayor sold the pews in the Church, appointed the churchwardens who carried off the oblations, and would not account for them; and these kinds of delinquencies were probably only too common. Cock-fighting was allowed in the churches, which were everywhere miserably out of repair. The holy table was used for all sorts of purposes. Churchwardens kept their accounts upon it; parishioners despatched parish business at it. Schoolmasters taught the boys to write at it; boys had their hats, satchels, and books upon it; men sat and leant irreverently against it at sermon times; glaziers knocked it full of nail holes. Laud resolved to remedy these evils, and as the centre round which everything turned, he put the holy table back to its proper place; he would not suffer it to be moved without the authority of the ordinary; ordered it to be raised on steps, to be protected with rails; and pews in the chancel, which obstructed the sight of it, to be pulled down."

He made a noble stand for the decency and dignity of public worship. He spoke of the holy table as the greatest place of God's residence on earth, and looked upon the Holy Eucharist as "the crown of public service, the most solemn and chief work of Christian assemblies." This work of reformation was carried on through his whole province. Each bishop in turn had his jurisdiction suspended, and the Archbishop's visitors went from diocese to diocese, not excluding even the Cathedrals and Colleges of Eton and Winchester from their enquiries. In the diocese of Lincoln there had not been an Episcopal visitation since the Reformation: the clergy did exactly as they pleased: the surplice, and even the Prayer Book was disused: the lives of the clergy were almost everywhere at a low ebb,

and the immorality of the lay people was very fearful. It was a laborious and thankless task to cleanse out such an Augean stable. But Laud was stern and impartial. Both clerical and lay offenders fell under his censure. The punishment of gross vice kept pace with the restoration of copes and candlesticks, and other altar furniture in the Cathedrals and principal Parish Churches.

The Church at large assumed a new aspect, and felt in its remotest dioceses the keen eye and the stern hand of the vigorous reformer. Many of the laity were brought before the High Commission and were heavily fined, the fines going to the restoration of St Paul's Cathedral, which Laud had commenced when Bishop of London, and on which he had set his heart. He intended that the discipline of the Church should be felt as well as spoken of, and that it should be applied to the greatest and most splendid transgressor. "He punished the laity, and ruled with an iron hand over the bishops, obtaining mandates from the King to send them into their dioceses, instead of hanging about Court, and restraining their power of granting leases on lives, to the great damage and detriment of their successors. Laud had in these matters the peculiar quality of a just mind, a capacity for entering into minute details, as well as of grasping great general principles, which was equally remarkable in the Duke of Wellington. Laud, in all this, used very freely the authority of the King. He found it a power ready made to his hand, and he wielded it vigorously for the good of the Church. He used the secular power to free the Church from the secularity in which it had been immersed, a policy in direct contrast to that of the Roman Curia, which by an abuse of ecclesiastical power completely secularized the Church. Laud's object was to raise the Church, not to depress it, and for this end he used the power which came the readiest to his hand. Laud, we may be sure, did not intend to establish a tyranny over the Church: but to free the Church

which was so bound up in the forms of the common law, that it was not possible for him to do that good which he would or was bound to do." The same outward act may result from different motives; and the best proof of what was the true motive of the Laudian was in its development into the school of the Nonjurors, which certainly cannot be accused of Erastian tendencies. We will quote but one passage to show that he was no Erastian, and that he resented as strongly as any man lay interference in matters of doctrine. "If it come to be matter of Faith, he (the king) cannot commit the ordering of that to any lay assembly, Parliament or other, for them to determine that which God hath intrusted into the hands of his Priests."¹ The whole bearing of his book against Fisher is clearly anti-Erastian.

Laud then had at this time attained the highest position which a subject could hold, and wielded the power which that position conferred on him, not for his own aggrandizement but for the good of the Church. And in so doing, he gathered round him a very large body of able and learned men. Some of these fully sympathized with him in his ecclesiastical proceedings. Others were less favourably disposed towards them. But all of them, of whichever school, contrast most advantageously with the divines who held sway when Laud began his theological studies. With the (doubtful) exception of Jewell, there is not a theologian worth naming of the Elizabethan school. Hooker and Bancroft, and Bilson, and Andrewes, were the fore-

¹ Answer to Ld. Saye, vol. vi. p. 142. "The Supremacy which the King hath in causes ecclesiastical reaches not to the giving him power to determine points of Faith, either in Parliament or out, nor to the acknowledgement of any such power residing in him, or to give him power to make liturgies or public forms of prayer, or to preach or to administer sacraments, or to do anything which is merely spiritual. But in all these things which are of a mixed cognizance, such as are all those which are properly called ecclesiastical and belong to the Bishop's external jurisdiction, the Supremacy therein, and of all things of like nature, is the King's."—*Ibid.*, pp. 144, 145.

runners of the great Catholic school, which grew up under Laud, which clustered around him, and which survived after his death. He began almost, if not quite, single-handed. He had few, if any, sympathizers. He had to found a school for himself, not to follow on in the traditions of a school already founded. And what a remarkable body of men he gathered about him. Lindsell, the best Greek scholar of his day, Montagu, the learned Church historian, Cosin, the patient studier of liturgies, Wren, the grave ceremonialist, Mede, the reviver in England of the doctrine of the Christian Sacrifice, George Herbert, the sweet and quaint Christian Poet, the gentle Hammond, the casuist Sanderson, the poetical Jeremy Taylor (the Shakespeare of divines), Hall, the defender of Episcopacy, and the logical, acute and excellent Davenant, Hall's fellow-deputy at Dort ; the profoundly learned, but unduly depreciated Thorndike, the ever-memorable John Hales, the acute Chillingworth, and the great orientalist Edward Pococke ; Bramhall, the acute controversialist, Bedell, the translator of the Bible into Irish ; and to pass from learned divines, the mild and munificent Juxon ; and among laymen the learned jurist Selden, and Whitelock, the historian of the Commonwealth ; while of celebrated foreigners, the younger Casaubon and the elder Vossius were among his correspondents. This school we must remember was created by the untiring resolution of one man, who began as the unfriended and even slighted scholar of a small College, and ended by holding Court at Canterbury, surrounded and respected by all the learned of his age.

The Laudian revival resulted in the crushing of the Calvinistic school, in recalling the Church of England to a recollection of her true principles, in abolishing abuses, in raising the standard both of religion and ceremonial, and in stamping in fact a new character on the English Church, which so far from having lost, it continues to develope, and may it still continue to develope, as a witness amid con-

tending opponents to Catholic and Apostolic truth. And if we specially owe it to any one that the Church of England was raised from being little better in doctrine and discipline than a Calvinistic sect, to a recognition of its own high privileges as an inheritor and maintainer of Catholic truth, that one man was William Laud.¹

¹ The writer was assisted in this chapter by the late Rev. James Bliss, M.A., editor of Laud's works in the Anglo-Catholic Library, and one of the greatest Laudian scholars of our day. It was composed some time before the appearance of the recent biographies of Laud by Mr Hutton and Mr Simpkinson, and it has had the benefit of that learned scholar's careful and matured supervision.

CHAPTER XV

BISHOP DAVENANT'S TREATISE ON JUSTIFICATION (1631)

“There is a sinless, yea lawful and necessary agreeableness to the Times, insomuch that no meaner Father than St Ambrose, or worse critic than Erasmus, read the text, Romans xiii. II, δουλεύοντες τῷ καιρῷ ‘serving the *time*,’ a reading countenanced by the context, ‘Rejoicing in hope, patient in tribulation, continuing in prayer,’ all being directions of our demeanour in dangerous times, and even those who dislike the reading as false, defend the doctrine as true; that though we must not be *slaves* and *vassals*, we may be *servants* to the times, so far forth as not to dis-serve God thereby.—FULLER’S *Appeal of Injured Innocence*, ch. xiv. p. 12.

DURING this year our author published at Cambridge, Prælectiones de duobus in Theologiâ controversiis capitibus: De Judice Controversiarum, primo: De Justitia habituali et actuali, altero. These “knotty and thorny” points are discussed in a most ample and exhaustive manner, and form a thick folio volume, much more considerable in size than his Exposition of the Epistle to the Colossians. This noble, standard, and masterful work he dedicated to the King, and it would seem from this that the breach in the matter of the Whitehall sermon had been healed between them, as the Bishop would not have been allowed to dedicate a theological work to the King without the permission of His Majesty, and the giving of this permission implies an assured *rapprochement*. The full title of the work (which was translated from the original Latin by the late Rev. Josiah Allport, of Birmingham) is as follows: “A Treatise on Justification, or the Disputatio de Justitia habituali et actuali, of the Right Rev. John Davenant, D.D., Bishop of Salisbury, and Lady Margaret’s Professor, Cambridge, delivered to the divinity students in that University. Published first in the year 1631.

“ Our righteousness (if we have any) is of little value ; it is sincere perhaps but not pure ; unless we believe ourselves to be better than our fathers, who no less truly than humbly said, All our righteousnesses are as filthy rags. For how can that righteousness be pure which cannot yet be free from imperfection.”

Bernard, *Serm. 5 de Verbis Esaiaë Prophetæ*, vi. 1-2.

The doctrine of Justification is of prime importance in the Christian system, since the clear apprehension of it lies at the bottom of all proper conceptions of the God with whom we have to do, and is therefore essential to the peace and comfort of the soul of man. In a more expansive view still, the due maintenance of it with fidelity of adherence has been pronounced by the voice of warning, of which history has abundantly developed the truth as “ the mark of a standing or falling Church.” Hence the full and explicit exposition of the doctrine and its disentanglement from all erroneous and mistaken exhibitions by those who are appointed to minister in the word and doctrine is of vital consequence in clearly apprehending the Philosophy of Salvation.

“ It is one thing to be justified,” says the writer of these memoirs, “ and another thing to understand the philosophy of the process of justification. Let us take the instance of anatomy. The ignorant peasant moves his arm in his daily toil, and yet he understands nothing of the action of the will on the nerves, of the nerves on the muscles. Yet he moves it as he pleases. But let any part of the wondrous machinery get out of order, and it is only the man of science, the anatomist, who understands exactly the position and function of every part, and who can restore the arm to its proper state. So it was valuable to the Christian Church in subsequent ages, that St Paul should have analysed, faith, and said it out to the world. Secondly, the doctrine of Justification by faith was no unimportant doctrine to St Paul’s mind. With him it was a vital point, it was the very essence of the Gospel. This subject has been the

battle-field in which Roman Catholic and Protestant, Tridentine divines and Lutheran, Calvinist and Arminian, Jansenist and Jesuit, have met to wage hot warfare. But to St Paul it was no arena for intellectual wrestling, it was no trivial affair, but the "question of questions" to the human soul."¹ The doctrine of the Church is clearly laid down on this subject in her eleventh article,² and the whole subject is fully and ably discussed by the late Dr Harold Browne in his work on the Thirty-nine Articles, to which we would refer the reader who desires to go more fully into it. But one of the best and most logical treatises is that of Bishop Davenant. A distinguished Prelate of our Church once observed that the work, if brought within easy access to candidates for Holy Orders, would induce them to read deeply, and lead them to think correctly, "on the all important subject of Justification discussed in the following production," which, no doubt, would have been one of our standard theological works, if not a text-book on this difficult subject, if it had been composed in the vernacular, instead of Latin.

¹ Author's "Voice in the Wilderness," sermons preached on Dartmoor, p. 23.

² For the doctrine held by our Church and her divines on this most important subject, we would refer the reader to Bishop Harold Browne on Art. xi. "of the Justification of man," the Homily on Salvation, parts 1, 2, 3; Homily on Prayer, part 3; Homily on Almsdeeds, end of Homily on Passion; Homilies on Faith and Good Works; Edward VIth Catechism (*Encheiridion Theologicum*, 1-35); Noel's Catechism (*En. Th. i.* 281); Jewel's "Apology" (*En. Th. i.* 131); Hooker's learned sermon on Justification against Rome's doctrine of infusion of righteousness (vol. iii., Keble's Edition, 483); Bull's "Harmonia Apostolica," who takes the forensic sense (iii. 11); Barrow's "Five Sermons on the Creed" (ii. 122), who takes justification to be a forensic term; Dr Waterland's very valuable tract on the same (*Works*, ix. 427). He argues that the causes of justification are (1) the moving cause, God's grace and goodness; (2) The meritorious cause, Christ; (3) The efficient cause, the Holy Spirit. That its instruments are (1) Baptism, (2) Faith; that its conditions are (1) faith, and (2) obedience: also Dr Newman's most logical treatise which steers a middle course between the Tridentine and Lutheran doctrines (written before his secession). He also takes the forensic view, asserts that it is conferred in baptism, maintained by faith, consists in the indwelling of the spirit of God, and being made members of the body of Christ.

That this work of Davenant is pre-eminently adapted for the purposes alluded to, no other testimony need be adduced than that of Bishop Bull, who himself gave much consideration to this very point, and who, however differing from Davenant with regard to the *grounds* of their doctrine, has passed, in the following judgment, the highest eulogium upon this treatise for sterling worth, scholastic ability, and practical soundness.

Thus, says he, on drawing to a close of his own discussion of the subject in his *Harmonia*, "as a conclusion to this undertaking, I will subjoin a remarkable testimony of a man of most extensive learning, and a most worthy Prelate of the Anglican Church, who well knew and faithfully maintained the sound and orthodox doctrine of our Church in this controversy, and who, in short, most successfully, if ever man did, exposed the subtleties of Bellarmine, and of others of the Popish party, I mean the *great* Davenant, Bishop of Salisbury, who, in his most learned Disputation concerning actual and imputed righteousness, cap. 31, thus explains and confirms, in two short, but indeed most learned theses, all the statements made in these Disputations concerning the necessity of good works." ¹

"Of a less Catholic spirit," says Mr Perry, in his *History of the English Church*, "than Hall or Morton, and more committed to the peculiarities of the Calvinistic theology, was Dr John Davenant, Bishop of Salisbury. He, like Hall, had been at the great Protestant meeting at Dort, and had appeared on the side of Bogerman and the Calvinists (but not supralapsarian) against the Arminians. But he had honourably distinguished himself by an earnest advocacy of the tenet of universal redemption, and was the principal cause of the English College giving in a view favourable to that doctrine." Bishop Carlton was anxious to alter some expressions in the opinion to which the English divines had agreed in order to promote unity with the Dutch Calvinists, but Davenant declared earnestly that he would rather have his right hand cut off than that they should be altered, and he pre-

¹ Bishop Bull's *Harmonia Apostolica*, disp. ii. cap. xviii. sec. 10.

vailed with his colleagues.¹ As Divinity Professor at Cambridge, Davenant's prelections obtained considerable renown.² The best known are those which are published in the form of Commentaries on the Epistles to the Romans and Colossians. Though by no means free from the usual faults of commentators, and rather inclined to talk about a difficulty instead of fairly meeting it, these writings display much talent and learning. Bishop Davenant's Latin is not so classical or so vigorous as that of Crakanthorp, or Hall, but his composition is clear, and his reflections valuable. He was very strongly opposed to the Romish Church, and was not willing to grant that she was a true Church in error, but rather regarded her as utterly apostate and essentially antichristian.³ In this Davenant agreed with the learned James Usher, Primate of Ireland, and went further than his friend Hall, who, being called upon by Laud to alter some places in his treatise on Episcopacy, where he had styled the Pope Antichrist, was willing to do so."⁴

It may be asked, with such testimonies to the value and importance of Bishop Davenant's writings as have been adduced, and especially the opinion of Bishop Bull—who received the commendation of the Pope himself for his great work on the defence of the Creed drawn from ante-Nicene authorities—how it has happened that his works have been so little known among us, and not brought before the Church at large, like other works of Anglican divines, as they ought to have been, well worthy as they are to stand on the shelves side by side with the standard works of Anglican theology.

The comparative oblivion into which the works of Bishop Davenant have fallen, notwithstanding the high estimation in which they were formerly held, must be imputed to the language in which they are composed; for certainly rich as our Church is in theologians, she has none perhaps who, in the union of acute and correct argument, solid judgment,

¹ Letters of Carlton and Davenant, in appendix to Hales's *Golden Remains*.

² "Your lordship hath with great reputation spent many years in the Divinity Chair in the famous University of Cambridge."—Hall to Davenant, Hall's *Works*, ix. 319.

³ See Davenant's letter to Hall, Hall's *Works*, ix. 32.

⁴ Perry's *History of the Church of England*, vol. i. p. 436.

scriptural depth, and profound patristic and scholastic erudition, are to be mentioned with him. It may therefore be doubted if this treatise on Justification, which we have now under consideration, had existed in the vernacular tongue, whether Bishop Bull would have ventured on the publication of his *Harmonia Apostolica*, or doing so, would have been so successful in popularising his views thereon. The authority of Bishop Bull, established permanently by his eminent defence of the ante-Nicene faith—*i.e.*, the creed proved by reference to the Fathers of the Nicene period—gave, in a cold and formal era, a currency to his *Harmonia* which was greater than might have been anticipated, although we cannot go so far as to say, “from the publication of which,” to use the late Professor Garbett’s language in his Bampton lectures,¹ “may be dated a gradual lowering of the theology of the Church of England.” Bishop Bull, in his *Harmonia Apostolica*, admits that sense of justification by faith which, he says, all the sounder Protestants have attached to it, *viz.*, salvation by grace only. He takes justification in the forensic sense, the meritorious cause of which is Christ, the instrument or formal cause being *fides formata*, or faith accompanied by good works.”²

Dr Newman, in his work on Justification, goes over the same ground as Bishop Bull, as it is intended as an elaborate vindication of the views maintained by him. In this very logical treatise, which was composed not very long before his secession to the Church of Rome, and which he has since edited with fresh notes, the author professed “to steer a middle course between the Roman and Lutheran doctrines.” He takes the forensic sense of the term justification, and asserts that “it is conferred in baptism, is maintained by faith, and consists in the indwelling of the Spirit of God, and the being made members of the Body of Christ.”

¹ Professor Garbett’s Bampton Lectures. The fourth of the series contains a most searching and powerful statement of the whole controversy.

² Harold Browne, *Thirty-nine Articles*, “On the Justification of Man,” p. 294.

By each of the above writers the power of Davenant's treatise as amongst the most formidable to be assailed is felt and acknowledged. The testimony which Bishop Bull has borne to the "great" writer, whose view it was his object to criticise, we have just placed before the reader. Dr Newman, sustaining Bull's argument, scarcely refers to any other opponent among the English Divines than Davenant; but while he is arguing against the powerful logic of the learned defender of the doctrine of the Church, he is compelled to bow to his talent, and acknowledge that the work he would disparage "abounds with noble passages." Newman had said in his work on Justification: "Imputed righteousness is the coming in of actual righteousness. They whom God's sovereign voice pronounces just, forthwith become in their measure just. He declares a fact, and makes it a fact by declaring it. He imputes not a name, but a substantial Word, which being 'ingrafted' in our hearts, 'is able to save our souls.'" ¹ To this is appended a note by Dr Newman. Davenant, though a Calvinist, says: "Cum Deus ineffabili amore complectatur filios suos, *neesse est*, ut *notam seu characterem* paterni sui amoris illis imprimat et insculpat. Hoc autem aliud non est quam imago quædam et similitudo sanctitatis suæ" ² (*De Habit. Just.*, c. 3). Nay, Calvin himself: "Fatemur ergo simul atque justificatur quispiam, *necessario* renovationem quoque sequi" ³ (*Anted.* p. 324). But then he adds it is only as a necessary *accident*. "Denique ubi de causâ quæritur, quorsum attinet *accidens inseperabile*

¹ Newman, "Lectures on the Doctrine of Justification." Primary sense of the term (section viii. p. 80).

² "Therefore, since God embraces his children with an ineffable love, he must necessarily impress or engrave the mark or character of his paternal love upon them. But this is nothing else than a certain image and resemblance of his holiness."

³ "Therefore we confess that as soon as anyone is justified, renewal also follows."

obtrudi.”¹ This then it seems, after all, is the point at issue: God speaks; and a new Creation follows; is this new Creation involved in the *essence* of the justifying act, or only joined as a *necessary accident*? “(Cordis renovatio) justificationis obtentæ non *causa* (no one says it is a ‘cause’ *except* in the philosophical sense, that whiteness is the cause of a white wall, to take the common illustration) *sed comes simul tempore adveniens, sed ordine causalitatis subsequens*”² (Davenant, *De Habit. Just.* c. 24).

Again (in section 10) Dr Newman says, “On the whole, then, from what has been said, it appears that justification is an announcement or fiat of Almighty God, which breaks upon the gloom of our natural state as the creative word upon chaos: that it *declares* the soul righteous, and in that declaration, on the one hand, conveys *pardon* for its past sins, and on the other *makes* it actually *righteous*. That it is a declaration has been made evident from its including, as all allow, an amnesty for the past; for past sins are removable only by an imputation of righteousness. And that it involves an actual creation in righteousness has been argued from the analogy of Almighty God’s doings in Scripture, in which we find his words were represented as effective. And its direct statements most abundantly establish both conclusions; the former from its use of the word just or righteous: showing that in matter of fact he who is justified becomes just, that he who is declared righteous is thereby actually made righteous.” This is Newman’s own note upon the passage. Davenant’s statement on the subject may be entirely received, though he was a Calvinist: “*Ex usu quotidiani sermonis, qualitas inhærens, præsertim si prædominans sit, denominat sub-*

¹ Lastly, when it is debated about the *cause*, to what intent it appertains for an *inseparable accident* to be obtruded.

² The renewal of the heart is not the *cause* of the justification which is obtained, but the *companion, arriving together in time, but following after in the order of causality.*

jectum, licet simul inhæreat aliquid contrariæ qualitatis. Dicimus enim non modo nivem album, aut cygnum candidum esse, sed candida tecta vocamus et vestimenta candida quibus tamen sæpissime maculæ aliquæ offusæ sunt, et aspersiones nigredinis. Sed etiam aquam calidam vocamus, non modo eam quæ ebullit præ fervore, sed etiam quæ æquisivit gradus aliquot caloris, frigore nondum totaliter expulso. Ex quibus patet eadem ratione renatos omnes ab inhærente justitia *vere* nominari et censeri justos, quamvis ea inchoata ad huc sit et imperfecta. Justos dico non justificatos, quia justus vocabulum ut non loquimur de justo, nihil aliud designat quam præditum infuso habitu seu inhærente qualitate justitiæ, et justificati vocabulum includet absolutionem ab omni peccato et acceptationem ad vitam æternam”¹ (*De Habit. Justit.*, c. 3, *fin.*).

It must be carefully kept in view that the object proposed in these citations, from divines of very various sentiments, is that of showing how they one and all converge and approximate to one main, clear and consistent

¹ “Lastly, from the ordinary use of language, the inherent quality (especially if it predominate) is used to characterize the subject, although something of a contrary quality may adhere to it at the same time. For we not only say that snow is *white*, or a swan *white*, but we call coverings *white*,* and garments white, on which, nevertheless, oftentimes some spots of dirt and sprinklings of black are scattered. Thus also we call water *hot*, not only that which boils with heat, but also that which has acquired some degree of heat, although the cold be not yet totally expelled. From which it is plain, by the same reasoning, that all the regenerate are rightly named and esteemed *righteous*, from inherent righteousness, although as yet it is only begun and imperfect. I say *righteous* (justos) not *justified*, because the word *righteous* (as we are now speaking concerning the word *righteous*) denotes nothing else than one endowed by an infused habit or inherent quality of righteousness; but the word *justified* includes acquittal from all sin, and acceptance to life eternal.”

* Tecta candida, *roofs*, perhaps of houses, in allusion probably to the practice general throughout the Kingdom in Davenant's time, though now confined to some parts of Wales, Pembrokeshire, for instance, and some parts of N. Devon and Cornwall, of whitewashing the *roofs* of houses.

doctrine, whatever be the precise language of their respective schools.¹

Again, Dr Newman, treating on "faith as the instrument of justification," says: "And they answer, as if by way of escaping from the dilemma, that to enquire *what* it is in faith which *makes* it justifying, as distinct from all other kinds of faith, is all one with asking what it is in faith *on account* of which faith justifies: that the discriminating mark is the same as the meritorious cause; and therefore Christ Himself, and He alone, the Object of the faith, is that which makes the faith what it is—and to name, to hint, to look for what it is in faith—which makes it lively, is to open the door to what Luther calls 'The cursed gloss of Sophists.'" This is Newman's note: "Pereant itaque sophistæ cum sua maledicta glossa, ut damnetur vox illa fides formata: et dicamus constanter ista vocabula, fides formata informis, acquisita etc diaboli esse portenta, nata in perniciosi doctrinæ et fidei Christianæ."² See Gal. iii. 12. Bishop Bull, on the contrary, holds the doctrine of *fides formata*. So does Bishop Davenant in *Col.*, i. p. 28., saying that faith precedes love *naturâ*, not in fact. Again Newman writes on the secondary sense of the term justification. When, for instance, they (the Homilies) declare that "justification is not the *office* of man but of *God*, they adopt its active sense; yet elsewhere they speak of this justification or *righteousness*, which we so receive of God's mercy and Christ's merits embraced by faith," as being "*taken, accepted and allowed* of God for our perfect and full justification," where the word denotes our *state* of acceptance or that in which acceptance consists.³ After giving in his note on these words a list of passages in

¹ Newman's *Lectures on Justification*, Primary Sense of Term, p. 84.

² "Therefore let the sophists perish with their accursed gloss, and let that word faith which has been formed be condemned: and let us say constantly that those words faith, formed, unformed, acquired &c., are the portents of the devil, generated for the destruction of Christian faith and doctrine."

³ Newman's *Justification*, p. 13.

which the word justification is taken *passively*, he gives the following in which it is taken *actively*. "Justificatio est *remissio* peccatorum, et *acceptatio* coram Deo, cum qua conjuncta est donatio Spiritus sancti" (Melancth., *Catech. Art de Justif.*). "Nos justificationem simpliciter interpretamur *acceptationem* qua nos Deus in gratiam receptos pro justis habet" (Calvin, *Justif.* iii. 2). "Apparet justificationem . . . nihil aliud esse quam gratuitum Dei actum,¹ &c." (Bull. *Harm. Diss.* i. 1, 4). *Vide* also Perkin's *Ref. Cath.* 11; Bishop Davenant, *de Just. Habit.* 34, p. 329; Barrow, vol. ii. Serm. v. p. 55. And again, in the "misuse of the terms Just or Righteous," Newman says, "This they (Protestant divines) maintain; and as if distinctions would serve instead of proof, they lay down as a principle to start with, that there are two kinds of righteousness, the *righteousness of justification* or intrinsic acceptableness, which Christ alone has, and the *righteousness of sanctification*, which is the Christian's."² To which he has appended the following note: "It is deeply to be regretted that a work like Davenant's *de Justit. Habit.* should have been written under the influence of the same theology. Yet with him it is in a great measure a matter of words. He lays it down as an axiom that the words righteousness and just cannot be used except in that sense in which they belong to God (*i.e.*, to denote the highest possible perfection) and *therefore* when applied to us they must have a different sense. He allows that in Christians righteousness is *begun*, but says it cannot be called righteousness till it is perfected, which it is not while on earth."³

¹ "Justification is the *remission* of sins, and *acceptance* before God, with which is joined the gift of the Holy Spirit." . . . "We simply interpret justification as the *acceptance* with which God considers those received in grace as just." . . . "It is evident that justification is nothing else than the gratuitous act of God."

² Newman's *Justification*, p. 97.

³ Newman's *Justification*, p. 109.

Again, speaking of "Righteousness viewed as a gift and as a quality," Dr Newman says: "There is nothing precise, nothing to grapple with, when we are told, for instance, that faith justifies, independent of its being a right and good principle—that it justifies as an instrument, not as a condition—that love is its inseparable accident, yet not its external criterion—that good works are necessary, but not to be called so in controversy or popular preaching, and that nothing in us constitutes our being justified," to which he affixes this note—"Davenant, *de Justit. Hab.* 31, who observes also *Multi qui recipiunt hanc propositionem.*" "Bona opera sunt fidelibus necessaria," rejiciunt et damnant eandem si hoc additamentum apponatur "sunt necessaria *ad justificationem* vel" sunt necessaria *ad salutem*. . . . E contra reperirentur a Protestantibus *non nulli*, qui haud verentur concedere, bona opera esse *ad salutem* necessaria,¹ and more to the same effect. And again Newman quotes Davenant: "And if they go on to say that obedience justifies, it never occurs to them to suppose that they can be taken to be speaking of anything but the *state of soul* in which the heavenly gift resides, and by which it is retained, not that which really causes, or procures, or purchases it."² Davenant grants as much as this. "Bona opera justificatorum sunt ad salutem necessaria, *necessitate ordinis* non causalitatis, vel planius, ut *via ordinata ad vitam æternam* non ut causæ meritoriae vitæ æternæ."³ He also freely grants that they are "media seu *conditiones* sini quibus Deus non vult

¹ "Many who accept this proposition, 'Good works are necessary to the faithful,' reject and condemn the same if this addition is made, 'are necessary to justification,' or 'are necessary to salvation.' . . . On the contrary, some Protestants may be found, who are not afraid of conceding that good works are necessary to salvation."

² Newman's *Justification*, p. 182.

³ "The good works of the justified are necessary to salvation, in the necessity of *order* not causality, or more clearly; as the ordained way to life eternal, not as (the way) of the meritorious cause of eternal life."

justificationis gratiam in hominibus conservare," c. 31.¹ That is, we are saved neither by faith, nor by works, but as walking *in the way* both of faith and of works."²

Thus frequently does Dr Newman refer to Bishop Davenant, and in his Appendix he makes the following references to him and his great work. "Davenant (*de Just. Hab. fin.*) determines with more candour that Christus (Christ), or the obedientia Christi (the obedience of Christ) is the *matter* of Justification. It is remarkable," he adds, "that Davenant animadverts on Bonaventura's making the merits of Christ the matter of justification, which he says at once throws us upon inherent righteousness"³ (*De Just. Hab. ch. 28 fin.*). Again, further on he says: "He (Gerhard) protests against the notion that the Protestant doctrine of justification is nominal, shadowy, and putative. Davenant makes a similar complaint; yet desirous as one may be to be fair to the theory, it is difficult to speak of it in any other terms. Davenant's words are these: *Imputatio non fictionem cogitationis humanæ denotat, sed efficacissimam Dei ordinationem et validissimam rei donationem. Si Bellerminus nolit advertere quid intersit inter fictionem et donationem justitiæ Christi, dignus est qui coram tremendo illo tribunali sistatur, non alia justitia indutus quam sua inhærente,*" c. 34.⁴ This surely is unfair as well as severe: a gift or possession is of two kinds, personal and for use and enjoyment: gold or jewels put into one's hands is the former, and landed property is the latter. Davenant means that

¹ "Means or *conditions*, without which God is not willing to preserve the grace of justification in men."

² Newman's *Justification*, p. 183.

³ Newman's *Justification*, p. 360.

⁴ "Imputation doesn't denote the fiction of human thought, but the most efficacious ordinance of God, and the most powerful gift of the thing. If Bellarmine is unwilling to see what is the difference between the fiction and bestowal of the righteousness of Christ, he is worthy to stand before that tremendous tribunal, clothed in no other righteousness than his own inherent righteousness."

the *justitia Christi* is ours in the latter sense. He says (c. 28 *fin*), "*Christi justitia imputata nihil aliud est quam Christi justitia applicata et donata nobis ad spiritualem aliquem effectum producendum.*"¹ He does not regard it at all as a personal possession: and Calvin grants as much when he considers the formal cause of justification, *not* the *justitia Christi*, but remission of sins, that is, the spiritual *consequence* of His righteousness. Bellarmine then assumes no more than Calvin grants: that we are *said* to be or *named* as having Christ's righteousness, in order to have the fruits of that righteousness. Only he goes on to argue that such a mere nominal and not real gift, or to make use of the foregoing distinction, a gift not personal, cannot be called a formal cause. Yet Davenant dispenses very different justice to his acute opponent and his clear-headed and candid master. While he uses language which one would wish to forget, because Bellarmine says that the imputation which is by faith, by the very force of the terms used, cannot be a personal characteristic of the soul, yet when Calvin says that Christ's righteousness is but the matter, not the form of justification, and only is applied to us in its effects; in the remission of sins, he says, "*ut itaque separamus philosophicas speculationes de natura causæ formalis &c.*"² Yet he is just beginning a dissertation of eight chapters upon it! The subject may be treated in a philosophical or common-sense way: but must not be taken up and put down in one or the other at pleasure. All this *ambiguity*, as I must call it, is to be imputed not to Bishop Davenant, *whose work is full of noble passages*, but to his system.³ Again, Dr Newman says, "Davenant, for instance, grants the doctrine of '*justitia*

¹ "The Righteousness of Christ imputed is nothing else than the righteousness of Christ applied and given to us to produce some spiritual effect."

² "That therefore we may distinguish philosophical speculation from the nature of the formal cause."

³ Newman's *Justification*, Appendix, pp. 362-3.

inchoata.¹ He grants that it is true righteousness in the same sense in which a white wall, though not perfectly white, has whiteness, and he grants that inherent righteousness is justification in a *passive* sense, or what he calls *justification*, c. 22 : that is, in fact, we have two righteousnesses, a perfect and an imperfect, Christ's and our own; the point in which he differs being merely this, whether this inchoate righteousness can be said to tend towards justification, or to serve us in any stead in God's sight. And this would seem very much a question of words, for if he means to deny it is such as we can *trust* to, Bucer confesses this distinctly; but that there is something good in it he surely cannot deny unless he will contend there is no whiteness in a wall that is partially white. Nay, in one place, he confesses as to a kindred point: Non igitur cum Patribus, neque cum hisce senioribus Pontificiis lis ulla nobis erit de nudo meriti vocabulo (quamquam multo melius et tutius est ab hoc vocabulo abstinere) sed contra nuperos Papistas dimicabimus"² (*De Just. Act.*, c. 53); and again, Dr Newman says:³ "In the foregoing Lectures a view has been taken substantially the same as this, but approaching more nearly *in language* to the Calvinists, viz., that Christ indwelling is our righteousness; only what is with them a matter of words, I would wish to use in a real sense as expressing a sacred mystery; and therefore I have spoken of it in the language of Scripture, as the indwelling of Christ *through the Spirit*. For Davenant speaks thus: "Christi Mediatoris in nobis *habitantis* atque per *Spiritum sese nobis unientis* perfectissima obedientia est formalis causa justificationis nostræ."⁴ (*De Just. Habit.*, 22).

¹ Inchoate righteousness is righteousness in its inception or beginning.

² "Therefore not with the Fathers, nor with these old Pontiffs, will there be any strife about the bare terms of merit (although it is much better and safer to abstain from this word), but our contest will be with recent Papists."

³ Newman's *Justification*, Appendix, p. 374.

⁴ "The most perfect obedience of Christ the Mediator dwelling in us, and by the Holy Spirit uniting Himself to us, is the formal cause of our justification."

One more quotation must suffice from Dr Newman's great work.¹ Chamier, after speaking of St Bernard's doctrine, says, "Concedam justificationem intelligi pro infusione: quod etsi crebrum est apud Patres, non est ex stilo Pauli."² Davenant more cautiously, but to the same effect. "Si aliquis Patrum propter arctam illam cognatam et *individuum* concatenationem gratiæ infusæ sive inhærentis cum gratia remissionis ac imputatione justitiæ Christi, hæc inter se commiscere videatur, non debemus nos idcirco illa confundere, quæ Spiritus Dei in Sacris Scripturis accurate solet distinguere. . . . Neque huic sententiæ nostræ reclamare patres illico judicandi sunt. Si justificandi vocabulum ad justitiæ infusionem aliquando referant: non idem vocabulum diverso sensu, non modo a Patribus, sed etiam ab ipsis Scripturis quandoque usurpatur. Non itaque jam quærimus de diversis hujus vocabuli justificationis apud Patres significantibus: sed (quod theologicæ disquisitionis proprium est) de ipso dogmate justificationis quid illi senserint indagamus"³ (*De Just. Hab.*, c. 25).

Throughout this great and noble work on "Justification,"⁴ it will be observed that Dr Newman's quotations from Davenant are both full and frequent, and he is more often referred to than any other English writer, or Anglican

¹ Newman's *Justification*, p. 382-3.

² "I will concede that justification is to be understood for infusion, which although it is frequent with the Fathers is not after St Paul's style."

³ "If then any of the Fathers, on account of that close affinity and inseparable connexion of infused or inhererent grace, with the grace of remission and the imputation of the righteousness of Christ, seem rather to confuse the one with the other, we ought not on that account to confound those things which the Spirit of God is accustomed accurately to distinguish in the Holy Scriptures. . . . Neither are the Fathers to be considered as opposed to this our opinion, if sometimes they refer the word *justification* to the infusion of righteousness; for the same word is used sometimes in a different sense, not only by the Fathers, but in the Scriptures themselves. Our enquiry therefore now is not concerning the divers signification of this word *justification* in the Fathers, but what sentiments they hold on justification itself (which is the point of theological investigation)."

⁴ Newman's *Justification*, p. 395.

divine. What does this show? That whatever opinion his own countrymen or fellow-churchmen may take of Bishop Davenant and his contributions to theological literature, Dr Newman refers to him as one of our most capable writers, and this work as a standard work; he places him in the front rank of theologians, and avers that this work "abounds in many noble passages." Dr Newman is no mean authority, for he was one of the most cultured and accomplished writers of our day, a man of assured European reputation, and these notes with reference to Davenant have been written for his new edition, *since* his secession to the Church of Rome, of which he was till lately one of her greatest ornaments, as a controversialist, his Eminence having been a Prince and Prelate of that Church.

Our Bishop gives his own account of his work on Justification in the Preface which we lose no further time in laying before our readers.

"When reflecting upon the several topics which are controverted between us and the Papists,¹ I find there is scarcely one in which our opponents do not maintain that side which immoderately exalts man,

¹ The Bishop *generally* uses the term "Papists" in speaking of the members of the Church of Rome. Upon which term Heylin, no harsh opponent of their system, after objecting to their appropriation of the term *Catholic*, makes the following remarks in his exposition of the Apostles' Creed, book iii. chap. 2, "Since they have no mind to be called *Christians*, nor reason to be called *Catholics*, let us call them, as they use, by the name of *Papists*, considering their dependence on the Pope's decision for all points of faith, and possibly we may gratify them as much in this as if we did permit them the name of *Catholics*. For Bellarmine (*de Not. Eccl.* l. iv. c. 4) seems very much delighted with the appellation; flattering himself that he can bring in Christ, our blessed Saviour, within the catalogue of Popes, and that he hath found a prophecy in St Chrysostom (in *Act. Apost. hom.* xxxiii. 3, 4) to this effect, *quondoque nos Papistas vocandos esse, that Papists in the time then following should be the style and title of a true Professor*. Great pity it is, but he and his should have the honour of their own discovery, and *Papists* let them be, since the same so pleaseth." However, it no longer pleaseth them to be called by this term, and modern courtesy commonly disuses it, but we do not consider ourselves at liberty to adopt a different term where this is employed by our author.

and everything of human attainment ; while leaving it to us to maintain the cause of God in opposition to the pride of man. This, I am desirous, should be observed, in order that we may be induced to engage the more carefully with these opponents, who, whilst they are elevating and extolling dust and ashes, can never look to receive Divine help.

“The truth of my remark will appear both from the discussion which we lately concluded concerning *the Judge and Rule of Faith*, and from this on which we have now resolved to treat, concerning inherent righteousness and the righteousness of works. In the former case what else appears to be the doctrine of Papists than that God cannot be the supreme judge of faith, but that the Roman Pontiff both can and ought to be ; that the Divinely inspired prophets and apostles have committed to writing the doctrines of the Christian Religion in an obscure and imperfect manner ; but that the Roman Pontiff with his Prelates contains them all in his integrity in the escritoire of his own breast,¹ and is able perspicuously to define them when necessary ! Thus they speak degradingly of God : but have set the Pope with his coadjutors on the throne of supreme authority. Good right have we therefore to renew that old complaint of Lactantius (*De Ira Dei*, caput 22). So preposterously *do they act, as to make what is human to give authority to what is Divine, whereas, rather, that which is Divine ought to give authority to what is human.*

“Now what they have done in the question on determining Faith and Religion, the same they take great pains to effect, in the case of attainment of justification. For they absolutely scorn a justification arising from the mercy of God, remitting the sins of believers for the sake of Christ, and accepting them to life eternal in Christ ; but they admire and extol that justification which consists in their own personal virtues and inherent qualities. Thus, to have life eternal from the free gift of God, they do not think sufficiently honourable to them, but to obtain it by their merit of condignity and good works, this seems glorious enough to proud men.

“And the way in which they maintain this position, though most false, is yet quite worthy of such patrons. For those who seek their faith, not from Christ or the Scriptures, but from the crazy brain and doting decrees of some individual, are acting consistently while they place their justification and salvation, not in the mercy of God and the obedience of Christ the mediator, but in their own personal righteousness and merits.

¹ “Of his own breast,” the language of a Papal Constitution of Boniface VIII. See the Canon Law, *Sexti Decret.*, lib. i. bk. ii. cap. 1.

"It is evident how difficult and miserable a task the Papists have taken upon themselves, and how easy and desirable a part they leave for us. It rests with them to endeavour to prove, that wretched man, encompassed with this mortal and corruptible flesh, is nevertheless furnished with so perfect a righteousness, that he can present this his inherent rightness, even before the scrutinising eye of God, for the purpose of receiving a plenary justification.

"Nay, more, they must also maintain this point, that from this infused righteousness flow works so purified from all defilement, so free from all stain of sin, that any regenerate person can say truly to God, 'If I have deserved it, give me the kingdom of heaven: if my works do not deserve it on principle of condignity,¹ refuse me!' O intolerable pride! O desperate madness! How much more wisely, how much more truly said William (Bishop) of Paris, *Take care in your wrestling with God, not to lean upon a weak and fragile foundation, which they do who trust in their own merits. . . . For as he who*

¹ It is not to be supposed that the schoolmen denied or doubted that such justification sprang primarily from the grace of God, and meritoriously from the death of Christ. The faults charged upon their system are, that they looked for merit *de congruo* and *de condigno*, that they attached efficacy to attrition, that they inculcated the doctrine of satisfaction, and that they assigned grace to the sacraments *ex opere operato*.

Luther especially insists, that these scholastic opinions were directly subversive of the doctrine of St Paul, and of the grace of God. "They say," he writes, "that a good work before grace is able to obtain grace of congruity (which they call *meritum de congruo*), because it is meet that God should reward such a work. But when grace is obtained, the work following deserveth eternal life of debt and worthiness, which they call *meritum de condigno*. For the first God is no debtor: but because He is just and good, He must approve such good work, though it be done in mortal sin, and so give grace for such service. But when grace is obtained God is become a debtor, and is constrained of right and duty to give eternal life. For now it is not only a work of free-will, done according to the substance, but also done in grace, which makes a man acceptable to God, that is to say, in charity." "This is the divinity of the kingdom of Antichrist: which here I recite that St Paul's argument may be the better understood: for two things contrary to one another being put together may be the better understood" (Luther, Gal. ii. 16).

Again, "the compunction for sin, which might be felt before the grace of God was given, was called *attrition*: compunction arising from the motions of God's Spirit being called *contrition*. Now contrition was considered as a means, whereby God predisposed to grace. So that it had in it some merit *de congruo*, and so of its own nature led to contrition and justification" (Quoted by Bishop Harold Browne, Article xi., p. 281).

leans only upon his own strength and merits, deprives himself of the aid and strength of God: so he who puts away all confidence in himself, and leans only upon grace and mercy, brings down upon himself the aid and power of God (Parisiensis, *De Rhetor. Divin.*, cap. 91, p. 385).

“You see how impious and wretched is the cause which the Papists have to maintain. Now let us consider how holy, easy and obvious is ours. We have then to shew, that God imparts to the justified the first-fruits of the spirit and certain eminent gifts of sanctification, yet so that we are entirely dependent upon His mercy and the grace of our Mediator; but that sin is not so entirely rooted out from this mortal body, as that we can derive from that infused and inherent righteousness a ground for justification before God. This also we have to shew, that the works which flow from this inchoate righteousness, however pleasing and acceptable to God, are still not in themselves so absolutely perfect, as that life eternal should be not the gift of God in Christ (Rom. vi. 23), but a reward paid on the principle of condignity to these our works.

“We are certainly greatly indebted to the Romanists, who, as in all other controversies, so especially in this, desire us to prove, what Scripture manifestly sets forth. What the conscience of every individual dictates within him, and to what, in fine, the confession of all saints publicly testifies.

“It is not, therefore, more difficult to shew that the doctrine of a free justification is true, and to exhibit the deficiencies of man's righteousness, than it is to point to the light of the sun, or the spots on a cloud.

“I will enter then upon the subject, premising merely that it is not my purpose to take up the whole subject in controversy as respects justification and works; but to select certain special parts, by the explanation and determination of which, a way will be opened for readily forming an opinion of the rest. You see then to what points the present discussion is limited.”

The work itself, which is composed in Latin, and has no notes, is divided into sixty-six chapters. In the first chapter the heads of the subsequent discussion are announced, three primary being propounded concerning Habitual Righteousness, and four concerning Actual Righteousness. The first question, “Whether a certain Habitual or Inherent Righteousness is infused into all the justified, whence they may be called just?” is proposed

and explained in the third chapter. In the fifth chapter is discussed the second question, "Whether this inherent Righteousness is so perfect as to exclude original sin?" In this discussion, which is continued to the end of the twenty-first, arguments are brought forward, supported by scripture and the Fathers, and objections answered. The charge of the Heresies of the Origenists and Messalians, brought by the Jesuits, is answered. Bellarmine's arguments are sifted in the ninth chapter, and testimonies of Fathers and schoolmen are pressed into his service. The *third* question, which is propounded in the twenty-first chapter, is continued to the end of the twenty-ninth, viz., Whether inherent Righteousness (whatever it be) formally justifies believers in the sight and judgment of God? Bellarmine is again our Bishop's chief opponent, and the reference to the Fathers in support of our Author's arguments are both pregnant and frequent. The term "Justification" in this division is fully examined, and the Imputation of Christ's obedience proved to be the *formal cause* of our Justification in twenty-eighth, the term "imputation" and "formal cause" having been explained in a previous chapter. We come now to the *second* great division of the subject of "Actual Righteousness, or the Righteousness of Works," and this occupies the remaining portion of the work. The Discussion consists of four parts, for it respects (1) the *necessity*, (2) the *reality*, (3) the *perfection*, and (4) the *merit* of Good Works. Question the first, of the *necessity* of Good Works, in the thirtieth and two following chapters; the Author's opinion being partly explained in this proposition—good works are necessary in all believers who have the use of reason, and are of an age to practise them. The second question, *Reality* of Good Works, is discussed in the thirty-third and five following chapters, and is explained in three *propositions*. *The first proposition* consists of three members, namely, that the good works of

the regenerate have in them (1) a supernatural goodness, (2) are pleasing and acceptable to God in a supernatural way, (3) are destined by his Covenant or promise for the most gracious rewards. *The second proposition* is, That the good works of the regenerate are imperfectly good, being stained by the adhesion of sin, and need to be accepted by God of his paternal mercy. *The third proposition* is, That the aforesaid works, although imperfect and stained by the contagion of indwelling sin, are yet not to be regarded as mortal sins, nor are so regarded by Protestants. Bellarmine's arguments against these propositions are again answered. Beginning chapter xxxii., the *third question*, of the *perfection* of good works, is explained in two propositions. The *first* consisting of three members, (1) that there are no works of counsels more excellent than the works commanded in the Divine Law: (2) neither is there granted in this life a state of perfection consisting in the observance of such counsels: nor does the regenerate man *supererogate*¹ by any work of holiness or righteousness. *The second proposition* is, no one of the regenerate can observe and fulfil the law of God perfectly: but falls short of the perfection of the law through the whole course of his life. The argument, including the appeal to Antiquity in forty-third chapter, is continued down to the end of the fifty-second. Chapter liii. concludes the *fourth* and last aspect of the subject "of the *merit*" of good works. In treating which, some things from the Fathers concerning the words *merit* and *meriting* are premised, c. lxvi.; from the sounder schoolmen, c. lxix.; the Jesuits, c. lxx.; and the different opinions of the Romanists, whence the worthiness of works arises, are examined. The opinion of our divines is set forth, c. lxxviii.; and comprised in two propositions: 1. That the good works of the regenerate flowing from the

¹ "Voluntary works besides, over and above, God's commandments, which they call Works of Supererogation."—(Article xiv. of *Works of Supererogation*.)

grace of the Holy Spirit are not meritorious of life eternal *ex condigno*: neither do they make this reward due to the workers as a matter of justice; 2. That the good works of the regenerate which are considered in themselves are not worthy of life eternal, neither do they oblige God on the score of justice to the payment of such a reward; nor can they from any contract or promise of God acquire either a meritorious worthiness, or the power of obliging God to make recompense as regards justice properly understood. In the last chapter (lxvi.), which concludes this noble work, the arguments are refuted, by which Suarez and Bellarmine endeavour to prove that on the principles of commutative justice, God is, by virtue of the promise, *bound* to render a reward of life eternal in return for our works.

It will be remembered that Bishop Bull, speaking of this work, remarks, "I mean the *great* Davenant, Bishop of Salisbury, who, in his most learned Disputations concerning *actual* and imputed righteousness, cap. 31, thus explains and confirms in two short but indeed most lucid theses, all the statements made in these Dissertations concerning good works." As it may prove not unacceptable to our readers to have an illustration of the way in which Davenant handles this subject, we will conclude this chapter with one or two extracts from the above. "The second question which is now to be handled by us is—*Whether good works can be said to be necessary to our justification or salvation.* Some of our divines affirm it, some deny it: differing in the forms of words, yet agreeing as to the substance of the matter. But that the truth may be more evident, we shall comprise our views of the subject in the following conclusions:—

1. In contending with the Romanists about justification, it is not wise or safe to use or admit these propositions, *that good works are necessary to justification or that good works are necessary to salvation.*

But even though they may by means of explanation be reduced to a sound sense ; yet when they are nakedly propounded, the Papists always understand by them, that works are necessary as being, from their real and intrinsic worthiness, meritorious causes of man's salvation, which is most false. Since then *use* determines the meaning of *language*, and in formularies of words attention is always paid, not so much *to the speaker*, as *to what he means* : we ought not to afford this occasion for error to the Papists, who are accustomed to distort these expressions to an heretical sense.

That this caution is necessary, when treating with the enemies of the truth of the Gospel, is evident from the example of the ancient Fathers, who abstained from certain forms of speaking solely on account of the perverted application of them by the heretics. Jerome has noticed this in his comment on Hosea ii. 16. *An expression may be correct, and yet on account of some ambiguity, it may sometimes be inexpedient to use it.* Thus, in the controversy with Nestorius, although it is said with perfect truth that the Blessed Virgin is the Mother of Christ, yet the Holy Fathers were unwilling to use that expression, lest they should appear to make a concession to Nestorius, who denied her the title of Θεότοκος or Mother of God. So Damascenus, lib. iii. cap. 12, observes : *We do not call the Holy Virgin χριστότοκος, or mother of Christ, because the impious Nestorius invented that title for the purpose of rejecting the title Θεότοκος, or Mother of God.* For a similar reason, as often as we engage in argument with the Romanists, we ought not, on any account, to affirm that *works are necessary to salvation*, because the perversity of Papists is accustomed to make use of this form of speech in order to deny gratuitous justification.

The schoolmen themselves entertained the same sentiments about the use of words, and were unwilling that we should even use the same words as heretics in cases where,

from using the same terms, a handle might be taken for spreading false doctrines. Thus Thomas (Aquinas), *Contra gent.* lib. iii. cap. 93, and Durandus, lib. i. cap. 4. *It is to be observed* (says he) *that there are certain terms which are not received in theology, more because they have sometimes proved the occasion of error, than because of the unsuitableness of their signification.* Since thence this mode of speaking administers occasion of error to the Romanists, if we are to attend to the Fathers and Schoolmen, we ought to abstain from it.

The subject is fully discussed on its negative and positive side under the following heads :—

“3. Good works are *not* necessary to our salvation, if by good works we are to understand works exactly good and perfect according to the rule of the Law, &c.

“4. No good works are necessary to the regenerate for salvation or justification, if by *necessary* we understand necessary in the sense of a meritorious cause, &c.

“5. Some good works are necessary to justification, as concurrent on preliminary conditions, although they are not necessary as efficient or meritorious causes, &c.

“6. Good works *are* necessary for retaining and preserving a state of justification, not as causes, which by themselves effect or merit this preservation, but as means or conditions without which God will not preserve in men the grace of justification,” &c.

This sound and excellent chapter concludes with the following section :—

“7. Good works are necessary to the salvation of the justified by a necessity of *order*, not of *causality*, or more plainly, as *the way appointed to eternal life*, not as *the meritorious cause* of eternal life.” (See Newman’s *Justification*, p. 202.)

We have before established the negative part of this conclusion. We will briefly elucidate the affirmative.

“When I say good works, I do not mean works perfectly good, which cannot be performed by man not yet perfectly

renewed ; but those works of inchoate holiness, which through the efficacy of grace are wrought by the regenerate. Moreover, these very works I do not determine to be so necessary to salvation, as that he who, for a time, should become remiss in the practice of good works, or be hurried away by any temptation to the commission of any evil work, should be wholly excluded from salvation: but that it is impossible to reach the goal of salvation, when the pursuit of good works is altogether evaded and rejected, and a loose rein is uninterruptedly given to the lust after evil works. The necessity for this is shown from the saying of Christ, Matt. vi. 14, *Straight is the gate and narrow is the way which leadeth unto life, and few there be that find it.* Hence it is plain, that a certain sure way is laid down to the Kingdom of Heaven by God Himself, and that the same is a narrow way, namely, that of virtue and holiness and not the broad way of iniquity and lust. As, therefore, if here is a certain, only and prescribed way which leads to any city, it is necessary to all who wish to enter that city, to take this way ; so since by the Divine appointment the way of good works leads to the goal of eternal glory, he must inevitably enter upon and hold this way who desires to arrive thither. But what if a believer should wander from this path of good works (which often happens) and should fall into the bye-paths of his lusts ? I say that whilst treading this bye-way, he is proceeding straight to hell, and that he will never arrive at the heavenly city, unless he recover himself and return into the same way. So says the Apostle, 1 Cor. vi. 9-10 ; Gal. v. 19-21.

“ Although then the justified may halt in the way of good works, and sometimes wander out of his way, falling into the precipices of their lusts, still without letting go their state of sonship ; yet, for the attainment of their salvation and the heritage of sons, it is necessary that they should return into the same through penitence, and persevere in it to the end.”

During the years 1632-3, we find Davenant writing to his friend Dr Ward, three letters from Salisbury: in the first he alludes to Dr Twisse's book against the received doctrine of the Church; in the second, he discusses the subject of this chapter, "Justification"; and in the last he refers to the vacant Mastership of St John's College, Cambridge. They are to be found in the Tanner Manuscripts at the Bodleian.

Salutē in Christo.

GOOD DR WARD; In your last letter, you mentioned vnto mee Dr Twisses book, wherof I have read some part. Mee thinks hee bestowes too much pains in arguing against y^e received opinion, wch presupposeth mans fall, considered as antecedent to Predestination and Reprobation. Since in this Presupposal, Prædestination & y^e Fall are not conceaved as End & Means, but as Act & Obiect. To say y^e truth, hee shewes himselfe a scolastical Divine, & of a good iudgment; yet I have mett wth some particular conclusions, wch I doe not assent vnto. As for St Augustins meaning concerning, Gratia Christi, I make no doubt, but y^e Illumination of mens mindes by y^e Preaching of y^e Gospel, & divers other effects wrought vpon y^e Non-electi, may bee comprised truly vnder that general terme. But I am further of opinion, that St Augustin in opposing Pelagius his error, who made y^e Grace of Ch. Monitricē voluntatis, & not Creatricem bonæ voluntatis, does by way of Excellency, as it were appropriat Gratiā Christi, to that Effectual Grace, wch from Ch. is derived to all y^e members of Christ; investing them heer wth Saving Grace, & bringing them heerafter to eternal glory. This hee stiles Propria Gratia. Contr. 2 ex Pelag. lib. 4 cap. 5. And in his book de Gratia Christi, this Effectual Saving Grace is it for wch hee contēds, as evidently appears 8, 9, 10 chapters & thorough that whole treatise. And Prosper de ingratis at y^e 14th chapter seemes to make this effectual Grace only, Nova Gratia Christi. And in y^e 4th Canon of y Milevitan Councill, Effectual Grace is also termed Gratia Christi. But I hope this sūmer to see you heer, & then Plura coram. I cōmitt you to God, & rest ever

Your loving freind

JO. SARŪ.

May y^e 22th, 1632.

[Endorsed:—] To y^e right woorth his very loving freind Dr Ward,
Master of Sidney Colledg in Cambridg give this.

May 22, 1632.

My Ld. of Sarum his Lett^r.

Salutē in Christo.

I am sorry y^e Peaceableness of those who cleav to y^e True & established doctrine of our own Church, should breed so much bouldnes in those that fancy y^e Errors & Novelties of forreign Divines. That Propositions Reliquiæ peccati in renatis non sunt peccata does not only crosse, Modum loquēdi, but y^e Receaved & cōmion doctrine of orthodox Protestant Divines, & of our 9th Article. That other; Renatus potest præstare pfecta opera in quib, nihil est peccati, and yt to y^e same effect. Renatus potest implere legem are contrary to y^e General Tenet of our Divines, and in effect contain y^e Popish Errors of Justification by woorks, of Condign Merit & all other cohærent & connexd wth these. And (as I conceive) y^e forenamed propositions will never stand either wth those woords of y^e 9th Artic. [Lust hathe of it selfe y^e Nature of Sinn.] nor wth those of y^e 11th [Wee are not accounted righteous for our own woorks & deservings.] Nor with those of y^e 12th [Good woorks wch follow Justification cannot putt away our sinns, and endure y^e severity of Gods iudgment.] As for that last proposition [Justification non est ex sola fide.] what shifts & shuffells som-ever may bee vsed in y^e defense therof, yet it is evidently contradictory to our 11th Art. and it casts an aspersion vppon all Protestant Churches as well Lutherans as others; who ever since y^e Reformation have stood for y^e particle Sola, ever as stiffly as y^e Popish sort have gainsayd it. Touching Dr Simsons ould busines, I can assure you, that all y^e Heads who were at home subscribed to the Censure of his sermon, after they had iointly and diligently pvsed y^e same; And wee all went over & tendred it to his Maiesty at Roiston; where Mr Simson was also called, who after y^e pvsal of y^e sayd censure, & some deliberation, yeilded thervnto. And was further inioyned (as I remember) to preach again before y^e King about a fortnight after. This is all I know concerning this matter. I hope to see you heer, & in y^e mean time cōmit you to y^e divine protection.

Yours

July 23, 1633.

JO. SARŪ.

[Endorsed:—] To y^e right woorth his verie loving freind Dr Ward
Mr of Sidney Colledg in Cambridg give this.

July 23 [x. x.] n. D. 1633.

My L^d of Sarum his Lett^r.

Salutem in Christo.

GOOD DR WARD; I hoped to have seen you heer this summer in your passage vnto Wells; but it should seem y^e Dean was not strong

enough to draw you thither. Wee woonder much heer in y^e Country, that y^e Mastership of St Johns should lie so long voyd, the choice standing betwixt two men so well & thoroughly knownen as they bee. Wee vsually say Trueth may sometimes bee lost, Nimium altercando ; I pray God in this busines it fall owt otherwise. When your leysure serves I would gladly bee informed of y^e whole matter. I am still more and more behoulding vnto you, for your care & kindenesse towards my two Nephewes, and I hope y^e younger will tread in y^e stepps of his Elder Brother, espetially beeing directed by your authority & good counsail. Thus wishing your good Health & happines, I comitt you & yours to y^e Author therof, resting ever

Your very loving freind

Salisbury, Octob. 23th, 1633.

JO. SARŪ.

[*Endorsed* :—] To y^e right woorth his very loving freind Dr Ward, Master of Sidney Colledg, and Reader of Divinity in Cambridg give these.

Octob. 23, 1633.

My Lrd of Sarum his Lett^r.

CHAPTER XVI

BISHOP DAVENANT'S "DETERMINATIONS," OR "RESOLUTIONS OF CERTAIN THEOLOGICAL QUESTIONS" (1634)

"As for the Censure of Baronius (on Josephus) it is too harsh and uncharitable, charging him with *absurda et portentosa mendacia*, seeing that it cannot appear that Josephus willingly and wittingly made those mistakes. Wherefore such chance-medley amounts not to manslaughter, much less to wilful murder; not to say that the charitable Reader ought to be a *City of Refuge* to such authors, who, rather unhappy than unfaithfull, fall into involuntary errors. In a word, historians who have no fault are only fit to write the actions of those princes and peoples who have no miscarriage, and only an Angel's pen, taken from his own wing, is proper to describe the story of the Church triumphant."—FULLER'S *Pisgah Sight*, ii. 148.

THREE years after publishing his treatise on "Justification," our Bishop put out his "Determinations," or "Resolutions of certain Theological Questions." *Determinationes Quæstionum quorundam Theologicarum*. It is a small folio, and is often found bound up with the second edition of the *Expositio*, *i.e.* the Exposition of St Paul's Epistle to the Colossians. It consists of a discussion of forty-nine subjects which are matters of controversy between Romanists and Protestants, or between Protestants of different views. They are all handled, as there was every antecedent probability that they would be, with great acuteness, critical learning, and well-sustained moderation. To one of these, *Quæstio XI.*, the remarkable and erudite Archbishop Williams referred upon a memorable occasion, a short time after Davenant's decease. A Bill having been introduced to deprive Bishops of their seats in the House of Lords, it was so ably opposed by Williams as to lead to its rejection for that time. In this masterly speech, the Primate refers to our Prelate as an authority entitled to veneration in that assembly, and was at a time

when those troubles and civil dissensions were commencing which preceded the downfall of Church and Monarchy.

“The civil power,” said he, in the course of his address, “is a Divine ordinance, set up to be a terror to the evil, and an encouragement to good works. This is the whole compass of the civil power, and therefore I do here demand, with the *most learned Bishop Davenant*, that within a few days did sit by my side, in the eleventh question of his Determinationes, *What is there of impiety, what of unlawfulness, what unbecoming either the holiness or calling of a Priest, in terrifying the bad or comforting the good subject : in repressing of sin, or punishing of sinners ? For this is the whole and entire act of civil jurisdiction. It is in its own nature repugnant to no persons, to no function, to no sort or condition of men ; let them hold themselves never so holy, never so seraphical, it becomes them very well to repress sin, and punish sinners ; that is to say, to exercise in a moderate manner civil jurisdiction, if the Sovereign shall require it.*” This is by no means an exact quotation of the passage in Davenant, its language is considerably softened, and perhaps of the whole volume it is the Quæstio which would perhaps be least readily acceded to in these days of unbridled toleration and unrestrained licence on the right hand and on the left; in these days of “Liberationalism,” “Sectarianism,” “Salvationalism,” Lawlessness, and every form of fanatical excess. It is needless to add that the subject of civil right and jurisdiction was by no means distinctly understood at that period. There was great confusion between the Pontificale and the Regale,¹ the things of Cæsar and the things of God, as indeed there is in our own time. But we will give the passage in its entirety as it stands in Davenant’s resolutions, only premising once more that it is a translation of

¹ See author’s *Court of Final Appeal*, ch. v., “Royal Supremacy,” p. 159; also author’s “Appellate Jurisdiction of the Crown” (a paper read at the Norwich Church Congress), p. 26.

the original, which is in Latin. "We must remember that each jurisdiction is occupied in promoting righteousness and restraining iniquity: but with this difference, that merely spiritual jurisdiction endeavours to effect this by spiritual means, while to this the civil adds the coercive measures and external punishments, such as imprisonments, fines and bodily chastisements. I ask, therefore, *what is there either impious or unlawful, or contrary to the sanctity or office of the priesthood, in its repressing, not only by spiritual punishments, but also, where authority is granted, by civil, and corporal in addition—heretics, schismatics, and all obstinate offenders and disturbers of the Christian state. To resist and restrain impiety by either mode is surely a good and praiseworthy action, and in its own nature by no means unsuited to any character, however sacred.* The blessed Angels, at the command of God, do not think it contrary to their sanctity to inflict corporal punishments on the guilty: why then should *the Angels of the Church (i.e., the Bishops)* think it unlawful to adjudge the same offenders to deserved punishment, when their Sovereign, who is God's vicegerent in the land, so decrees it. For an act of civil jurisdiction is not in its own nature unsuited to any person, however sacred, nor is it inconsistent with the office of the Priesthood." It will be noticed that the Archbishop has considerably condensed and toned down Davenant's language—which is certainly strong as to the coercive or coactive power of the sovereign or state. But the Archbishop's allusion to our Bishop on such an occasion, and his citing him in such a distinguished assembly proves the opinion at that time entertained of his works, his character, and his learning, and that he was evidently regarded as one of the most capable theologians, and sound divines, of the day in which he lived. Williams' opinion is no slight one, for he was one of the most accomplished theologians of his time, although his character was much marred by his insatiable ambition—"one who

would have been truly great," as Mr Russell says, "if he had been less ambitious."¹ It will be remembered that it was partly due to his influence when Lord Keeper, and just after his advancement to the See of Lincoln, that Laud was appointed Bishop of St David's, Carey, Bishop of Exeter, and Davenant, Bishop of Salisbury, all being consecrated on the same day, and King James was much under his influence and that of good Bishop Andrewes. And it was under his influence that a Committee of the Lords was appointed to settle peace in the Church (March 21, 1641), the scheme to be submitted, when ready, to Parliament. Williams, who had at this time been restored to his Deanery,² was chairman of both Committees, and indeed all through the Davenant period of the Church History was a very shrewd and prominent figure, both in Church and State, and undoubtedly a most able man. He entertained the Committee, as was his wont, with such bountiful cheer as well became a Bishop. "But this," adds Fuller sadly, "we may behold as the *last course* of all public episcopal treatments, where guests may even now put up their knives, seeing soon after the *Voider* was called for, which took away all Bishop's lands and most of English hospitality." His Committee, which met in the "Jerusalem Chamber in the Dean of Westminster's house," comprised such representative men as Archbishop Ussher, Bishop Morton, Bishop Hall, Drs Ward, Fealty, Twisse, Brownrigg, Holdsworth, Hachet, Saunderson—"names all of interest from their connection with Fuller," as his biographer says. The testimony, therefore, of this "most

¹ Russell's *Memorials of Fuller*, p. 25.

² "Williams was now parson, prebend, dignitary, dean, and bishop, and all five in one" (Heylin). It was on the occasion of his return hither that his old antagonist, Heylin, preached. After his manner he was falling foul of one of the Puritan party when Dean Williams, who sat in the pew immediately beneath him, striking the pulpit with his staff, said, "No more on that point, no more on that point, Peter." To whom Heylin: "I have a little more to say, my lord, and then I have done," and continued in the same strain. The Dean afterwards sent for the sermon.

munificent, learned and hospitable Williams," is one by no means to be despised, and the "good word" of such an authority is worthy of the highest respect and deference.

The paternal kindness of Bishop Davenant was again evinced in his nephew Fuller's behalf, whom, in 1634, he collated to the rectory of Broad-Windsor, near Beaminster, in the county of Dorset. The parish of Broad-Windsor, consisting for the most part of a rich vale of meadows and orchards, watered by small brooks and bounded by bold hills (of which Leweston and Pillesdon are well known), is from five to six miles in length, and from two to three in breadth. The village is nearly at the south-east extremity. The living, however, was sequestered in the time of the Commonwealth, and another minister, Penney, a local man, thrust in in his place. Here Fuller's eldest son was born, and baptised in the name of John, at Modurun Church, after his great uncle, and he lived to edit that part of the *Worthies* which was published after the death of the author. At the Restoration Fuller recovered his Prebendary at Salisbury, but did not dispossess Penney, whom he heard preach and approved of his sermon, and, finding him doing good work, and a moderate man, left him in peace.

The work of Davenant's we are considering in this chapter is called *The Determinations*, or Resolutions of Certain Theological Questions, publicly discussed in the University of Cambridge by the Right Rev. John Davenant, D.D., Bishop of Salisbury, formerly Lady Margaret's Professor, first published A.D. 1634. On the title page there is an apt quotation from one of the ante-Nicene Fathers—Davenant's great storehouse for his patristic references. *The real is to be separated from the apparent truth by comprehensive insight and masterly reasoning.* Clemens Alexandrinus, *Stromata*, lib. 7. Davenant also appended a preface to his work, which reached a second edition, to this effect: "Professors of Theology, at the close of Dis-

putations, are accustomed to pass their sentence on the questions agitated before them. In the discharge of this office at Cambridge, I had to treat with more or less copiousness many theses on various occasions. I was usually compelled to do this in rather an off-handed manner: so that any one will look in vain for either exactness of method, or accuracy of diction, in these my treatises. In each of them I have deemed it enough to have laid the foundation for a correct judgment, and to have shewn the weakness of the principal reasons of the adversary. I neither value them so much as to desire to impose them on the public, nor so little as to shame my friends who urged me to do so. If this imperfect work should serve, in a small degree, to form the judgment of the student, I am more than satisfied. For this purpose they were all originally drawn up, and for this they are now designed. This, good reader, is my only preface. In Christ Jesus I bid you farewell, and beg you to commend me in prayer to the same Lord."

In Mr Allport's translation (1846) from the corrected and enlarged edition of 1639, there is a quotation from the *Tavistock Lecture* "as specially applicable to the subsequent discussion, and equally suited to shew the object of the republication of them in their present form."

"We must ever maintain and hope fully to prove that the direct tendency of the Roman Catholic system is to render void the law¹ of God—is to substitute other sacrifices and intercessions in the room of that one propitiation, and that one Mediator between God and man, the Lord Jesus Christ—is to produce a narrow and scanty system of morals in the place of that love to God and that love to our neighbour which true Christianity requires. In this cor-

¹ What Bishop Davenant's opinion was on this subject he has thus expressed—"Viderit itaque Romana ecclesia, quæ fundamenta fidei Christianæ sua potissimum opera gloriatur fuisse hactenus conservata, an in fundamentalibus Decalogi non erraverit crasse et damnabiliter: ut de erroribus aliis nihil dicam."—*Ad fraternam Communionem*, p. 98.

rupt system, in this defective faith and practice, Roman Catholics are kept, by the practically withholding from them the Word of God, and by the vain and sophistical reasonings with which the obvious declarations of that word are explained away. If once the Roman Catholic can be roused to think—to enquire into the character of his own system—into the authority on which that system is founded—into the plain and obvious meaning of the sacred Scriptures—we are fully persuaded that a most important point is gained, and a great advance made towards his moral, social and religious improvement. And we would therefore earnestly endeavour, by every legitimate means, to excite his attention, and to assist him in the fair and full examination of these topics on which we, as Protestants, cannot but apprehend that he is grievously mistaken.”—(*Tavistock Lecture*, lect. i. p. 11, by Rev. Thomas Webster. London, 1836.)

There were originally in the first edition (1634) forty-nine Questions, which are discussed. But in the second (1639) a fiftieth Question is appended, under this title: “The Roman Church has unjustly taken away the cup from the Laity,” and this note has been added: “This important question, a *précis* of which we will give our readers, is added to the second edition of the Determinations of Bishop Davenant, published at Cambridge in 1639, and to the index of the questions, to which the following note is appended:—*Postremam hanc Determinationem, quæ serius in Typographi manus venit quam ut una cum cæteris in lucem antea exiret, huic saltem editioni adjiciendam curavit, ne hâc parte literati ulterius fraudarentur.*”¹

We will now present our readers with a few extracts

¹ “This last Determination, which came too late into the printer’s hands to permit its seeing the light together with the rest (forty-nine), he has taken care, however, to add to this edition, to prevent the learned being further defrauded of this part.”

from these discussions as illustrations of the way in which Davenant handles his subject. And, first, let us look at Question V., where our Bishop puts forth this thesis—"An infallible determination of faith is not annexed to the Papal chair." We have been told in our day, by the late Roman or Vatican Council, that the Pope is infallible when he speaks from his chair (*ex cathedrâ*) on faith or morals. Of course, grant this Papal Infallibility, *cadit quæstio*, the matter is settled, and all other Roman doctrines must be accepted. This is then *the* one point of discussion, and this dogma is the *pivot* doctrine of the whole Romish system, on this the whole Papal edifice is built. Let us hear what Davenant says :—"The Papists think that in the Christian Church there must always exist some *external*¹ judge, who is able to pronounce infallibly concerning all controversies of faith, and to whom all Christians may submit their belief without doubt or examination. But they expressly exclude God, or the Holy Spirit, speaking in the Scriptures, from this judicial authority; and they maintain that it belongs to some human being, who is efficient by his presence among the faithful themselves in all ages, who sits in some visible (*external*, literally) and known tribunal; and lastly, who can *viva voce* clearly and publicly define and determine the matters in dispute. After laying down these positions, they are audacious enough to assert² that their Roman Pontiff, let him be who he may, is this very judge, to whom this right of determination and this privilege of infallibility is annexed."

Davenant then commences his proof that this Roman Pontiff is not infallible.

But let us now concern ourselves with the Roman Pontiff, to whom we shall show that this privilege of infallible judgment does not belong.

"For, first, he could not obtain this universal judicial authority over the whole Church, and that too an alto-

¹ *i.e.* some judge known by external mark. ² *Greg. Mag. de Valent.*, lib. 7.

gether infallible judgment, except by the gift of God ; but God has neither subjected all Christians to this Roman tribunal, nor annexed this privilege of infallibility to the Roman Pontiffs. For if God had desired that the Church should have recourse to the Oracle of Rome in doubtful controversies of the faith, He would undoubtedly have declared in the Holy Scriptures that such a judge had been appointed by Him ; He would have pointed out the Bishop of Rome by name to us ; and lastly, would have ordered us to acquiesce in his decision, as in a voice from heaven. For it is wholly incredible that God should have wished the faith of the whole Church to be dependent on the responses of the Roman Pontiff, and yet not have given Christians any notice about these Pontiffs, their successors, or their See, even so much as by a single word."

Again—" Besides, if on account of the privilege annexed by Divine power to the Roman Chair, the Bishops of that See were, so to speak, the perpetual dictators of the Universal Church, what reason can our adversaries assign why God Himself should not now, as well as of old, designate this new apostle and supreme judge of the faith by His own immediate and extraordinary call." Is it right that a modern and equivocal race of clergy, of their own free-will and inconsiderate presumption, should assign to the whole world a supreme and infallible judge, about whose decisions it is a sin even to hesitate ? If they mean that their Pontiff is endowed with an extraordinary—that is, an *apostolical*—privilege of freedom from error, and that too by the appointment of God, they ought to permit God Himself to choose this judge after an extraordinary manner, and to set him over the Church ; for *the Spirit bloweth where it listeth itself*, and not where the Cardinals of the Roman Church please.

Davenant then continues his argument. " It appears also from the following argument that the Roman Pontiff is not constituted supreme and infallible judge of the whole

Church, namely, that he has not received all things necessary for exercising this infallibility of judgment. For in order to perceive and find out truth, it is necessary that the mind should be sanctified, illuminated, humble, and studious of the Divine law, *for the natural man receiveth not the things of the Spirit of God*,¹ and *God resisteth the proud, but giveth grace to the humble*.² But it is a matter fairly confessed by all that some of the Roman Pontiffs, after obtaining possession of the Chair of St Peter, remain natural (animalos) men, blinded, impure, proud, and despisers of the Word of God: to whom one might more justly affirm a spirit of *vanity* (vertigo) and error is annexed, than of truth and infallibility."

Our Bishop then proceeds to show, in the second place, that if such a judge is necessary, that the Church, in controverted matters, may have something to rely upon, if this judge be admitted, the Church of God loses all certainty of faith. And here I ask, "First, what must be said of those remote Christians whom neither Papal decrees nor *Legates a latere* have ever reached, and to whom perhaps the very name and fame of the Roman Pontiff is entirely unknown? For³ that there are Christians who neither have, nor can have had, any intercourse with the Roman Pontiff, and who have never been acquainted with the canons established by him, is a plain matter of fact. If, then, the Roman Pontiff be the only judge who directs infallibly the whole Church in matters of faith, it is clear that nations remotely placed, and inhabiting countries but little known (incognita), can receive no advantage from this judge: and therefore that God has not sufficiently provided for their faith and salvation, a conclusion which is inconsistent with the Providence of God." It must be confessed that these words were written long before the days when the Roman Catholic bishops can be conveyed from all parts of the

¹ 1 Cor. ii. 14.

² James v. 6.

³ Gerson, part i., *Serm. in die Ascension.*

world to Rome to attend a pseudo-Œcumenical Council in a very short time, and the Pontiff can flash his Papal benediction by telegraph, but this has only been of late years.

But leaving the remote parts of the globe, and to come to the limits of Europe itself, the Church has often been without its infallible judge (if the Pope be that), or at least has not known who he was, or where he was to be found.

"For Onuphrius," our Bishop observes, "enumerates thirty schisms to be found in this very Roman Church, of whom one lasted fifty years. But during the whole of this interval, the Roman Church was double: each Pontiff had his own Cardinals and supporters, set himself up as successor of St Peter, and at length the whole Church was plunged into so great uncertainty, that it was utterly unable to determine which of the two was the possessor of the Chair of St Peter.¹ Where then was that visible judge? where that sure tribunal? where that infallible settler of controversies? If God had appointed the certain determination of the faith to rest upon the Roman Pontiff, he would have taken care, above all things, that the Church should not be thus uncertain about this very Roman Pontiff. But even granting the Pope to obtain his Chair without a rival, yet there will be no certainty in our faith, if it depend on his infallibility. For the privilege of freedom from error, according to the doctrine of the Romanists, is only his, inasmuch as he is the *legitimate* successor of St Peter. Therefore the assertion that this or that Pope cannot err, pre-supposes the truth of this proposition. *This Pope is the legitimate successor of St Peter.*² But how slippery and frail a foundation is this! How unfit to form the foundation of the certainty of the Catholic faith! For, first, this very opinion, that the Roman Pontiffs are the successors of St Peter, is founded on the faith of *history*, and not on that of the *Scriptures*. Wherefore

¹ Gerson, part i., *De signis ruine Eccles.*

² If St Peter's primacy over the Apostolic Church is granted.

I assent to this succession, but by *the ordinary mode of acquiring belief in any matter of human knowledge* (*credulitate humana et acquisita*, literally, by a *human and acquired credence*) not with a *Catholic and theological faith*. Moreover, granting it even certain, as an article of Catholic Faith, that the Popes are the successors of St Peter in the See of Rome, yet it cannot be believed, even as a matter of *historical* faith, that this gift of infallible judgment, which was personal to St Peter, is transmitted to his successors: for historians, who have mentioned many heretical Popes, appeal against such a decision. Lastly, let us assume that this privilege is annexed to the true and legitimate successors of St Peter; yet since to the true succession a canonical election is required, which is free from every kind of compact, simony and other acts, too familiar to the Court of Rome, who can guarantee, who can believe, that any Pontiff is elected without something to vitiate this succession (*absque vitio*)." But if he is raised to that See simoniacally, he receives not the spirit of Christ, but the *spirit of falsehood*.¹ What a wretched mockery of certainty, therefore, must the faith of Christians have, which rests upon the good faith and integrity of the Cardinals! For if they are guilty of any corruption in electing a Pope, they set over the Christian world, not an infallible judge of the faith, nor a true successor of St Peter, but a robber, and a successor of Simon Magus. Away, then, with so uncertain a source for the certainty of others."

"I will now add in the third and last place, that this very Roman Pontiff, whom they wish us to acknowledge as an infallible judge, was not acknowledged as such by the Papists themselves in old times, nor indeed is he yet² acknowledged by them. For the opinion of those who

¹ Gratian, caus. i. quæst. 1.

² It must be remembered that these words were written more than 250 years ago.

taught that a Council is superior to the Pope has always obtained great reputation among the Romanists themselves; and the whole of this class have destroyed the primacy of the Pope and his fictitious privilege of infallibility. Wherefore they thought that an appeal would lie from the Pope to a Council in matters of faith: ¹ they expressly declared that the decisions of Popes did not oblige to believe: and lastly, they demonstrated that the Pope was a member of the Church, who might err, and might be corrected, or even deposed by a Council. It is therefore most worthy of observation that this *very citadel* of the Roman faith was not first stormed and levelled with the ground by Luther and Calvin, but long ago by most learned Romanists; and also by two most celebrated Councils, those of Constance and Basle. How miserable then is it, in modern Papists, to endeavour to extort the certainty of their faith, in controverted matters, from one who, their predecessors have not hesitated to affirm, may be a member liable to mistake, erroneous and even an heretic, in the very Chair itself. Let us add, that the whole of the schoolmen in theology (*quod tota schola theologorum docet*) teach, ² that the Church does not manifest the same faith in the successors of the Apostles, which she is wont to do in the Prophets and Apostles themselves."

After comparing the authority of the Popes ³ and that of the Apostles, Davenant goes on to say, "therefore the Papal decrees are received by the old Romanists themselves under this limitation—*if they are not against God, if they are not opposed to the Gospel.*" ⁴ And again, "Gregory de Valentia ⁵ teaches that the Pope as a private person may err in clear matters, and wish to

¹ Gerson, "Serm. eorum Conc. Const. et in Tract *An liceat a Papa appellare.*"

² Aquin., quæst. disp. *De fide*, art. 10.

³ Gerson, part 3, *De Vit spirit.*, sect. 2, coroll. 7.

⁴ Mirand Theor. 16.

⁵ Anal., lib. 8, cap. 3.

obtrude his error on the Church ; but in controverted matters, as a public person, that he cannot determine against the Faith. How absurd and puerile is such a sentiment ! For what the Pope thinks as a private person, he will bring forward when he enters on the public seat of judgment, and he who is liable to error, in matters which are manifest and clearer than the sun, would be far more likely to be blind in obscure things which have never before been elucidated. But an intimation which we find in the same Gregory will prevent us submitting our faith to this judge : for he (Gregory) informs us that the Pope, if he falls into secret heresy, loses his Pontifical authority. If he falls from his Papal authority, and is deposed in the sight of God, he loses the Chair (of authority), if he had any such before, and also the infallible assistance of the Holy Spirit. Since, therefore, the faithful, who are unable to search the hearts of others, do not know for certain whether the Pope cherishes some secret heresy within him or not, it follows of necessity that they cannot know whether he has the infallible authority of determining in matters of faith."

"Nor has Bellarmine¹ defended this privilege very strenuously, for he grants to us that the Pope, as Pope, even with his assembly and counsellors, may err in questions of fact ; and secondly, as a private Doctor, he may err in questions of faith. Lastly, he confesses that many Romanists maintain² that the Roman Pontiff, making a determination with any particular Council, may err ; nor does he himself dare to affirm that this proposition ought to be considered contradictory to the Catholic Faith. What then ! shall I acknowledge him to be an infallible judge whom the Catholic faith does not acknowledge to be free from the danger of error, not only when alone, but even when supported by a particular Council ? But at last, they come down to this proposition, that the Pope sup-

¹ *De Pontif. Rom.*, lib. ii. cap. 2.

² *De Concil.*, lib. ii. cap. 5.

ported by a general Council cannot err in defining doctrines of faith. The Pope, then, will be an infallible judge, at least if the assistance of a General Council be afforded him."

Bishop Davenant then goes into the arguments for and against General Councils which he says are "not absolutely necessary," because "for the first three hundred years the Church was without General Councils,"¹ and yet it remained safe against heresies, persecutions, schisms, defects, and all the machinations of devils and men." But it must be borne in mind since the late Vatican Council decreed the personal infallibility of the Pope when he speaks from his chair (*ex cathedrâ*) on faith and morals, it is no longer a question of Pope or Pope and Council—either particular or general, *i.e.* œcumenical, for that matter is settled once for all as far as the Roman Church is concerned. The final infallible arbiter in faith and morals is the Pope for the time being, whoever he may be, who fills St Peter's chair, which by-the-by (if there be such an authority) should rather have been set up at Antioch, where St Peter certainly was, than Rome, about which no such certitude exists.

"If then," Davenant concludes this question, "the Pope does not enjoy his infallible judgment without the assistance of an œcumenical council, the infallible determination of the faith neither was for many ages, nor is now, residing in the Papal Chair—nay, the Church may last to the very end of the world without such a judge."

Our author pursues the same subject again in his 28th Question, in which this thesis is maintained: "The jurisdiction of the Pope is not universal." During the discussion he meets the claims of the Roman Pontiff to decide matters of faith, and that this decision is binding on all Christians, as that true and infallible oracle of the Holy Spirit, with the following arguments:—

"The privileges which are the right of the supreme Lord alone, those a servant cannot usurp without the guilt

¹ Bellarmine, *De Concil.*, lib. i. cap. 10.

of treason, and to wish that his voice should be heard by all the sheep of Christ, without any exception; to wish that his command should be obeyed by all Christians, without any refusal,—pertains alone to the dignity of Him who heretofore said, *My sheep hear My voice* (John x. 29). *Be ye not called Master, because one is your Master, even Christ. The Catholic Church does not admit the doctrine of decrees of any others concerning faith, merely on the ground of their assertion, but because they have been able to prove by Canonical Authors that Christ so meant.*¹

“Moreover, he who prescribes the faith to the Catholic Church, and that by the ordination of Christ, ought to be himself altogether precluded from a possibility of erring. For should he err (and this may happen to a Pope), he would endeavour to obtrude his heresy upon others: and since it is not allowable for subjects to judge of the sentence of the Universal Judge, Christians must fall into the depths of the errors with their blind leader. Gregory the Great employs this very argument against John (the Faster) of Constantinople, *If one bishop be called Universal, this one falling, the Church will fall with him.*”²

“Add to this, that Christ was not accustomed to delegate to His ministers, by special command, a jurisdiction, the power of administering which he knew that they would never exercise. And here, let the Jesuits answer me, who of the Pontiffs could ever determine and define all controversies of faith, arising everywhere in the world, by his judicial authority?” for the Church is widely extended, and many Christians may not have even heard of the name of Rome.

“Lastly, if Christ had seen fit to bind the faith of Christians by the definitions and decrees of Popes, who can doubt but either Christ himself, or Paul, or surely Peter, or at all events some one of the Apostles, would have advertised the Church, by one word at least, concerning this

¹ Augustine, epistle 19.

² *Epist.*, lib. vi. epist. 24.

judge in ordinary to the whole Church. . . . But most unluckily for Rome, there is not a word about the Bishop of Rome having the government of the whole Church, nor of his prescribing the rule of faith. If Christ had intended *this* Pontiff to be acknowledged for such an one, surely He would have announced him as such to His Church."

This subject is still further pursued in Question *xlvi*, in which Davenant discusses the thesis: "Neither Peter nor the Pope of Rome was constituted by Christ supreme head of the whole Church." Speaking of "the keys," Davenant observes—

"But we deny that a supremacy¹ of power is conveyed in these words: we deny, moreover, that they were directed to Peter alone, for at that time Peter, *as an individual, represented* the Church, so that the keys are promised to the other apostles, just as they had been to Peter. In short, if the keys had been promised to Peter alone, they would have been delivered to him alone. But that they were delivered equally to all is plain from *Matt. xviii. 18, Whatsoever ye shall bind on earth shall be bound in heaven.* And still more clearly in *John xx. 22-3, Receive ye the Holy Ghost, whose soever sins ye remit they are remitted.* The keys, therefore, are not given to Peter, either alone or principally, but to all the apostles equally and in common." And again, "What have the keys of Peter to do with a supremacy at all? What have the keys given to all the apostles to do with establishing the supremacy of the Bishop of Rome *alone*?"

¹ If St Peter's primacy over the Apostolic College cannot be maintained, still less can the Pope's supremacy. But shall we say to the "new Vatican doctrine which gives to the Pope absolute authority (*totam plenitudinem potestatis*) over the whole Church, priests and bishops, as over every individual layman—an authority which is to be at once truly episcopal and specifically papal—which is to comprehend in itself everything affecting only faith, morality, the duties of life, discipline—which can immediately seize, punish, command and prohibit everyone, the monarch as well as the day-labourer"? —Dollinger's letter to the Archbishop of Munich on the Infallibility of the Pope, p. 11.

In the remainder of this Question Davenant proves that Peter was not head over the rest of the apostles *de jure*, nor did they yield any subjection to him as a sovereign over them *de facto*. As to the fact of Peter ever having been at Rome, there is the greatest uncertainty about it, and as to building any theory, it is simply absurd. For that (and this is the main point in the dispute) the plenitude of Peter's power should descend to the Bishops of that city in which he should die, and that on them, alone, it was firmly *bolted for perpetuity as if with a ship-nail,*" so far from being built upon the faith of historians "that they are but vain conjectures, and weak reasonings of the advocates for the papacy. Owing to this, Bellarmine himself begins to waver, and at last confesses that this supremacy of the Roman Pontiff is *not* founded on Divine right.¹ *It must be observed* (says he) *that although "PERHAPS" it is not by Divine right, that the Roman Pontiff, as Roman Pontiff, succeeds Peter, yet that it appertains to the Catholic faith* (to believe as much). If it is "*perhaps*" not of Divine right, "*perhaps*" also it has no necessary connection with the Catholic faith; more, it is "*perhaps*" even opposed to the Catholic faith. For (let Bellarmine contradict it as much as he pleases) it is no more deducible from the Scriptures that the Bishop of Rome, or anyone else, is the rightful successor to Peter in the Presidency of the whole Church, by Divine right, than he is to Paul, John, James, or any one of the apostles, who (as we have before shewn) equally with Peter, obtained a universal power over the Church."

It comes, then, to this, that the members of the Latin obedience have only a "*perhaps*" to build their colossal system, which hinges on the Roman supremacy, upon. Their great champion Bellarmine avows that "*perhaps*" there may be Divine right, but there is no certitude. Imagine staking one's salvation on a "*perhaps.*" Yet

¹ *De Pontif. Rom.*, lib. ii. cap. 12.

this is the crucial point of the whole system, it is its central hinge and it breaks down. This connecting link, which should have been the firmest, strongest, tightest, the most consistent and persistent, and which should have soldered and welded together the chain of evidence with adamantine links and indissoluble bonds, grappling the whole argument together with hooks of steel, and about which there should not have been a shadow, or scintillation, of a doubt, is found to be the weakest and most brittle, and snaps asunder at the first breath of a touch. In fact, instead of being a chain of conclusive reasoning it turns out to be a rope of sand—an *εἶδωλον* and *κενή σκία* (an empty shadow), and the whole Roman edifice crumbles into dust. The "missing link" is gone and can nowhere be found, so that the chain breaks in two in our hands—for in reasoning a single flaw destroys the whole chain of argument. Well may Davenant conclude this Question in the following words:—"Let us run through every age of the Church, and I think there will be found none in which there does not exist some public testimony of the Church against this despised and deservedly opposed Roman supremacy. More than this, in the Council of Constance, and that of Basle, the same doctrine was settled by the unanimous votes of the Roman Church itself, wherein it was taught, that a Pope may err both in faith and morals: and it was decreed in both that he ought to yield submission to a General Council, and all these were censured as heretics who should resist this decree.¹

"All Papists, therefore, who vehemently hold and obstinately maintain that their Pontiff is not to be subject to the Universal Church, but ought to preside over it as the Commander-in-Chief, are the real heretics."

Having exposed the sophistry of the Roman Supremacy—that "Question of Questions," as Mumford, S.J., calls it—details may be regarded of little account, but it may

¹ See L'Enfant's *Council of Constance*, vol. ii. p. 336.

not prove unacceptable to our readers to hear what our Bishop has to say about that unaccountable piece of Church discipline, and a most serious detriment and deprivation, the withholding the cup from the laity. It is Davenant's fiftieth Determination, and is only found in the last (1639) edition. The title of it is "The Roman Church has unjustly taken away the Cup from the Laity," and is most comprehensive and exhaustive, full of trenchant logic. In it he says—"The argument, derived from the (original) Institution, and the act of the Institutor Himself has so perplexed Romanists, that they have been compelled to allow¹ that the receiving of both kinds is necessary, as far as regards the sacrament itself, being instituted under both kinds; but their quibble is, that it is not necessary, as far as the receivers generally are concerned: but that it is sufficient if it be taken entire by some, namely, by the Priests. But this distinction of Bellarmine destroys itself. For sacraments are not instituted for their own sakes, seeing that they are corporeal things, and, as regards themselves, incapable of sense, and consequently of spiritual grace; but with a view to men endowed with reason, and made partakers of grace through the Sacraments. Seeing, therefore, that the sacraments were instituted for the sake of the receivers, as this is an ingredient essential to the character of a sacrament, it possesses this, its essentiality, for the advantage of all those who have a right to participate in the sacraments. The very words, moreover, of Christ, *Drink ye all of this*, were themselves used in reference to the receivers, and not the sacrament itself, and they take in all those for whom the blood of Christ was to be shed. To presume, then, as Bellarmine does, to exclude any who are right partakers from a reception of the blessed cup, is equivalent to maintaining that they are to be excepted also from the benefit of the blood shed. In short, since the Romanists confess that some, and that by virtue of the institution are bound

¹ Bellarm., *De Euch.*, lib. iv. cap. 27.

to partake in both kinds, it rests with themselves to show us the existence of a twofold institution of the Lord's Supper: one which necessarily obliges the Priests to receive in both kinds: another which prescribes, or at least permits, Priests to exclude the people of God generally from a participation of the cup. But hitherto there is only one, and an uniform institution of the most holy Eucharist known to the Church: and this, if it has an obligatory power, is either binding on all equally, or none. They, therefore, who in spite of the institution of Christ exclude some (namely, all the laity) from the communion of the cup, are equally at liberty to make the same exceptions as to *their* partaking of the Communion of the Body: and at length the matter will come to this—that is, the Priests alone, who are under obligations to be partakers of the Lord's Supper, by virtue of the institution: all the rest to be admitted by favour, and at the pleasure of ecclesiastics. The pretence usually made in reference to this point *that the Apostles were Priests, and received both kinds, because they were Priests, and not as a portion of the faithful*, is frivolous and contrary to the Roman Church. It is a frivolous and vain notion, because the cup was administered to them on the same grounds, and with the same view as the Bread was in the first instance; now the Bread was given, not because they were Priests, but because they were believers: as the Papists do indeed acknowledge, seeing that they allow the Bread, not only to some of the laity, but even to females, who are altogether excluded from assuming the sacerdotal rank. But Bellarmine is, in this case, upholding a notion at variance with the institution of the Roman Church, and contrary to received custom. For if the cup is due to Priests because they are Priests, why is it denied to the clergy just as much as the laity when they are not personally officiating?¹ The Apostles, in this instance of the first supper, were not officially engaged, but were recipients

¹ Concil. Trid. Sep. xxi. (which is fifth under Pius IV.), can. 2.

merely : Christ, however, made it evident that the Eucharist was to be communicated to them under both kinds."

Meeting the argument of the Romans that in the Corinthian Church the sacrament was in two kinds, but in that of Jerusalem—St. James' Church—only in one kind; our Bishop says: "I answer that there is no evidence to this effect, nor do the adherents of Rome themselves, who point us to the liturgy of James,¹ think so; for in that there is a clear mention of the *cup* as well as the *bread* being exhibited to the people. But the Romanists are not agreed amongst themselves whether those words should be considered to refer to sacramental or to common bread. Lyra² makes the words accommodate both. If we were to grant (which, however, is not so very likely) that that passage should be understood to relate to the sacred supper, yet we have an answer ready. As in reference to an ordinary meal, Scripture, by a figure of speech,³ under one term *bread* (Gen. xliii. 45), includes all that is necessary for the perfect refreshment of the body; so in this celestial banquet (it includes) all that is necessary to a perfect sacramental refreshment. If they admit in the foregoing words this figurative mode of expression is made use of, the whole strength of the argument is gone."

Again he observes, "The Papists are accustomed to summon to their aid, as a support of their forlorn cause, certain other customs of the ancient church; which it is not

¹ *Biblioth. Patr.*, tom. i. p. 19. (See Faber's *Difficulties of Romanism*, p. 522.)

² Lyra, a learned Jew, who embraced Christianity, flourished about 1300, wrote many learned comments on the Bible, in which he reprehended many of the reigning abuses of the times. It is said that Martin Luther borrowed from his works much of that light which ushered in the Reformation. Hence that distich—

"Si Lyra non lyrasset,
Lutherus non saltanet."

"If Lyra had not harped on profanation,
Luther had never planned the Reformation."

³ Synecdoche, when a part is put for the whole.

however, necessary to refute *seriatim*. It is enough for us that in the solemn and ordinary partaking of the Eucharist, so far were the ancient fathers from sanctioning the peoples being deprived of the blessed cup by any law which the Tridentine Fathers have done, that they considered that a dividing of this one and the same mystery could not take place without a person's incurring the charge of having committed a great crime."

Bishop Davenant brings another grave charge against this discipline, and discusses the perfect constitution of the sacrament, "and here a twofold perfection comes under our consideration; one is that which we call *essential* or *integral*; the other we shall call *signification* or *representation*. Neither of these is it allowable, by enacting any set law, to violate; as regards the former, all sound theologians are agreed that the form was prescribed by Christ, that the matter made use of by Him, in the holy Eucharist, is altogether essential to the complete perfection of sacrament." If there be not the right *form* and the right *matter* there cannot be a valid sacrament; and as there were two kinds conjointly, not one only, the two must be made use of, as a *unit*. Besides which, the two kinds exhibit to the faithful the things so signified, and the sacrament was instituted for spiritual refreshment—bread and wine being the outward visible signs, ordained by Christ, which the Lord hath commanded to be received. The wine poured out represents the blood-shedding, and commemorates the death of Christ.

Davenant passes on to the argument that there can be no right to deprive the laity of their just inheritance, as they, equally with all believers, have a right to the privileges of this sacrament. Nor have the clergy, who are *ministers* not *lords over God's heritage*, any more right to keep back part of the sacrament than they have to preach a mutilated gospel, and not declare the whole truth of Christ's message.

These are the more popular arguments which Davenant

discusses, but there are others of a more recondite character, which he passes under review by the equality of the laity with the clergy, and the danger to those who have thought otherwise, if the cup were restored, and that people might be led to think more of in the *taking* than the consecration of the Eucharist. But we are convinced that the real reason is the unchangeableness of the Roman system—this is the last and greatest argument—“*For*” (as Gerson remarks very truly) “*it would follow that the Roman Church has hitherto been mistaken in her decisions concerning this sacrament, and that general Councils have erred in faith and good manners.*”

“I answer,” says Davenant, “the consequence Gerson feared would indeed follow, and however true as it is, the Roman Church ought not to err for ever in not confessing that she has erred. . . . In short, every Church ought to be more solicitous about divine truth than for maintaining its own authority. Let Augustine¹ advise us. *If the Church have erred in any provincial Council it ought to be amended by that of a fuller assembly; if any error have been committed in a full and general Council, the error of the former must be amended by the authority of the latter.*

We may then come to the conclusion that the Church of Rome had not, even from the beginning, any just reason for taking away the cup from the laity; nor does there exist any good reason now, why she should not, in justice, restore what has been unjustly withheld.”

The different reasons alleged by the Tridentines for withholding the cup to the laity are then considered *seriatim*, and fully replied to at some length.

Their first great reason is the danger of spilling the wine—a hazard probable where there are a great number of communicants. To which our Bishop replies that, granting that great respect is due to the visible signs and due reverence, yet he says, “When we are inquiring about the

¹ Lib. ii., *De Bapt. contra Donat.*, cap. 3.

reverence which ought to be manifested in the use of the sacred Eucharist, it is absurd to urge the disuse and withdrawal of the cup, under that pretext, from the whole believing people of Christ. Reverence towards the sacrament consists of partaking of it in a religious manner agreeably to the intention of Him who instituted it: not in a necessity of abstaining according to the tyrannical regulation of the Romish Church." Besides, in the early ages, of Tertullian, and after Constantine's conversion, the spacious temples were filled with worshippers, and it is absurd to suppose that sufficient care could not be taken.

Another objection made is that communion under two kinds is less profitable when the fervour and devotion of Christians has become weak. As if depriving people of religious privileges would make them more religious. So did not the Primitive Church act. "For though she might, when the fervour of the people began to grow cold, omit assembling the laity, or admitting them to daily communion, as used to be the custom of the Primitive Church; yet she never forced the people by any set law and the terror of punishment to relinquish frequent communion."

The next objection may interest the "total abstainers" or members of the Blue Ribbon Army. "*Many persons have a dislike to wine, and are abstinent either by nature or education. What, therefore, are such persons to do? Must they abstain from the communion altogether?*" "I answer," says Davenant, "never was there a more unjust or foolish scheme thought of. It is unjust that, merely for the sake of one man in a thousand, who is abstemious, the whole multitude of believers must be deprived of a participation in the cup bestowed by Christ. It is foolish to reason thus. There are some few abstemious persons to whom it is difficult to determine how the Eucharist is to be administered, therefore the Council of Trent did rightly in making a law not to allow the cup to any of the laity¹ at all. Innocent

¹ Bellarmine, *De Euchar.*, lib. iv. cap. 24.

VIII. acted somewhat more justly, when, on account of deficiency of wine among the Norwegians, he did not forthwith interdict the use of the cup to all Europe, but allowed the Norwegians to communicate without wine." The Primitive Church did not do so. Any abstainer could risk enough for the purposes of the sacrament.

Another objection of Bellarmine regards the popular scarcity of wine, and he instances the Japanese. "To which we reply," says Davenant, "that the point in question is not whether the Japanese, or any other nations who find it impossible to procure wine for the service of the Eucharist, do right in celebrating it in one kind only; but whether the Roman Church was acting justly, when, under an anathema, she deprives the Italians, French, Germans, English, and of course all the Christian world, of a participation of the cup, because of the scarcity of wine in Japan."

In the Tanner Manuscripts at the Bodleian, we find two letters of Bishop Davenant, written from Salisbury in 1634. The first about some books he had received, and complaints as to his chaplain's sermon, and the second relates the death of his sister, with whom he resided at the Palace, Mrs Townson. The first was written in January, and the second in December.

Salutē in Christo.

I received from London since I last wrote vnto you, twentje bookes, wch I suppose came from Mr Daniel; they were directed vnto mee, but no letter came wth them. When y^e other shall bee delivered to Mr Ireland, I have already given him direction how to bestow them. For those wch are to bee sent back to Cambridg by Mr Daniel, I desire they may bee bestowed as you think fitt. I would have one handsomly bound vp given to Queen's Colledg Librarie; for y^e rest you may give them Vnbound. Let my nephew Fuller pay for y^e binding. In y^e Determination wch I sent after y^e rest, there is a passage, wherin I coniecture a certain miracle quoted out of Hales to bee foisted in to his woorkes by some who desired to countenance y^e devise of Concomitancy; but I have since viewed y^e place in a verie ancient

edition wch Dr Barnston has, & I finde y^e miracle there related, iust as it is in y^e new editions. Yf therefore you shall reserv that Determination for another impression, I would have those few lines wherin my coniecture is expressed dashed out; vnles you cann in y^e mean time learn that in some more ancient written Copie there is no such miracle mentioned. I pray when you write to mee again let mee know y^e particular, wch you conceived to bee offensive in my Chaplains sermon, that I may conferr with him about it, at his return. Thus wth my love remembred to your selfe, I comitt you and yours to y^e protection of y^e Almightye, and rest ever

Your verie loving freind

Jan. 27, 1634.

JO. SARŪ.

[*Endorsed* :—] To his woorthie freind Dr Ward Master of Sidney Colledg in Cambridg give this.

Let this letter bee sent to the Carrier of Cambridg wth speed.

Salutē in Christo.

I pswade my selfe you have heard ere this, of y^e death of my dear Sister; wch as it has been a iust cause vnto mee of much sorrow; so has it interrupted those businesses wch I had begunn to take in hand. Notw[ith]standing to satisfie your desire, I have finished & now sent vnto you another Determination, in stead of Gratia iustificans non amittitur. I have also sett vpon y^e back of it, a short epistle to y^e Reader, wch I hould to bee preface enough to a woork of small importance. I am afraid I have extended y^e Determination vnto a greater length then is fitting: yf you think fitt, I give you full power to prune away what is supfluous. When my Book is printed, I must desire you to bestow some copies there in my name, as formerly you have donne wth y^e two other: and to procure mee a competent number to bee sent vp to M^r Irelands, yt I may bestow them vpon my freinds here, & elsewhere. My hand and mine eyes are so badd, as I much doubt You will bee troubled in reading y^e Determination: but I had much adoe to gett it finished thus soon, & no possibility of getting it fairlie transcribed. For divers of y^e Quotations I took them out of mine own Notebooks, and wanted time to search all y^e pticular authors; what errors in that kinde or any other, you meet wthall, I pray refer me, before y^e Printer goe in hand wth it. And thus wishing Health and Happines to you & all yours, I rest alwaies

Your verie loving freind

Salisbury

JO. SARŪ.

Decemb. 8th, 1634.

[*Endorsed* :—] To his assured loving friend D^r Ward Master of Sidney Colledg and Divinity Professor in Cambridg these.

[*On outside sheet* :—] To his verie loving freind D^r Ward Master of Sidney Colledg and Divinity Professor in Cambridg these.

Decemb: 8, 1634.

My Lrd of Sarum his Lett^r

The Chancellorship of the Order of the Garter pertained to the See of Salisbury from 1450-1539. Henry VIII. and his successors conferred the office on laymen. In 1636 Dr Davenant petitioned the King to restore the office to his See, and the matter was debated till 1640, when the troubles in Scotland caused the Bishop to relinquish his seat (Ash-note, *Hist. of Garter*, 24). In 1671 Dr Seth Ward procured the recovery of the Chancellorship (Cassan, *Bishops of Salisbury*).

CHAPTER XVII

RITUAL CONFORMITY—LAUD'S CANONS—CONVOCATION (1638-40)

“In such matters wherein property was concerned, the Canon must say to the Common Law, ‘By your leave, sir.’”—FULLER'S *Appeal of Injured Innocence*, pt. ii. 420.

IN 1638 was published a little volume in 24mo, entitled *De Pace inter Evangelicos procuranda Sententiæ quatuor*, &c. It consists of the opinions of Bishops Morton, Davenant and Hall, and of certain eminent French divines, on the subject of Catholic unity. They were addressed to Duræus, a Scotch divine, presumably a Presbyterian, who had laboured to unite the Lutheran and Calvinistic Churches, and with this object had solicited the opinions of these Anglican Prelates on the subject. Having been previously published at Amsterdam, they were now reprinted, with a list of various authors who had written upon the same point. Of this little book the opinion of Davenant forms the principal part, and is in every respect, both in style and thought, decidedly superior to either of the others: it is written with great force of argument and in a very spirited style. It will be remembered that Davenant and Hall were great friends, and synchronized in most theological points. They were not only at the Synod of Dort together, but kept up their intimacy in after life, when they were promoted. Certainly Hall had a great opinion of Davenant's judgment, and deferred to him on more occasions than one, and about his book on “*The Old Religion*.”

In his twentieth Question, our Bishop lays down this

thesis, which he proceeds to prove. "The English Church¹ is fully competent to bend to the observance of ceremonies." In order to demonstrate this, he says, "three things must be made plain: first, that the Church is which is obligatory: secondly, that there is a propriety in these ceremonies: thirdly, that there is equity in the mode itself of requiring it.

"1. As respects the first, the authority of the Church in prescribing ceremonies needs no laboured proof. First, it is incumbent upon her, on the score of *motherly* care and authority, to provide that *all things be done decently and in order* (1 Cor. xiv. 40) in her holy assemblies: on the other hand, it concerns the *children of the Church*, not to despise the *commands of their mother*, but to obey them and yield subjection (Heb. xiii. 17).

"This power of instituting public ceremonies all the Churches have exercised, even from the times of the Apostles. Hence originated that rule of Augustine (Epist. 118): *A prudent Christian ought to act in the manner in which the Church acts to which he has united himself*. There is no doubt then concerning the power of instituting ceremonies: but of the nature and quality of the ceremonies themselves there is some doubt.

"2. We must show, then, in the second place, that the ceremonies instituted by the English Church are allowable and proper. And here, that we may not be drawn aside by the prevalence of vulgar error, it should be understood that ceremonies are not, therefore, unlawful because they are *significant*. For the holy kiss, respecting

¹ In Puzani's Memoirs, p. 246, Davenant is described by Bishop Montague as violently bent against the Church of Rome. He was strongly opposed to this Church of Rome, and was not willing to grant that she was a true Church in error, but rather regarded her as utterly apostate and essentially anti-Christian (Davenant to Bishop Hall, Hall's Works, ix. 320). In this, Davenant agreed with the learned James Usher, Primate of Ireland, and went further than his friend Bishop Hall, who being called upon by Laud to alter some places in his treatise on Episcopacy, where he has styled the Pope Anti-Christ, was willing to do so.—Perry's *Hist. of Church of England*, i. 638.

which mention is made in Rom. xvi. 16, was a sign by which they wished to signify the fraternal love and union of all Christians. And even the learned Peter Martyr is so far from rejecting ceremonies because they are *significant* that he says, *they are the more laudable if, in the way of sermons, they admonish us of some duty.* Above all, it must be observed that ceremonies *are not unlawful, because they are adopted by the Papists also.* For not only may Papists, by the light of natural reason, but sometimes the very heathen themselves, entertain correct notions concerning the decorum which is required in external rites. Lastly, it must be added, that *because some have superstitiously abused them, ceremonies are not, on that account to be reckoned unlawful.* For the Church could retain no rite long, if everything is forthwith to be rejected, which has been distorted into superstitious and impious usage by others. What then, in fact, is it which proves ceremonies to be impious and unlawful? I answer, briefly, If it can be shown that they are repugnant to the Word of God, for rightly says Cyprian,¹ *Whatever is appointed by human passion, and leads to a disturbance of the Divine economy, is spurious, mere impiety and sacrilege.* If it can be shown also that the rites which have been instituted to form part of Divine Worship are in effect thrust upon God and men, *in the place* of works of righteousness and holiness (for God is worshipped in vain by the commandments and ordinances of men, Matt. xii. 9), or, if they who impose them require us to ascribe to them a supernatural efficacy of imparting grace, of warding off spiritual evils, or taking away sins, or other things of that kind; lastly, if by their number and multitude they lead Christians away from the internal exercise of true piety, and bring them back to a Jewish servitude under ceremonies: for, although they may not be contrary to the faith, yet if they should too much increase, they become

¹ *Epist.*, lib. i. ep. 8.

very offensive, *from loading the Christian Religion (which the mercy of God would have to be free) with servile burdens*, as Augustine complained (Epist. 119). On all these accounts we justly disapprove of many of the Romish ceremonies. But if anyone should measure ours (Anglican) by these rules, he will find nothing bad or distorted in them: hence it follows they are in their own nature lawful and proper."

If these wise and sober counsels had prevailed with regard to the ritualistic controversies of our own day, how many heartburnings could have been avoided—what complications, entanglements, and misunderstandings might have been prevented from disturbing the peace of our Jerusalem!

3. "It remains that we say something concerning the mode of binding; for, if the English Church errs in this, she acts unjustly in making them obligatory." After pointing out the difference between the requirements of the Papal Church and our own, he goes on to say: "But our Church acknowledges that these her regulations on points which are indifferent and relate to ceremonials, are, both as regards the author, the matter, and the end, very different from the obligations of the Divine Law; and that where there is such a disparity in every respect, they cannot be equally binding upon the conscience. For since every law binds according to the just measure of the Lawgiver who looks for obedience to it, it is not the intention either of the Supreme Lawgiver, or of *any pious Prelate*, that the consciences of men should be laid under obligations by the constitution of the Church, respecting *things in their own nature indifferent*, just as they would by the precepts of the Decalogue, respecting things absolutely good or evil. The Church, then, thinks that consciences should be bound to the observance of ceremonies, only so far as the supreme law of love requires. Now that requires, that in these respects there should be *neither commission of offences, nor omission of duty*, so as to bring contempt on Prelates, or cause scandal to others . . ."

Our Bishop thus concludes this important Question, which throws so much side-light on one of the "burning questions of the day," and admits us into the true theory and practice of the Anglican Church as to ritual, conformity, and ceremonies more than 350 years ago:—

"The nature of the obligation, accordingly, which the Church of England imposes, as regard ceremonies, consists with her admitting at the same time that they are not, as affects their obligatory power, equal to the Divine laws—that is, they are not in every case to be performed under the penalty of incurring the guilt of sin: nay, although obedience be not rendered to what is enjoined in some cases, yet the intention of the party is satisfied if the law of charity be not transgressed in those cases where submission is paid to it.

"I will conclude in one word: The Church lays an obligation on conscience *by its own laws*, though not precisely, and in every case, as regards points which are indifferent: merely guarding the intention of the Lawgiver from contempt, and giving an occasion for scandal—duties which necessarily appertain to charity, and are of perpetual obligation, being commands of the Divine Law.

"Whether, then, we regard *the power which enforces, or the nature of the ceremonies, or the mode of enforcing obligation*, the English Church is fully justified in requiring submission to ceremonies."

We have made these copious extracts from Bishop Davenant's Determinations on ritual conformity, as an introduction to the great controversy which disturbed the peace of the Church at the time, but settled once and for ever in the Anglican Church the position of the "Holy Table," in which Davenant played a conspicuous part.

"The publication of the *Book of Sports*," says Perry,¹ "was followed almost immediately by an Order in Council, which had an important bearing upon the subsequent history of the Church." There had been a dispute as to the position of the Communion Table, between the parishioners of St Gregory's, a church adjoining St Paul's Cathedral, and the Dean and Chapter, who were its Ordinaries. The case was heard by an appeal to the King in Council, *i.e.* by the High Court of Delegates. It was then ordered,

¹ Perry's *History of the Church of England*, vol. i. p. 470.

after a full hearing, that the Table should be set *Altar-wise*, as the Dean and Chapter had directed. The decision afterwards became a precedent and rule to all Ordinaries in their judgment on the matter. It was declared in the order that the liberty which appeared to be left in the rubric, and the eighty-second Canon (in Convocation 1603-4) to "place the Table where it may stand with most fitness and convenience," is not to be interpreted as though it gave a liberty of judging in the matter to the parishioners, but that the ordinary alone was to decide in all cases.¹ When the matter was first mooted some six years before, in the case of Grantham, Bishop Williams had decided that the Table was to be removed when it was not needed for use, and not stand continually *Altar-wise*, and this view he had enforced in a learned letter to the Vicar of Grantham. The judgment in the matter of St Gregory's may, therefore, be considered as an authoritative reversal of the decision of the Bishop of Lincoln.

But it is time to review the whole history of this controversy, and its important consequences to the Church. At the beginning of the year 1624, Archbishop Laud resolved upon a metropolitanical visitation of the whole province in Canterbury, in other words, upon a course of warfare against the manifold indecencies and abominations which for a long period had disfigured the Church. One of his first cases² was for the proper position of the Holy Table,

¹ Rushworth, ii. 207.

² "There is an anecdote in Heylin's *Life of Laud*, where the same thing is mentioned, very remarkably the same phrase which now prevails among us, of "*innovations, innovations*," is reiterated as the watchword of alarm, quite forgetting that where neglect and omission have been for some time the character of a lax Church, and revival of discipline takes place, *there must be an appearance of novelty*, but *renovation* is not *innovation*.

"For the removing of these evils, he (Archbishop Laud) fell upon the courses before mentioned, which being *renovations* only of some ancient usages, were branded by the odious name of *innovations*, by some of those who, out of cunning and design, had long disused them. Some zealous Protestants beheld his acting with no small fear, as biasing too strongly towards Rome, the Puritans

and for its due protection from irreverence and desecration. From the moment of the Primate's first promotion, this had always held a foremost place in his thoughts, and it has been thought by many that it occupied a disproportionate share of his attention. But in order to estimate his conduct rightly, it will be our duty to take into consideration the consequences which had resulted from a neglect of this department of ecclesiastical discipline. In the Cathedral Churches, then, and in the chapels of the nobility, that, which we now scruple not to call the *Altar*, was usually placed, *where we now uniformly see it*, close to the eastern wall of the Church, guarded by a decent railing from defilement and profanation. But in many of the Parish Churches the case was widely different. It was dragged by Puritanical scruple, or caprice, into the body of the Church, and treated as if no peculiar sacredness belonged to it. It often served the churchwardens for a parish-table at the vestry meetings, the schoolboys for a desk to do their lessons, and the carpenters for a working-board. In one place, we are told, a dog had run away with the bread set apart for the Holy Communion, and in many instances, the wine had been brought to the Table in pint-pots and bottles, and so was distributed to the

exclaimed against him for a Papist, and the Papist cried him for theirs, and gave themselves some flattering hopes of our coming towards them. But the most knowing and understanding men amongst them found plainly that nothing could tend more to their destruction than the introducing some ceremonies which by late negligence and practice had been discontinued. For I have heard of a person of known nobility, that at his being at Rome with a Father of the English College, one of the novices came in and told him with a great deal of joy that the English were returning to the Church of Rome; that they began to set up altars, to officiate in their copes, to adorn their churches and to paint the pictures of the saints in the church windows. To which the old Father made reply with some indignation, that he talked like some ignorant novice; that these proceedings rather tended to the ruin than to the advancement of the Catholic cause; that by this means the Church of England, coming nearer to the ancient usages, *the Catholics there would sooner be drawn off from them, than any more of that nation would fall off to Rome.*"—Heylin's *Laud*, p. 391. (Quoted in Bennett's *Principles of the Common Prayer*, p. 121.)

people.¹ Such were the effects of an indiscriminate aversion for the practices of Rome. It can be hardly thought surprising that any man, whose mind was rich in the knowledge of the Primitive practices of Christian antiquity, and whose heart was warm with zeal for the glory of God, should look upon these mean and slovenly usages with loathing and indignation; more especially when it was found that, by such practices, the Reformed usage of the National Church was identified with positive impiety in the estimation of the most sincere and sober-minded Roman Catholics of those days.

Archbishop Laud felt it to be his duty, as we have seen, to attempt a reform of these unseemly abuses. And when he was finally called upon at his last trial to answer for his action and proceedings, he solemnly averred that his motive was not a stupid attachment to Popish mummeries, but solely for the restoration of external and visible Religion.² Of course he had much resistance to encounter when he undertook the almost herculean task, and the opposition was rendered more formidable and vexatious by the aid and countenance of Williams, Bishop of Lincoln, who, in the Grantham case, had taken a different line. That Williams, for he was too cultured a theologian, had no serious objection to the ancient practice of the Church, is manifest from these facts, that the Holy Table occupied the place, for which the Primate contended, in his own Cathedral of Lincoln, in the Abbey Church of St Peters, Westminster, of which he was Dean, and in his private chapel at Buckden Palace, and further, that he had himself prevailed on the inhabitants of St Martin's, at Leicester, to place their Communion Table in a similar position. Nevertheless, on a representation from the vicar, churchwardens, and others of that same parish, he issued letters in December 1633, granting them permission to bring the Table back to its former situation in the body

¹ Heylin, p. 283.

² *Troubles, &c.*, p. 150.

of the church. And this he did in spite of the order in Council, already referred to, to the contrary effect, made with reference, as we have seen, to the Parish Church of St Gregory's in St Paul's Churchyard, which order was dated only in the preceding November.¹

Laud considered this proceeding of Williams as little less than a signal of hostility. The Primate therefore resolved to make the Diocese of Lincoln the scene of his first Visitation; and to inhibit the Bishop and his Archdeacons from the exercise of their official jurisdiction, so long as the visitation lasted. The almost princely Bishop Williams was not one of those who yield tamely to a first assault. He contended that his own jurisdiction had been exempted from such suspension, by certain Bulls obtained from Pope Innocent the Fourth, on the procurement of Bishop Grosthead, and he moreover insisted that the threatened inhibition would operate by a reflex action ruinously to himself, by diverting into another channel those fees and procurations which then formed the staple and chief source of the Bishop's maintenance.² The Archbishop was somewhat staggered at the first blush by this timely remonstrance. But on further investigation of his own rights, he determined to have the question argued out before the Lords of the Council. The claim of the Archbishop was established by their appellate decision. Laud's visitation accordingly proceeded, and the churchwardens throughout the Diocese of Lincoln were ordered forthwith to transpose the Table to the east end of the chancel, and to fence it round with suitable railings. But although Williams was thus, for the moment, defeated, he touched the earth only to rise up from it with undiminished strength and unabated vigour. The moment he was relieved from his suspension he proceeded to visit his diocese in person. On meeting

¹ Heylin, pp. 259, 260, 285, 287.

² Williams' Letter to the Archbishop on the subject may be seen in Hackett, pt. ii., p. 98-9.

with Dr Bret, a grave and reverend man, but of the school of Geneva—a Calvinian, as Heylin would call him in doctrine—he accosted him with the gracious words of the great St Augustine, “Although a Bishop is greater than a Presbyter, yet is Augustine inferior to Jerome;”¹ thus gratifying the Puritans with a confession that Bret was as much greater than Williams, as a Bishop is above a Presbyter. And, still further to win them, he gave order for placing the Communion Table in the middle of the Church with a rail *about* it; and not at the east end, with a rail *before* it.²

This official encounter between Archbishop Laud and his former rival Williams, tended, of course, to widen the divergent breach between them. But the Bishop of Lincoln lived to taste the luxury of retribution. If the powers of the Diocesan of Lincoln were suspended, for a time, by Laud, the favour was amply repaid in after days by the Archbishop of *York*. For Williams was the man who, subsequently to his promotion to that dignity, instigated the Lords to inflict the sequestration of his jurisdiction upon the Primate of all England and Metropolitan! The more immediate result of the present conflict was a series of learned controversial writings between the Bishop of Lincoln and Dr Peter Heylin (the biographer of Laud, and Fuller’s doughty antagonist, who replied to Heylin’s *Animadversions* (1639) in his beautiful *Appeal of Injured Innocence*) which the limits of these memoirs forbid us to notice in detail, and which, at the present day, would be

¹ *Quamvis* Episcopus major est Presbytero, Augustinus tamen minor est Hieronymo.

² Heylin, p. 286, 289. In the church where the writer served his first curacy, Buckland Monachorum, Devon, the Holy Table was placed away from the East Wall, and out in the body of the chancel, with a rail round it. Communicants knelt all round, on the four sides, and even between the officiating clergy and the east end of the chancel—facing, of course, the Holy Table, but back to the east. This has, it may be added, all been altered by, and since, the restoration of the fabric a few years ago, but the practice obtained till it was restored.

almost entirely destitute of interest¹ except to liturgio-logically-minded students. But surely without the assistance of such profound liturgical erudition, the essential merits of the controverted case may be summed up in very few words. "That the sacramental table," says the late esteemed Professor at the East India College, Herts, the Rev C. W. Le Bas, "should be protected from profanation, will not, for a moment, be disputed. Whether it should be called a *table*, or an altar, becomes a matter of comparatively trifling importance, when once the Sacramental *doctrine* had been brought back to its original simplicity. Its position in the church would be fitly regulated, partly by considerations of convenience, but chiefly by a reference to the practice of primitive antiquity. In the earliest ages, beyond all question, its situation was the eastern end of the church, and whatever might be its appropriate position, nothing but confusion would be the effect of leaving the matter to be decided by the caprice of ministers, who might be ignorant of ecclesiastical history; or of churchwardens who were often ignorant of everything, their own secular trade and mystery excepted."²

About this time Archbishop Laud continued his metropolitan visitation for the purpose of reforming abuses with respect to the fabrics and ornaments of churches, and the

¹ Williams had thrown together his thoughts, in the form of a "letter to the Vicar of Grantham," so long before as 1627. The visitation of 1634 tempted Heylin to publish this letter, together with an answer, under the title of "A Coal from the Altar." Williams replied in 1637 by a treatise entitled *The Holy Table, name and thing, &c.*, and Heylin rejoined by his *Antidotum Lincolnense*. The Bishop was preparing for his further vindication when he was prevented by his troubles in the Star Chamber, in consequence of which his library was seized. "And how," says Hacket, "could he fight without his arms? or how could the bell ring when they had stolen away the clapper?" Those who may be curious about the whole history of this contest will find it in Hacket, pt. ii. pp. 99-100. It may be observed that Hacket ascribes Laud's earnestness about this, and similar matters, to nothing worse than an *excess of piety ὑπερβολὴ τῆς εὐσεβείας*, p. 100.

² Le Bas' *Life of Archbishop Laud*, p. 188.

habits of the clergy, many of whom had discarded the outward distinctions of their order. The report for Salisbury was as follows:—"For Salisbury he found the Bishop (Davenant) had taken a deal of care about his Majesty's instructions, and had caused copies of them to be sent to most of the ministers;" but he adds, "the greatest part of Wiltshire was overgrown with the humours of those men who do not conform." How strong the same feeling of opposition was in the city of Salisbury itself, the subsequent history clearly proves.

There can be no doubt that few points occasioned more dispute than Laud's insisting upon the communion-table being placed universally *altar-wise* at the east end of the chancel of the church, "an evil beginning," says Bishop Hacket, "to distract Conformists who were at unity before, and to make them fight like cocks which are all of a feather, and yet never at peace with themselves." Yet Davenant, when the matter came officially before him as Bishop of Salisbury, decided in favour of carrying out the Primate's injunction on the subject, in the case of Aldbourne in his own diocese, where his order is still preserved in the parish register, directing the table to be placed altar-wise, inhibiting the churchwardens from meddling in the arrangement, and referring them to the "first article not long since inquired of in the visitation of our most reverend Metropolitan." "Nor," says Heylin, "did the Archbishop stand alone in point of judgment as to these particulars. He had the testimony and assent of two¹ such Bishops, than which there could be none more averse from Popery, or anything that tended to it. A difference happening between the minister and churchwarden, in a parish in Wilts, about the placing of the

¹ The other was Morton, Bishop of Durham, who "had written in defence of bowing towards the Holy Table, and was eagerly quoted by his High Church brethren as having lent the great weight of his authority to the practice." See Perry's *Church of England*, vol. i. p. 581.

table, which the minister desired to transpose to the end of the church, and the churchwardens to keep it as it stood before, the business was referred to Davenant, then Bishop of Salisbury, who, on a full consideration of the matter, decided in favour of the incumbent; and by a decree, under his episcopal seal, settled the table in the place where the altar stood, as the minister desired to have it. In which decree there are these two passages to be observed—first, that “by the injunction of Queen Elizabeth, and by Canon xxxii. under King James, the communion-table should ordinarily be set and stand with the side to the east wall of the chancel”;¹ and secondly, that “it is ignorance to think that the standing of the Holy Table in that place doth relish of Popery.”² Here, then, we perceive the cool judgment of our Bishop opposed, in a point of discipline, to those with whose doctrinal tenets he presumably agreed, and supporting Laud, with whose views and conduct he did not, we may imagine, entirely synchronize. Few

¹ “The removing the Communion table out of the body of the Church,” says Clarendon, “where it had used to stand, and used to be applied to all uses, and fixing it to one place in the upper end of the chancel, which frequently made the buying of a new table to be necessary: the enclosing it with a rail of joiner’s work, and thereby fencing it from the approach of dogs, and all servile uses: the obliging of all persons to come up to those rails to receive the sacrament, how acceptable soever to grave and intelligent persons, who loved order and decency (for acceptable it was to such) yet introduced first murmurings amongst the people, upon the very charge and expense of it, and if the minister were not a man of discretion (as too frequently he was not, and rather inflamed and increased the distemper) it begat suits and appeals at law. The opinion that there was no necessity of doing anything, and the complaint that there was too much done, brought the power and jurisdiction to impose the doing of it to be called in question, contradicted, and opposed. Then the manner, and gesture, and posture, in the celebration of it, brought in new disputes, and administered new objects of offence, according to the custom of the place, and humour of the people; and these disputes brought in new words and terms (altar, and adoration, and genuflexion, and other expressions), for the more perspicuous carrying on those disputations. New books were written for and against this new practice, with the same earnestness and contention for victory, as if the life of Christianity had been at stake.”—Clarendon’s *History of the Rebellion*, p. 41.

² Heylin’s *Life of Laud*.

measures were more unpopular than this enforced conformity about the position of the Lord's table; and there is nothing analogous to it in our times, except perhaps the matter of vestments and discussions upon the "Ornaments Rubric" at the beginning of the Book of Common Prayer. Be that as it may, when Laud first introduced the alteration in Gloucester Cathedral upon being appointed Dean, his diocesan, the venerable and learned Miles Smith, never entered the Cathedral Church afterwards.

The document of Bishop Davenant's—to which we have just referred—respecting the Church and Parish of Aldbourne, in N. Wilts, is now quite a classical quotation, and is of so much interest as throwing light on what was deemed the proper position of the Holy Table in 1637, that we venture to give a copy of it. The direction contained in it, to the effect that Holy Communion should be administered on four successive Sundays, and that no more than *two hundred* persons should communicate at one time, is to say the least, a remarkable one respecting a parish that we can hardly think was ever a popular one.

Bishop Davenant's order is as follows:—

"John, by Divine Providence Bishop of Sarum,

"To the Curate¹ and Churchwardens with the Parishioners of Awborne, in the County of Wilts, and our Diocese of Sarum, greeting:—

"Whereas his Majestie hath beene lately informed that some men factiously disposed have taken upon themselves to place and remove the Communion Table in the Church of Awborne, and thereupon his highness hath required me to take present order therein: These are to let you know that both according to the injunction given out in the Reigne of Queen Elizabeth for the placing of the Communion

¹ "Curate" means one "who has cure of souls," and may be either a rector or vicar. This is the technical meaning in the Prayer Book, and it is synonymous with "parish priest." In the case of Aldbourne he was a vicar.

Tables in Churches, and by the 82 Canon,¹ agreed upon in the first year of the Raigne of King James of blessed memory, it was intimated that these Tables should ordinarily be sett and stand with the side to the east wall of the Chancell.² I therefore require you, the Churchwardens, and all other persons not to meddle with the bringing doune or transposing of the Communion Table, as you will answer it at your own perile. And because some doe ignorantly suppose that the standing of the Communion Table where altars stood in time of superstition hath some relish of Popery, and some perchance may erroneously conceive that the placing thereof otherwise when the Holy Communion is administered savours of irreverence, I would have you take notice from the forenamed Injunction and Canon, from the Rubricke prefixed before the admistration of the Lord's Supper, and from the first Article not long since inquired of in the Visitation of our most Reverend

¹ The 82nd Canon (1603) runs as follows :—" A decent communion-table in every church, whereas we have no doubt but that in all churches within the realm of England convenient and decent tables are provided and placed for the celebration of the Holy Communion, we appoint, that the same tables shall from time to time be kept and repaired in sufficient and seemly manner, and covered, in time of Divine Service, with a carpet of silk or other decent stuff, thought meet by the Ordinary of the place, if any question be made of it. And with a fair linen cloth at the time of the ministration, as becometh that table, and so stand, saving when the said Holy Communion is to be administered ; at which time the same shall be placed in so good sort within the church or chancel, as thereby the minister may be more conveniently heard of the communicants in his Prayer and Ministration, and the Communicants also more conveniently, and in more number, may communicate with the said minister ; and that the Ten Commandments be set up on the east end of every church and chapel, where the people may best see and read the same, and other chosen sentences written upon the walls of the said churches and chapels, in places convenient : and likewise that a convenient seat be made for the minister to read service in. All these to be done at the charge of the parish."

² The Rubric at the beginning of the Prayer Book stands thus :—" The Morning and Evening Prayer shall be used in the accustomed place of the Church, Chapel, or Chancel ; except it shall be otherwise determined by the Ordinary of the place. And the chancels shall remain as they have done in times past."

Metropolitan (Laud), that the placing of it higher or lower in the Chauncell or in the Church is by the judgment of the Church of England a thing indifferent, and to be ordered and guided by the only rule of convenience.

“Now, because in things of this nature to judge and determine what is most convenient *belongs not to private persons*, but to those that *have ecclesiasticall authority*, I inhibit you the Churchwardens and all other persons whatever to meddle with the bringing doune of the Communion Table, or with altering the place thereof at such times as the Holy Supper is to be administered, and I require you herein to yield obedience unto what is already judged most convenient by my Chauncellor, unless, upon further consideration and viewe it shall be otherwise ordered. Now, to the end that the minister may not be overtoyled, nor the people indecently and inconveniently thronged together when they are to drawe neire and take the Holy Sacrament, and that the frequent celebration thereof may never the lesse be continued. I doe further appoint that thrice in the yeare at the least there be publique notice given in the Church, for fower communions, to be held on fower Sundaies together, and that there come not to the Communion in one day above two hundred¹ at the most. For the better observance whereof, and that every man may know his proper time, the curate shall divide the parishioners into fower parts, according to his discretion, and as shall most fittingly serve to this purpose. And if any turbulent spirits shall disobey this our order, he shall be proceeded against according to the quality of his fault and misdemeanour.²

¹ According to this computation there would be 800 communicants in round numbers in a parish which at the present time Crockford returns 1500 population, and which Mr Jones (author of the *Salisbury S.P.C.K. Diocesan History*), avers could never have been a large one. This number is simply astounding from our present standpoint, although there has been such a revival of Eucharistic privileges, and increase in the number of confirmations and communicants.

² This injunction is entered in the Aldbourne Parish Register, and is printed

“ In witness whereof I have hereunto set my hand Seale Episcopall, this seventeenth day of May 1637, and in the yeare of our consecration the sixteenth.”

This document is always referred to as conclusive as to the position of the Holy Table, in the same manner as the letter of the late Bishop of Exeter (Dr Phillpotts) to the churchwardens of Helston, Cornwall, with regard to the use of the vestments.¹

in the Oxford edition of *Laud's Works*, by the Rev. J. Bliss (vol. vi. p. 60), who supervised the fourteenth chapter of this work. It is referred to by the Archbishop himself in Laud's "Speech at the censure of Basterwick," *ibid.* ii. p. 80. See also *Wilts Arch. Mag.*, vii. 3.

¹ Judgment of Dr Phillpotts (Bishop of Exeter) *re* W. Blunt (Helston), 23rd Oct. 1844.—The rubric, at the commencement of "The order for morning and evening prayer," says, "That such ornaments of the Church, and of the ministers thereof, at all times of their ministrations, shall be retained, and be in use, as were in this Church of England by the authority of Parliament, in the second year of the reign of King Edward VI."—in other words, "a white albe, plain, with a vestment or cope." These were forbidden in King Edward VI.'s second book, which ordered that "the minister at the time of the communion, and at all other times of his ministration, shall use neither albe, vestment, nor cope, but being an archbishop or bishop, he shall have and wear a rochet; and being a priest or deacon, he shall have and wear a surplice only." This was a triumph of the party most opposed to the Church of Rome, and most anxious to carry Reformation to the very furthest point. But their triumph was brief—within a few months Queen Mary restored Popery—and when the accession of Queen Elizabeth brought back the Reformation, she, and the Convocation, and the Parliament, deliberately rejected the simpler direction of Edward's second book, and revived the ornaments of the first. This decision was followed again by the Crown, Convocation, and Parliament at the Restoration of Charles II., when the existing Act of Uniformity established the Book of Common Prayer, with its rubrics, in the form in which they now stand. From this statement it will be seen that the surplice may be objected to with some reason; but then it must be because the law requires "the albe and the vestment or the cope."

Why have these been disused? Because the parishioners—that is, the churchwardens, who represent the parishioners—have neglected their duty to provide them; for such is the duty of the parishioners by the plain and express canon law of England (Gibson, 200). True, it would be a very costly duty, and for that reason most probably churchwardens have neglected it, and archdeacons have connived at the neglect. I have no wish that it should be otherwise. But be this as it may, if the churchwardens of Helston shall perform

Towards the close of Davenant's Episcopate, Archbishop Laud held a metropolitical visitation, for the purpose of reforming abuses with respect to the fabrics and ornaments of the churches and the habits of the clergy, many of whom had discarded the outward distinctions of their order. The report for the Diocese of Sarum was as follows:—"For Salisbury he found the Bishop (Davenant) had taken a deal of care about his Majesty's¹ instructions, and had caused copies of them to be sent to most of the ministers;" but he adds, "the greatest part of Wiltshire was overgrown with the humours of those men who do not conform." How strong the same feeling of opposition to the Church was in the city of Salisbury at that time may be gathered from a perusal of the immediate and subsequent history of that diocese.

During this year (1638) we find four letters of Davenant to Dr Ward from Salisbury—in the first he alludes to Dr Ward's induction to the living of Terrington; the second to Mr Hasell's appointment to Martinstow, the third of oral manducation, and the fourth to his nephew John Fuller.

this duty, at the charge of the parish, providing an albe, a vestment, and a cope, as they might in strictness be required to do (Gibson, 201), I shall enjoin the minister, be he who he may, to use them. But until these ornaments are provided by the parishioners, it is the duty of the minister to use the garment actually provided by them for him, which is the surplice. The parishioners never provide, nor, if they did, would he have a right to wear it in any part of his ministrations. For the gown is nowhere mentioned or alluded to in the rubrics. Neither is it included, as the albe, the cope, and three surplices expressly are, among "the furniture and ornaments proper for divine service," to be provided by the parishioners of every parish (Gibson, *ubi supra*).

¹ Judging from frequent royal visits to Sarum, Bishop Davenant must have been highly esteemed by both James I. and Charles I. The former king was at the Palace in 1623, the latter in 1625 and 1632. On the last occasion Charles I. was for some days at Salisbury, and attended the daily service in the Cathedral. Fuller, at the time Prebendary of Netherbury, speaks of having had the honour to see the king solemnly "heal," *i.e.*, "touching for the evil," in the choir of Salisbury.

Salutem in Christo.

GOOD DR WARD, I am glad to heer that you are inducted into Terrington, and I wish you much ioy of it. Whensomever you come down, you shall bee welcome hither ; and I am sorrie Mrs Ward is so hindred from accompanying you. I pray desire Mr Buck when hee reprints my Determinations, in a line or two, to expres, that my minde was to have had that single one added in y^e first addition : and that it was sent vnto him by mee, though it came then a litle to late. This I would have signified : because otherwise y^e adding of onely one Determination will seeme to sleight a cause of reprinting all y^e rest. I hope Mr Hasell will now come down wth you and Settle vppon his Benefice, and thus remembering my love to your selfe, & Mrs Ward, I comitt you to y^e gracious protection of y^e Almightye, & rest

Your verie loving freind

Salisbury, Feb. 23, 1638.

JO. SARŪ.

[*Endorsed* :—] To his verie loving freind Dr Ward Mr of Sidney College and one of y^e Divinity Readers in Cambridg give this.

GOOD DR WARD, I promised vnto you long ago, that I would remember Mr Hasell with some small Benefice when opportunity should serve. When you were heer last, y^e Vicar of Martinstown near Dorchester, lay a dying (as was then thought) but now he is certainly dead. Yf Mr Hasell bee yet vnprovided, and bee willing to setle vppon it, let him come vnto mee with as much speed as conveniently hee may, and I will for your sake presentlie conferr it vppon him. It is woorth about 40l yeerlie, a small maintenance for a Minister ; and yet there has been no small inppportunity vsed to obtain it. Yf Mr Hasell bee alreadie better fitted (I pray) let mee vnderstand so much from you ; for then I will bestow it otherwise. Wee hear that Dr Bromrick is y^e King's Chaplain ; I could wish hee were also y^e King's Professor ; so mine ould freind & Colleague Mr Provost were preferrd to some good Bishopricy. I pray comend mee to them bothe. And thus comitting you and all yours to y^e blessed protection of y^e Almightye I rest ever

Your assured loving freind

Salisbury, March 27th, 1638.

JO. SARŪ.

I receaved not long ago a letter from y^e Bishop of Duresme, Wherin hee signified vnto mee, that y^e Ereccion of a Library was now intended at Cambridg. Hee promised his own assistance in furthering that good woork, and desired mee to write vnto him what I

thought were y^e fittest course to bee taken for y^e reall & speedie effecting therof. But for mine own part though I shall bee alwaies willing and readie to promote anything wch tends to y^e good and honour of my ever-honoured Mother. Yet I answered his Lordship, that I am vnable to give counsail what Course must bee followed therin ; and therefore (in my opinion) that must bee left to y^e deliberation of you that are Heads of y^e University. I wish y^e proiect all good succes ; and according to my power, when time serves, will amongst others gladly lay to my helping hand.

[*Endorsed* :—] To his verie loving and much respected freind Dr Ward Master of Sidney Colledg, and publicq Professor of Divinity in Cambridg give these.

March, 27, 1638.

My Lrd of Sarū, his Lett^r.

Salutem in Christo.

GOOD DR WARD, This day Mr Hasell came to Salisburie and delivered mee your letter as also y^e written Tractat. Hee is not sure of his com̄ing back this way ; wch makes mee take y^e opportunity of this Bearer Mr Hide. Att our Lady next, I shall expect, that Mr Hasell should make his settled residence vpon his Vicaridg ; wch hee has promised mee to doe. It is true, that y^e very phrase of oral manducation applied vnto y^e bodie of Christ, cann hardly be freed from more then an Impropriety ; I mean, not from a grosse absurdity. But considering that y^e Lutherans hould y^e woords, & denie y^e thing ; I was willing to cōstrue y^e woords, not according to their own signification, but according to y^e Interpretation and limitation wch themselves annex thervnto. Wch you might easily observ out of those woords of mine. (*Vtcunq illis visum est retinere hanc loquendi formulam Nihil tamen p̄ hanc Oralemanducationem intelligunt, q^d cū Capernaitica car) in Christi laniena sit coniunctu, aut cū ipsa significatione vocabulorū (provt sonant Latinis aurib) connexum.* Wch is in effect, as yf I had said, though they will not bee beaten of from y^e woords, lest they should seem to oppose their Master, yet they renounce in expres terms whatsomever Oral Manducation implies, so y^t y^e reteining of y^e bare phrase, is rather a matter of peevisish stomach, then of p̄nitious heresie. When you shall think fitt to resign y^e Lady Margaret's Lecture, I shall be heartily gladd, to hear y^t Dr Bromrick is chosen your Successor. Dr Love is a man of whome I have a special good opinion ; but yf you knew how many of mine own are vnprovided as yet, and are like to bee I know not how long ; and how vpon this only ground, I have lately answered y impertunity of some great p̄sonadges. You would not think much yf I promise not that, wch I

see not how or when I am like to performe. I am gladd to heare that your dispersed Vniversity is now vppon y^e Return. I pray God continue you all, in Health & Happiness; to whose protection I leav you, & rest

Your verie loving freind

Salisburie, Octob. vlt. 1638.

JO. SARŪ.

[*Single leaf. No endorsement.*]

Salutem in Christo.

GOOD DR WARD, I shall expect from Mr Burk y^e Bille, with my new-printed Determinations. What somever is to bee payd, I desire you to lay out and I will repay it you. Mr Hasell brought mee Kemp de Imitat. Christi. I have looked into it and finde it answerable to your comẽdation. Though y^e language bee course, and y^e methode not verie accurate; Yet y^e Substance of y^e matter is good; & it stirrs vp devotion never y^e woorse, for y^e want of Eloquence, & Art. Such Bookes please mee much better now in mine ould age, then bookes of another Stamp; wherin I have worn out my youth, & mine Eyes, wth lesse profit to mine own soule. My desire now is to confine my self, to that Vnū Necessariū wch is moore woorth, then all y^e rest.

I wish Wee could All content our selfs, wth that Doctrine and those Rites, wch our Predecessors have left vnto us. I can see nothing Altered, or Augmented, for y^e Better. Wee want Confirmation in these, both Ould and Young; and hee does an Episcopal Act, who labours to hould others in that Doctrine & Discipline, where hee Found them settled by This Church.

Octob. 29, 1639.

My Lrd B^{pp} of Sarū's Lett^r.

De devotion

My L. of Armagh his booke.

Meanwhile Thomas Fuller's brother, John, after the lapse of the usual terms, took the Master's degrees in 1639, when his uncle Davenant, in addition to his annual allowance, proposed to make him a gift of £20. John Fuller does not seem to have wished to become a clergyman (the usual vocation of the family) for which so many of his relations had been educated, and he induced his uncle to allow him to study for the law. A letter, dated Salisbury, Oct. 29, 1639, thus mentions his requests:—

“ My nephew John Ffuller is resolved to betake himself to y^e studie of y^e Civil Law ; and albeit I could in likelihood doe him more good in another way (*i.e.* of course by advancing him in the Church) yet I love not to force any of mine vnto a calling, wherunto they stand not affected above all others. I conceav it will be most fitting for him to converse wth men of y^e same profession ; and therefore I have advised him, to remove unto Trinity Hall. What favour you can doe him by your comendation to y^e master or any of y^e fellowes, I pray let him have it ; And thus wishing your good health, and Happiness, I comend you to y^e Giver thereof, and rest ever

Your verie loving friend

JO. SARŪ.¹

One of the last occasions in which we hear of Davenant in public was in 1640, the year before his death, when the Convocation of 1640—one of the most interesting and critical episodes in the history of our Church—under the direction of Archbishop Laud, passed certain canons, principally for the enforcement of uniform clerical discipline ; which, although unobjectionable in themselves (and on another occasion might have been extremely useful, as supplements to the Canons of 1604), were considered, under the circumstances, ill-timed, being at a moment when the Church was scarcely able to sustain even her existence ; and so it was the passing of these canons was made a handle to hasten her destruction. Our Bishop was present with his nephew Fuller, and Dr William Fuller, Dean of Ely, Fuller’s uncle, at these deliberations, and was the means of inducing others to sign the canons when passed.

We have the relations of several persons who were present at the meeting of this convocation, but not so full as they might have been, “ for,” says Fuller² (who was one of the proctors for the Diocese of Bristol, in which his

¹ Dr Davenant to Dr Ward. Tanner MSS. Bodl., vol. lxvii. p. 147.

² *Ch. Hist.* xi. iii. 11. Besides Fuller’s account—which was the first full account of the assembly—we have Heylin’s (in his *Life of Laud*), who was a principal person in the lower House. But this came out many years after Fuller’s, and Archbishop Laud’s own account, in the *Troubles*.

pastoral charge lay, Broad-Windsor,¹ which had been conferred upon him by his uncle Davenant in 1634, not forgetful of his favourite nephew in the disposal of the patronage of the See of Sarum), "it was ordered, that none present should take any private notes in the house; whereby the particular passages thereof are left in great uncertainty. However, as far as I can remember, I will faithfully relate, being computed with this consideration, that generally he is accounted an impartial arbitrator who displeaseth both sides." The Convocation met, April 14th, in St Paul's Chapter-house, and "waited upon his Grace and the rest of the bishops, to hear the sermon in the choir." The sermon was preached by Dr Turner, Chaplain to the Primate, and Residentiary of St Paul's. His text was Matt. x. 16, "Behold I send you forth as lambs in the midst of wolves," "which," says Heylin, "he followed home to the purpose." In the close of his sermon—which was in Latin—he made a sharp attack upon some of the more tolerant bishops, complaining of the injustice they did to their stricter brethren by allowing all the odium to rest upon them for the enforcement of discipline and good order, which all the bishops were equally bound to maintain. After the sermon the clergy unanimously elected Dr Richard Stewart, Clerk of His Majesty's closet, and Dean of Chichester, to be their Prolocutor. Meeting again the next day in Henry VII.'s chapel in Westminster Abbey, Dr Sheldon, Warden of All Souls, presented the prolocutor to the Archbishop, and the Archbishop received him, "each of them delivering his conceptions in elegant Latin speeches, as the custom is, but the Archbishop's longer than both the rest."² Fuller says "the Arch-

¹ "That Prebend of Salisbury," says Fuller's anonymous biographer, "was a commodious step to another more profitable place," p. 7.

² Heylin's *Laud*. Dr Sheldon is said to have been the first who publicly denied the Pope to be Antichrist at Oxford. The Doctor in the Chair (Prideaux) wondering at it, said: "Quid, my fili, negas Papam esse Antichristum." Dr Sheldon answered: "Etiam, nego." Dr Prideaux replied:

bishop's speech was well nigh three-quarters-of-an-hour long, gravely uttered, his eyes oft-times being but one remove from weeping. It consisted most of generals, bemoaning the distempers of the Church, but concluded with a special passage, acquainting us how highly we were indebted to his Majesty's favour, so far intrusting the integrity and ability of their Convocation, as to empower them with his commission, the like whereof was not granted for many years before, to alter old, to make new, canons for the government of the Church." ¹

With this introduction the Archbishop produced the King's commission under the great seal, authorizing the Convocation to make Canons. It was six-and-thirty years since (1604) this licence had been given to the representatives of the Church, and we may ask the question why in these troublous times, a privilege so long withheld should have been conceded. The explanation will be found in the document by which the King ratifies the Canons, and in an attentive consideration of the Canons themselves. Perhaps Archbishop Laud found that he had been going too far in pressing ritual conformity all round. That in strictly enforcing tables altar-wise, rails, bowing towards the altar, special articles of visitation, and divers other matters, he was not borne out by the Canons of 1604. It was intended therefore to make a body of ecclesiastical laws, which should have a retrospective force, and also make discipline, which had now for some years been exacted, be more easily and legally enforced for the future." "For the procuring of this commission," says Heylin, who was in Laud's fullest confidence, "the Archbishop had good reason as well *for countenancing and confirming his former actings*, as for rectifying many other things which required reformation," ² and this fully appears in

"Profecto multum tibi debet Pontifex Romanus, et nullus dubito quin pileo cardanilitio te denobit."—Masson's *Life of Milton*, i. 497.

¹ Fuller's *Church History*, xi. iii. 13.

² Heylin's *Laud*, p. 424.

the King's declaration. "Forasmuch as we are given to understand that many of our subjects being misled against the rites and ceremonies now used in the Church of England, have lately taken offence at the same upon an unjust supposal, that they are *contrary to our laws*," &c. The declaration goes on to assert that they were used by the Reformers, but had lately begun to fall into disuse, and having recited the powers given to this Convocation to make Canons, it ratifies and confirms the Canons made.¹

It was evidently intended by a politic stroke to make the ground firm and sure, for practices which some regarded as innovations, but others as renovations, or the recovery of a discipline which obtained in an earlier and more healthy condition of things—but these moot points, as in our times, are always provocative of excited discussion. The very enacting of new laws seemed to imply that the former practice had had no law to rest on, and the conciliatory tone manifested in the Canons themselves, though by some it might be received as condescension, by others might be treated as betraying the endeavour to escape easily from a false position.² Compare, for instance, the concluding sentence of Canon VII., with the previous practice of Laud and some of his suffragans: "Let not those who use this rite (bowing towards the altar) despise those who use it not; and let not those who use it not, condemn those who use it."³ If this rule of Christian charity had indeed been the Canon of the High Church Prelates, then truly they have been maligned even by their friends. "Some wise men," says Fuller, "in the Convocation began now to be jealous⁴ of the event of new Canons, yea, became

¹ Sparrow's *Collection*, 337-346.

² Perry's *Hist. of Church of England*, vol. i. 603.

³ Sparrow's *Collection*, 363.

⁴ "These ecclesiastical enactments," says Dr Lingard, "added to the general excitement. The right of the convocation to sit after the dissolution of Parliament, and of the King to authorize it to make laws, which might affect the interests of laymen, was called in question; exceptions were taken

fearful of their own selves, but having too great power lest it should tempt them to be over-tampering in innovations. They thought it better that this Convocation, with its predecessors, should be censured for laziness, and the solemn doing of just nothing, rather than to run the hazard by over activity to do anything unjust. For as waters long dammed up, oft-times flownce, and flie out too violently, when their sluices are pulled up, and they let loose on a sudden; so the judicious feared, lest the Convocation, whose power of meddling with Church matters had been bridled up for many years before, should now, enabled with such power, over-act their parts, especially in such dangerous and discontented times. Yea, they suspected lest those who formerly had *out-runne* the Canons with their additional conformitie (ceremonizing more than was enjoyned), now would make the Canons *come up* to them, making it necessary for others, what voluntarily they had pre-practised themselves.”¹ Heylin, indeed, says that the Commission “was exceedingly acceptable to the greatest and best affected part of the whole assembly,”² and thus the Convocation was divided between the eager disciplinarians, and the more prudent ones who wished to leave things as they were, and let well alone, according to the precedents of the last thirty and six years.

“Matters began to be in agitation,” said Fuller, “when on a sudden Parliament was dissolved . . . and from this very time did God begin to gather the twiggs of that rod (a civill warr) wherewith soon after He intended to whip a wanton nation.”

“Next day,” continues Fuller, “the Convocation came together, as most supposed, meeting to part, and finally to dissolve themselves. When, contrary to general expectation petitions presented against the form of oath imposed upon the clergy; and religionists of every description, with the exception of churchmen, complained of several of the Canons as highly oppressive and unjust.”—Lingard’s *History of England*, vol. vii. p. 223.

¹ Fuller’s *Church Hist.*, xi. 111-14.

² Heylin’s *Laud*, 425.

pectation, it most motioned to improve the present opportunity in perfecting the new Canons which they had begun. And soon after a new Commission¹ was brought from his Majesty, by virtue whereof we were warranted still to sit, not in the capacity of a Convocation but of a Synod, to prepare our Canons for the *Royal assent* thereunto. But Doctor *Brownrigg*, Doctor *Hacket*, Doctor *Holesworth*, Master *Warmistre*, with others to the number of thirty-six (the whole House consisting of about six score), earnestly protested against the continuance of the Convocations."² The judgment of the lawyers, however, so far prevailed with the dissentients that they did not "dissever themselves, nor enter any act *in scriptis* against the legality of this assembly, the rather because they hoped to moderate proceedings with their presence." "Surely some of their own coat," observes Fuller, "which since have censured these dissenters for cowardly compliance, and doing no more in this cause, would have done less themselves if in their condition." The assembly now no longer sat as a Convocation but as a Synod. "Thus was an *old* Convocation," says Fuller, "converted into a *new* Synod." A new writ was issued, dated May 12, repeating the old commission, and continuing the Convocation *during pleasure*, instead of *during the present Parliament*. The Convocation of the Province of York was continued in the same way.

"Expect not of me," says Fuller, "an exemplification of such Canons as were included of in this Convocation.

¹ To silence the scruples of the members a written opinion was obtained from Finch, an obsequious lawyer, lately made lord-keeper, and from some of the judges, that the Convocation could legally continue its sittings: and a new Commission—the last had evidently expired—was issued, empowering it to alter and improve the laws of the Church. Amidst the alarm and misgivings of the more timid, and under the protection of a numerous guard, the work rapidly proceeded: and seventeen new Canons, approved by the members, received the royal assent.—(Lingard's *Hist. of England*, vii. 222.)

² Fuller's *Church Hist.*, xvii. iii. 16.

Partly because being printed they are "publique to every eie," but chiefly because they were never put in practice or generally received. The men in *Persia* did never look on their little ones till they were seven years old (bred till that time with their mothers and nurses), nor did they account them in their genealogies amongst their children (but among the more long-lived abortives) if dying before seven years of age. I conceive such Canons come not under our cognizance, which last (at least) an apprenticeship of years in use and practice, and therefore we decline the setting down the acts of this Synod. It is enough for us to present the number and titles of the several Canons.¹

- | | |
|---|--|
| <ol style="list-style-type: none"> 1. Concerning the Regal power. 2. For the better keeping of the Day of his Majesty's most happy Inauguration. 3. For suppressing the growth of Popery. 4. Against Socinianism. 5. Against Sectaries. 6. An oath enjoined for the preventing of all Innovations in doctrine and government. 7. A declaration concerning some rites and ceremonies. 8. Of preaching for Conformity. 9. One book of articles of inquiry to be used at all parochial visitations. | <ol style="list-style-type: none"> 10. Concerning the Conversation of the Clergy. 11. Chancellors' patents. 12. Chancellors alone not to censure any of the Clergy in sundry cases. 13. Excommunication and absolution not to be pronounced but by a Priest. 14. Concerning the commutations and the disposing of them. 15. Touching concurrent jurisdiction. 16. Concerning licences to marry. 17. Against vexatious citations. |
|---|--|

As for the oath concluded on in this Synod, because since the subject of so much discourse, it is here set forth at large, according to the true tenour thereof, as follows:—

"I, A. B., do swear, that I do approve the Doctrine and Discipline or Government established in the Church of England as containing all things necessary to salvation; and that I will not endeavour by myself or any other, directly or indirectly, to bring in any Popish Doctrine

¹ Fuller's *Church Hist.*, xi. iii. 19.

contrary to that which is so established: nor will I ever give my consent to alter the government of this Church by Archbishops, Bishops, Deans and Archdeacons, &c., as it stands now established and as by right it ought to stand, nor yet ever to subject it to the usurpation and superstitions of the See of Rome. And all these things I do plainly and sincerely acknowledge and swear, according to the plain and common sense and understanding of the same words, without any equivocation or mental evasion, or secret reservation whatever. And this I do heartily, willingly and truly upon the faith of a Christian. So help me God in Jesus Christ."

The Canons against the Papists, Socinians and Brownists were mere makeweights, the real gist and force of the new body of laws lies in the first and seventh canons, and the sixth,¹ which was designed to enforce for ever an exact conformity and obedience by the imposition of what was so well known afterwards by the name of *The Et Cetera* oath, and which gave so much umbrage at the time. The oath was to be taken before November by all men in Orders and all graduates (except sons of noblemen).

¹ In this declaration (sixth) it was affirmed the standing of the Communion Table side-way under the East window of every chancel or chapel is in its own nature indifferent, but that it is adjudged fit and convenient that all churches and chapels do conform themselves in this particular, to the example of the Cathedral or Mother-Church, saving always the general liberty left to the Bishops by law during the time of the Holy Communion: "And we declare that this situation of the Holy Table doth not imply that it is or ought to be esteemed a true and proper altar, whereon Christ is again really sacrificed: but it is, and may be called an altar by us, in that sense which the Primitive Church called it an altar and no other."

The Communion Table was to be railed to prevent the irreverent use of it, the putting of hats upon it, common amongst those who abhor reverence in worship.

Obeisance is also commended to all upon entering and before leaving the church or the chancel, "according to the most ancient custom of the Primitive Church in the present times, and of this Church also, for many years of the reign of Queen Elizabeth. The receiving therefore of this ancient and laudable custom, we heartily commend to the serious consideration of all good people, not with any intention to exhibit any religious worship to the Com-

Of all the proceedings of this Synod, there was none which drew upon the Church a heavier load of obloquy than the insertion of this oath, which was to be imposed, not only on all the clergy, but on many of the laity : and by which they were to declare that they never would consent to any alteration in the government of the Church by Bishops, Deans, Archdeacons, &c. Everyone in his right senses must have seen that this *et cetera* had been introduced solely for the purpose of avoiding a needless enumeration of offices. Nevertheless an insane and almost universal outcry was raised against it by the *agitators* of the day. It was spoken of as a snare and pitfall. It was denounced as the entrance into a yawning abyss of perjury. It was held up to universal detestation, under the name of the *et cetera* oath ; and by that term it has ever since been known. But further, the whole oath itself was furiously censured as “wicked and ungodly,” and was afterwards condemned by the Commons, as devised by the Archbishop for the purpose of “confirming the unlawful and exorbitant power which had been usurped over his Majesty’s subjects. It was lastly contended that the imposition of any oath whatever was an act beyond the legal power of the Convocation. This outcry, though plausible enough, was purely the dictate of malignity and faction. For as Laud affirmed on his trial, even if the law was against the Bishops on this point, still there were various precedents, hitherto unquestioned, decidedly in their favour, so that, at the very worst, their delin-

munion Table, the East, or Church, or anything therein contained, in so doing : “to perform the said gesture in the celebration of the Holy Eucharist, upon any opinions of the corporal presence of the body of Christ on the Holy Table, or in the mystical elements ; but only for the advancement of God’s Majesty, and to give Him alone that honour and glory that is due unto Him, and no otherwise. And in the practice and omission of this rite we desire that the rule of charity, prescribed by the Apostle, may be observed, which is, that they which use this rite, despise not them which use it not ; and that they who use it not, condemn not them that use it.”

quency amounted to no more than a mistake of the law, and not to a wilful and treasonable violation of it.¹ Nevertheless the attempt was insisted on as conclusive of the malicious and despotic temper which pervaded the whole hierarchy.

Godfrey Goodman, Bishop of Gloucester, made his protest against the proceedings of the Synod, stating that he did not intend to agree to any canons which it might pass, but merely to the grant of subsidies; and in May 29, when the seventeen canons which had been agreed upon, were to be subscribed by all, he refused to subscribe, being a Papist in heart, on account of one of them being formulated for the suppression of Popery. In the morning before the time of subscription, he had called on the Archbishop at Lambeth, and expressed his determination not to subscribe, saying, "He would be torn with wild horses before he would subscribe that canon." Laud remonstrated with him, but could not convince him. "When it came to the Bishop of Gloucester's turn," says Laud, "his Lordship would neither allow the canons nor reject them, but pretended as he had once done about a week before, that we had no power to make canons out of Parliament time. But this was but a pretext to disgrace our proceedings, the better to hide his unwillingness to subscribe that Canon against the Papists, as appeared by that speech which he had privately used to me in the morning, and which I publicly charged him with upon this occasion, and he did as publicly acknowledge (*Troubles*, 81).

"However, the next day," says Fuller, "when we all subscribed the Canons (suffering ourselves, according to the order of such meetings, to be all concluded by the majority of votes, though some of us in the Committee privately dissenting in the passing of many particulars), he alone utterly refused his subscription thereunto, whereupon the Archbishop, being present with us in King Henry VIIth his

¹ *Troubles*, p. 280-83.

chappell, was highly offended at him. '*My Lord of Gloucester*,' said he, 'I admonish you to subscribe'; and presently after, '*My Lord of Gloucester, I admonish you the second time to subscribe*'; and immediately after, '*I admonish you the third time to subscribe*,—to all which the Bishop pleaded conscience, and returned a denial.

"Then were the judgments of the Bishops severally asked; whether they should proceed to the present suspension of *Gloucester* for his contempt therein. *Davenant*, Bishop of *Salisbury*, being demanded his opinion, conceived it fit some lawyer should first be consulted with, how far forth the power of a Synod in such cases did extend. He added, moreover, that the threefold admonition of a Bishop ought solemnly to be done with some considerable intervals betwixt them, in which the party might have time of convenient deliberation." The Archbishop thanked him for his opinion and acquiesced in its propriety. The result was Goodman, to avoid consequences, signed the Canons. "However, some days after he was committed (by the King's command, as I take it) to the *Gate-house*, where he got by his restraint what he could never have gained by his liberty, namely, of one reputed Popish, to become for a short time popular, as the only confessor suffering for not subscribing the canons. Soon after, the same Canons were subscribed at *York*, where the Convocation is but the *hand of the Diall*, moving and pointing as directed by the Clock of the Province of *Canterbury*. And on the last of *June* following, the said Canons were publicly printed, with the Royal assent affixed thereunto."¹

Heylin tells us that there had also been a design in deliberation touching the drawing and digesting of an *English Pontificale*, to be approved by this Convocation, and tended to his Majesty's confirmation. Which said *Pontificale* was to contain the form and manner of his Majesty's late

¹ Fuller's *Church Hist.*, bk. xi. iii. 23.

Coronation, to serve for a perpetual standing rule on the like occasions, another form to be observed by all Archbishops and Bishops, for consecrating churches, churchyards and chapels; and a third for reconciling such *Penitents* as either had done open penance, or had revolted from the faith to the law of *Mahomet*. Which three, together with the form of confirmation, and that of ordering Bishops, *Priests and Deacons*, which were then in force, were to make up the whole body of the book intended. Another scheme that failed was the introduction of the service in Latin into all Colleges and Halls, at least in the morning prayer, as Heylin appears to intimate.¹

“On the first publication of these canons,” says Mr Le Bas, “they were received with general approbation. Letters were addressed to the Archbishop from the remotest parts of the kingdom, expressive of this sentiment. But within a month after they were printed, the London ministers began to whisper against them; then to clamour loudly; and lastly to circulate their complaints in writing, till at length the whole body of ordinances was vehemently cried out upon, and, as usual, the main fury of the tempest fell upon the head of the Archbishop.”²

The Canons were disallowed in the succeeding Parliament. The oath also fell to the ground, Sanderson himself being amongst those who regarded the imposition of it as tending to endanger the Church.

¹ *Life of Laud*, p. 442.

² *Life of Laud*, p. 266, by Rev. C. W. Le Bas.

CHAPTER XVIII

BISHOP DAVENANT'S "ANIMADVERSIONS" UPON HOARD'S TREATISE (1641)

"In all State alterations, be they never so bad, the *Pulpit* will be of the same wood with the *Council-board*."—FULLER'S *Church History*, iv. 153.

IN 1639 and 1640 we find three letters from Bishop Davenant to Dr Ward. The first refers to the Archbishop of Armagh's (Usher) books, the second to his own new work *De Fundamentalibus*, and the third about the presentation copies.

Salutem in Christo.

GOOD DR WARD,

I received your letter from London of y^e 21th of November, together with all y^e bookes mentioned therein. For y^e bible, I must bee your Debtor, till I cann either send y^e monney to Cambridg, or pay it you heere. You wrote vnto mee that my Lord of Armagh had sent vnto mee his *Antiquitates Britannicæ*, with y^e Pelagian history inserted. I hear nothing of them as yet; and yf you know whome hee trusted to send that book vnto mee, certefie mee therof, and I will call for it. I esteem so highly bothe of y^e Giver & y^e Gift, that I will not negligently loose it. As for Animadversions vppon y^e Pelagian historie, or for writing vppon y^e two later Arminian Articles, *Nostra ætas iam acta est*: Eysight memorie and all so failes, that I dare not attempt any such thing. Our suffrage in y^e Synod of Dort conteins my Judgment concerning those points. Some other short & rough notes I have wch I made vppon those points in Collatione Hagrensi, before our going to Dort, but I hear they are scarce woorks any other mans pvsing. For my Animadversions vppon [Gods Love to mankinde] you know that at y^e first I intended nothing but breif marginal Notes, and afterwards finding that this would not serve y^e turn I inlarged my discourse somewhat further. Yet I never made a continued cohærent discourse of it; but sett down my minde in disiointed Notes, as that Authors Words gave me occasion. This makes it hard to finde vnto what

words of his, mine have relation. But for some help heerin in y^e Transcribing of my Animadvsrions, I divided both them & his book into twenty Chapters. Yf you send my Notes vnto his Lordship; (wch I am content you shall, for I know no man to whose Judgment I would rather submitt them) I pray send him y^e Booke, and my Animadvsrions so divided. For publishing these Animadvsrions, I can give no way vnto it; bothe because it may bee interpreted as crossing his Maiesties declaration, and also because y^e Discourse is not Cohærent; wch though it may afford Materials vnto him who would make a pfect Answer vnto that Booke, yet in it selfe, is impfect. For y^e Tractat De Fundamentalib.,¹ or any thing of mine, I shall never bee vnwilling they should bee imparted to any of my Brethren whether of England or Ireland, and to my Lord of Armagh, (whose accurate Judgment in these points is well known) as willingly as to any whatsoever. Only yf you send them vnto him, I pray him to amend what is Defective, and himselfe to make a pfect Treatise of that wherof mine is but a Rude Essaie.

You desired my Judgment concerning this Proposition [Vbi Sp. Sanctus inspirat sanctā Cogitationē, Bonā Voluntatem, piū Affectū et desiderīū, ibi simul indit eiusdem Certam Notitiam]. I am not at leisure to enter into a full discourse therof: in breif, thus I first conceav that the Threefold woork of y^e Spirit mentioned in your proposition, contains in it y^e Justification, Adoption & Sanctification of a Sinner. Secondly (this presupposed) I conceav that by the woords, Certa Notitia, you mean the App[r]ehension of this Proposition. Ego sum Justificatus, Adoptatus, Sanctificatus, ad vitā Destinatus. Now my Judgment is; that albeet in all Gods Justified, Sanctified, and adopted Children, there bee such an Act, wch y^e Scriptures Calls Knowledg or Assurance, of y^e Gracious Benefits wch God has bestowed vppon vs. Yet this Act is not of *that Constant Perpetuity, with y^e Act of Faith* wherby a Believing Christian apprehends y^e Theoretical Articles expressly sett down in Scriptur. The Apprehension of Truth in these is not lost vnles a man turn *Heretic or Dubius in Fide*: but y^e livelie apprehension of; Ego sū Justificatus, Adoptatus, ad vitam æternā ordinatus, may for a *Time bee suppressed, and vnable to come into Act*, even in him, whome God knowes to bee Soe. I take therefore these reflexed Acts to bee (according to y^e phrase of Scripture) Acts of knowledg or Faith, Testified vnto y^e Soules of private persons, by a *privat Testimony of y^e Holy Ghost* actually shining vppon their soules: but not *such Acts as any man can as ordinarily Elicit*, as hee may y^e Act of Beleeving y^e Resurrection, or

¹ Fol. 160, b.

any other article of Faith ; whervnto *hee gives a full consent*, so often *as hee thinks vppon them*. In these it is somewhat otherwise : for vnles a Childe of God, bee in that present Disposition, as yt it is for y^e *good of his soule to have such Comfortable Apprehensions*, y^e Spirit of God will not Bear Witnes therof vnto his Spirit ; wch *yf it doe not*, hee cannot have *Certam Notitiam therof*, bee *the thing never so certain in it selfe*. But manū de Tabula, I wish you Health and Happines, and comitt you to y^e Author therof, resting alwaies

Your very loving freind

Salisbury,
Dec. 3, 1639.

JO. SARŪ.

[*a bit torn out here*] q̄re did especially ayme, att Gods preventing grace ; potissimū q̄retam gratia præueniente efficaci, q̄ opetur fidem et p̄nitentia et reliqua opa preparatoria, Et bona opa ; n̄ de eor dem effectib. Davenanti ipse videtur affirmative statuere in comm. ad Coloss. pag. 18 Vbi Sp. Sa. inspirat illam gratiam, q̄ elicit hunc actū, ego credo in Xp̄m Redemptorem ob remissionem peccators.

[*Endorsed* :—] To his woorthie & much respected freind D^r Ward, Professor of Divinitie, & Master of Sidney Colledg in Cambridg give this.

Leav this with y^e Carrier of Cambridg.

Decemb. 3, 1639.
My Lrd B^{pp}. of Sarū his Lett^r.

Salutem in Christo.

GOOD D^r WARD,

I have since y^e dissolution of y^e synod pvsed my treatise De Fundamentalibus ; and have added thervnto those things wherof Dr Bromrick putt mee in minde.

My desire is that it bee now printed wth as much Speed as conveniently it may. Yf my former discourse wch I sent to Duræus, bee ioined therwthall, I suppose they will make a book full as bigg, (yf not bigger) then y^t wherin all y^e Fower were printed together. I would have them in as fair a Roman letter as those were ; and in somewhat a larger paper, for fear of growing overthick. I hope y^e Printer will not think much to bestow vppon mee a Competent number of Bookes. For y^e Distribution wherof in Cambridg, I leav it wholly to your self ; desiring that none of my friends there, vnto whome you gave any of my former Bookes bee now forgotten. As for those wch my self am to bestow, amongst my other freinds, I would have six (at y^e least) verie handsomlie bound, for persons of extraordinary quality. The

rest may be bound or stitched vp after y^e ordinary fashion. Let them all bee sent to Mr Harrison's where I now lodg, and as soon as may bee after they shall be finished. I would desire you when you cannesse about what time they will come forth, to give mee some notice therof beforehand, y^t so I may give Mr Harrison present direction for y^e bestowing of some of them in London, and y^e sending down of y^e rest vnto Salisbury. The Supervising of my written Copie I comitt to your selfe, & D^r Bromrick, intreating you to look it over before it goe to y^e Presse; & to mend what you finde faul[t]y or defective. Thus comitting you to y^e protection of y^e Almighty, I rest

Your assured loving freind,

Westminster,

JO. SARŪ.

June 1^o, 1640.

[*Endorsed.*:—] To his reverend and much respected friend D Ward, Professor of Divinity and Master of Sidney Colledg in Cambridge, give this.

June 1, 1640.

My Lrd of Sarū his lett^r.

Salutem in Christo.

GOOD D^r WARD; When my book is printed; for so many as are to bee bestowed in Cambridge vse your own discretion: onely let one fairly bound, bee sent in my name for Queens Colledg Library. My purpose is to tender one of them to my Lords Grace, another to my Lord of London, and to such other of my Brethren y^e Bishops as are about y^e City. I shall likewise have occasion to tender some others, vnto frinds of Quality heer in y^e Country. For this vse I would have a doozen at y^e least sent bound: some fairly for y^e Bishops, all handsomely. Besides these, I desire to have sent onlie stitched vp, or in quires; about 20 or thirty. Let the two Packets bee made vp severally (because y^e Books wch are bound must be taken out at London) and these Distributed. I would have them all directed to Mr Harrison's howse in Westminster Church yard.

I receaved letters from y^e three Doctors of Breme to the same purpose wch you and D Bromrick have donne, about 9 or 10 weeks agoe: and I returned them All their several answers. My Lord of Exceter also had letters from them about y^e same time and hathe also made answer vnto them. Hee and I were bothe of opinion, y^t it was rather Formes of Speech, then Substance of Doctrine, wch had mooved y^t sharp contention: and that the three Doctors (might their words have but a fair Interpretation) could not iustly bee charged wth

Pelagianism, Socinianism, Arminianism, or any other false Doctrine contrary to the Received doctrine of y^e Protestant Churches.—The hadd Northern newes perplexeth everie man ; I pray God wee may All ioin in y^e Right Course for preventing further Mischeifs. But it is God that can doe it : without whose Help, vain is y^e help of man. To his gracious protection I comitt you, and rest

Your assured loving freind,

JO. DAVENANT¹ SARŪ.

Salisb., Septemb. 12th,
1640.

[*Endorsed*.:—] To his verie loving and much respected freind Dr Ward, Master of Sidney Colledg and one of y^e Divinity Readers in Cambridg give this wth Speed.

Septemb. 12, 1640.
My Lrd of Sarum his lett^r

In 1641 our venerable author published a treatise in support of his former views on the subject of Predestination, and in reply to a work which had appeared some years before. The Rev. Samuel Hoard, B.D., Rector of Morton, in Essex, put out a tractate in 1633, entitled: *God's Love to Mankind, manifested by disproving His absolute Decree for their Damnation*, and it appears to have been the earliest treatise in this country, in opposition to what may be termed the "Calvinian" platform, or the Calvinistic tenet or opinion.² Davenant penned a reply entitled *Animadversions written by the Right Rev. Father in God, John, Lord Bishop of Salisbury, upon a treatise intituled: God's Love to Mankind*. We are not told why our Bishop published it no earlier than after the lapse of eight years. But it is a book written with all the powers of his mind, and not in Latin, like his others (which is no doubt the reason why Davenant's works have been so, I will not say *under-rated* but *over-looked*), but in nervous English and incisive diction. The whole of Hoard's book is incorporated in it, and he appears to have been no con-

¹ [*qu.* in the same hand ?]

² *Life of Laud*, p. 442.

temptible adversary in point of argument. His work is in the form of an Epistle, from which we find that he originally held the views he there took up his pen to refute, for he commences with this remark: “I have sent you here my reasons which have moved me to change my opinion in some controversies of late debated between the Remonstrants and their opponents.”¹ These treatises, thus united in one publication, seem to compress all that has been said in so many volumes on this subject. Hoard accumulates all the arguments in opposition to the Calvinistic views, and presses them home with considerable ability and energy, but in no work is the logical acuteness of Bishop Davenant’s powerful mind more exhibited than in his reply. It is brimful of ratiocination, it bristles with the most trenchant logic, it teems with patristic and other authorities, and it pulverises his opponent’s lucubrations with the massive strength of a lion. Surely there were giants in those theological days, and the Anglican reformed Church may well be proud of such sons.

In 1703 Dr Calamy, preaching in the lecture-room at Salter’s Hall, discoursed from the text Rom. ix. 16—*So then it is not of him that willeth*—and afterwards published his discourse at the request of his auditors, under the title: *Divine mercy exalted, or Free grace in its glory*, in the preface to which he complains that “some have given themselves a liberty to reflect on their brethren who adhere to the suffrages of the British Divines in the Synod of Dort,” and recommends those “that would see the doctrine of particular election maintained, consistently with a general love of God to the world, to consult the learned and peaceable Bishop Davenant’s *Animadversions*

¹ Thus Whiston in his *Memoirs*, vol. i. p. 11, speaking of his father said: “I also remember his observation on Mr Hoard’s book, concerning *God’s Love to Mankind*, as the first that began to set aside the Calvinists’ unhappy scheme of election and reprobation in England, which, till then, was the current opinion of the members of the Church of England, as it is still the doctrine of the Thirty-nine Articles.”

upon Hoard's *Treatise*, a book not valued according to its worth."

Davenant maintains, with extraordinary force and eloquence, the unconditional decree of election, and whilst he contends that this admits of sufficiency of grace given to all, he likewise maintains that reprobation is of necessity involved in election,¹ and his view of it is thus expressed: "Reprobation is not a denial of sufficient grace, but a denial of such *special* grace, as God knoweth would infallibly bring them to glory." The book abounds with striking passages, yet who that duly appreciates the simplicity of inspired truth does not, after reading this, or any other treatise of the kind, gladly return to the sacred volume, and feel his mind relieved and comforted with the plain *infallible* assurance that "God is love," that salvation is His free gift, and that He "*will have (i.e. wills to have) all men to be saved, and come to the knowledge of the truth.*" It is no reproach to the Church of England that men of different views in this abstruse subject have been found in her communion, for the controverted doctrines have been as hotly debated between the Dominican and Franciscan orders,² between Jesuit and Jansenist, in the

¹ Whithy's book on the "Five Points" opens with a memorable extract from this work of "good Bishop Davenant," as he calls him.

² This broke out in the ninth century, in which Godescalvus, a monk, was severely used by Hincmar, and by the Church of Rheims, for asserting some of St Austin's doctrines, against which Scotus Erigenia wrote, as Bertram, or Ratramne, wrote for them. Remigius, Bishop of Lyons, with his Church, did zealously assert St Austin's doctrine, and without great sharpness against Scotus. After this the matter slept, till the school-divinity came to be in great credit, and Thomas Aquinas being accounted the chief glory of the Dominican Order, he not only asserted all St Austin's doctrines, but added this to it: that whereas formerly it was in general held that the providence of God did extend itself to all things whatsoever, he thought this was done by God's concurring immediately to the production of every thought, action, motion or mode; so that God was the first and immediate cause of everything that was done. And, in order to the explaining the joint production of everything by God as the first, and by the creature as the second cause, he thought, at least, as his followers have understood him, that by a physical influence the

so-called infallible and unchangeable Church of Rome. And if we have to take the seventeenth Article as representing the Church's teaching on this head, we must neither forget its prudent conclusions, nor the warning clauses of the “Declaration” which prefaces the Articles. Besides both doctrines, “man's free agency and will,” and “God's sovereignty or election,” are undoubtedly found in the Bible itself, side by side, and what we know not now, such is the promise, we shall know hereafter. “God is His own interpreter,” as old Hart, the Calvinist poet, sings, “and He will make it plain.”

These Animadversions were printed at Cambridge, by Roger Daniel, Printer to the University, 1641, and the Bishop adds these words at the back of the title-page. “I have perused these Animadversions upon a Treatise, intituled *God's Love to Mankind*, and now acknowledge them thus corrected for mine own. Signed, JO. SARUM.” From which it would appear that there was some doubt as to whether “John, Lord Bishop of Salisbury,” referred to our Bishop Davenant. The title-page is embellished by an allegorical figure of “Alma Mater” (Cantabrigiënsis), holding a sun emitting light in the right hand, and a cup in the left, with this circumscribed inscription, “*Hinc lucem, et pocula*

will was predetermined by God to all things, whether good or bad, so that the will could not be said to be free in that particular instance *in sensu composito*, though it was in general still free in all its actions in *sensu divino*, a distinction so sacred, and so much used among them, that I choose to give it in their own terms, rather than translate them. To avoid the consequence of making God the author of sin, a distinction was made between the positive act of sin, which was said not to be evil, and the want of its conformity to the law of God, which, being a negative, was no positive being, so that it was not produced. And thus, though the action was produced jointly by God as the first cause, and by the creature as the second, yet God was not guilty of the sin, but only the creature. This doctrine passed down among the Dominicans, and continues to do so to this day. Scotus, who was a Franciscan, denied this predetermination, and asserted the freedom of the will. Durandus denied this immediate concurrence, in which he has not had many followers, except Adda and some few more.”—Burnet's *Exposition of the XXXIX. Articles*, Article xvii.

sacra." There are also two very pregnant and illustrative texts on the same page. One from Hosea, "*O Israel, thou hast destroyed thyself; but in me is thy help*" (xiii. 9), and the other from the Apocrypha, "*Seek not death in the error of your life; and pull not upon yourselves destruction with the works of your hands. For God made not death; neither hath He pleasure in the destruction of the living*" (Wisdom i. 12, 13).

Our Prelate¹ thus speaks. *Concerning the title of this book*, "The general love of God towards mankind is so clearly testified in Holy Scripture, and so demonstrated by the manifold effects of God's goodnesse and mercy extended to every particular man in this world, that to doubt thereof were infidelity, and to denie it plain blasphemie; yet for all this, if any shall go about to magnifie the common love of God, extended promiscuously to all men, that thereby he obscureth the speciall love and mercy of God, prepared from all eternitie and bestowed in due time upon elect men. This may lead the ignorant and unlearned in a dangerous error; and therefore obliquely to oppose the eternall, free and absolute decree of Predestination or Election under colour of disapproving an absolute decree for any man's Damnation, befitted not any Divine who acknowledgeth the truth of that doctrine which the scriptures have delivered, St Augustine cleared, and the Church of England established in the seventeenth Article. But if the authour of this treatise had no other aim then the overthrowing of such an eternall decree of Predestination and Preterition as is fondly supposed will save men whether they repent or not repent, believe or not believe, persevere

¹ "And, indeed, the learned will never fail," says Mr Russell, "to acknowledge the great acuteness and depth of Davenant. What praise can suffice for his Animadversions upon Hoard, *on the Universal love of God?* A work in which Davenant enters, with a mind as fully prepared for such enquiries as can fall to the lot of man, into the most mysterious disputes that have ever divided philosophers and theologians."—(*Memorials of Thomas Fuller*, p. 121.)

or not persevere, and such an absolute decree of Reprobation as will damne men though they should repent and believe, or will hinder any man from repenting and believing, or will cause and work any man's impenitency or infidelity; we both wish, and shall endeavour together with him to root such erroneous fancies out of all Christian minds.

“The place cited out of Hosea, with many others which might be alledged, will easily prove that man is the authour of his own sinne, and the procurer of his own damnation, and God onely the Judge and punisher. But withall they prove as clearly that man is not the procurer of his own Predestination, nor the deserver of his own Salvation by his foreseen faith and perseverance; but God is He who according to His absolute and infallible purpose giveth in time that grace unto His elect which before all time He decreed should be an effectuall means to bring men to glory.”

The whole of Sam Hoard's book, *God's Love to Mankind*, is, as we remarked before, incorporated in this work, his treatise being printed in small type, and Davenant's rejoinder in large. This has a double advantage—the author to be criticised is allowed to have all his own words quoted as he wrote them, without having garbled extracts or weak points selected for animadversion, apart from their context, and the different size of type at once arrests the vision.

Our Bishop then gives *an answer to the (Hoard's) Preface, with some propositions concerning the true nature of Predestination and Election*.

“The Title of the Book justly rejecteth an absolute Decree for the damnation of any particular person; for such a Decree was never enacted in God's eternall counsel, nor ever published in His revealed Word. But for absolute Reprobation, if by this word be understood onely that Preterition, non-Election, or negative decree of Predestin-

ation, which is contradictorily opposed to the decree of Election, the one is as absolute as the other, and neither dependeth upon the foreseen difference of men's actions, but upon the absolute will of God. For if God from eternitie absolutely elected some unto the infallible attainment of Grace and Glory, we cannot but grant that those who are not comprised within the absolute decree are as absolutely passed by as the other are chosen. The decree of Damnation therefore must not be confounded with the decree of *negative* Predestination, which (according to the phrase of the School rather than of the Scripture) is usually termed Reprobation. By which term of Reprobation some understand onely the deniall of Election or Predestination. And because the negation is to be measured by the affirmation, except we be agreed what is meant when we say, *Peter was predestinated before the foundations of the world were layd*, we can never rightly judge what is meant when on the contrary we avouch *Judas was reprobated before the foundations of the world were layd*. Some others under the name of Reprobation involve not onely the negative decree of preparing such effectuell grace as would bring men most certainly unto glory, but an affirmative decree also for the punishing of men eternally in hell-fire.

“So farre forth as this authour seemeth to oppose the absolute decree of Predestination, and the absolute decree of *negative* Reprobation or non-Election, reducing them to the contrary foreseen conditions of good or bad acts in men, he crosseth the received Doctrine of the Church of England. But if he intend onely to prove, that the adjudication of men unto eternall life or eternall death, and the temporall introduction of men into the kingdome of heaven, or casting of men into the torments of hell, are always accompanied with the Divine prescience or intuition of contrary acts or qualities in those which are to be saved or condemned, we hold it and acknowledge it a most certain truth. Yet we must here adde, that Predestination and

Preterition are eternall acts immanent in God the Creatour, whereas Salvation and Damnation are temporall effects terminated unto the creature ; and therefore the latter may be suspended upon many conclusions, though the former be in God never so absolute.

“ The Treatise insuing would have had much more perspicuitie, if the authour had briefly and plainly set down what he understandeth by this word *Predestination* or *Election*, and whether he conceiveth it to be an absolute or a conditionall Decree. If conditionall, he should have showed us with whom God conditioned, upon what terms, and where the conditions stand upon record. If he grant absolute Predestination, his plea for conditionall Preterition will be to little purpose with those who understand that the absolute Election of such a certain number doth *in eodem signo rationis* imply a certain number of men not elected.

“ The wisdome of our Church of England in the XVIIith Article layeth down the doctrine of Predestination, and doth not so much in one word meddle with the point of Reprobation, leaving men to conceive that the one is the bare negation or deniall of that speciall favour and benefit which is freely intended and mercifully bestowed in the other. Would to God *the children of the Church had imitated the wisdome of their Mother*, and had not taken quite a contrary course, balking the doctrine of Predestination, and breaking-in abruptly upon the doctrine of Reprobation.” These words should surely satisfy any reasonable churchman.

“ I know not whether I should think him more defective, who, in disputing about Reprobation, runneth out into impertinent vagaries, or him that undertaketh the handling of this question without premising and opening the true nature of Predestination.

“ And no man need fear but (with all that are judicious, religious, and loving their own salvation) that manner of

handling this controversie will be best accepted, which so reduceth man's Sinne and Damnation to himself, as withall it forgetteth not to reduce his justification, sanctification, glorification, not to any foreseen goodnesse spring out of man's freewill, but to the free mercy of God, according to his eternall purpose effectually working in men those gifts and acts of grace which are the means to bring them unto glory.

"Having thus briefly spoken of the Title and Preface, I will lay down such fundamentall doctrines concerning Predestination or Election as I conceive are grounded upon the XVIIth Article, and have always been *taken* for the *common received doctrine of our Church*; the *contradictory* by our *Universities* and *reverend Bishops* (when they were broached) *having been always held and censured for erroneous*. This done, I will go along with the Treatise itself, not intending to defend the particular opinions of any forrein or homebred Divines, exorbitant from the doctrine of our own Church, but onely to defend our well-settled doctrine against all opposers of what names or sects soever."

Our Bishop then proceeds to lay down three Propositions concerning the nature of Predestination, and wherein it properly consisteth, with certain corollaries appertaining thereunto. He then combats the contention of Arminius with his "new-devised platform of Predestination upon foreseen faith and perseverance," which he calls false, vain, and "disagreeing from the notion of Predestination rooted in the hearts of *all Catholick and orthodox Christians*."

In the early part of this Treatise our Bishop sets out what he conceives to be the Church's doctrine of Election, which unfortunately has been nicknamed "Calvinian" or 'Calvinistic,' thereby drawing with it all the peculiarities of Calvin's system and drawbacks of Calvin's name (which, by the way, is not so black as is painted, for he held the highest notions of sacramental grace, and if correlated himself with the Presbyterian regimen or form of church government, it was because he could *not* get any other, no

continental *bishops* having joined the Reformation), but which ought to have been called Augustinian, its true origin, or, better still, Pauline. It will be seen, like a true Anglican Churchman, he appeals to Scripture *and* the Fathers.

Prop. I. “Predestination,” Davenant says, “is an eternal decree or purpose of God, in time causing effectually grace in all those whom He has chosen, and by this effectual grace bringing them infallibly to glory.”

For proof of this proposition these places of Scripture might serve—Rom. viii. 29, 30; Ephes. i. 4, 5, etc.; Luke xii. 32; Matt. xxiv. 24.

The definitions of Predestination prove the same. As that of St Augustine, *De Bono Perseverantiæ*, c. 14; of the Schoolmen, *Præparatio gratiæ in præsentī et gloriæ in futuro*.¹ Amongst the rest of Aquinas, *Prædestinatio est ratio ordinis aliquorum in salutem æternam in mente Divina existens*;² of the Jesuite Vasquez, *Prædestinatio est propositum æternum Dei quo gratiam alicui præparat in vitam æternam*.³ And lastly, Arminius himself giveth us this description, *Prædestinatio est decretum beneplaciti Dei in Christo quo apud se ab æterno statuit, fideles quos fide donare decrevit vitam æternam donare*.⁴ In all these descriptions, Predestination containeth an eternally, absolute, infallible decree, as well for the giving of grace effectually unto certain persons here, as the bringing of the same persons unto glory hereafter. Arminius perceiving this, in his private disputations wipeth out these words, *quos fide donare decrevit*, which he had used in his publick.

¹ “The Preparation of grace in the present and glory in the future.”

² “Predestination is the cause of the decree of some to life eternal, existing in the Divine mind.”

³ “Predestination is the eternal purpose of God by which He prepares for a certain man eternal life.”

⁴ “Predestination is a decree of God well-pleased in Christ, by which with Himself He has determined from eternity to give eternal life to those whom He decreed to give through faith.”

Appended to this first Proposition our Bishop deduces this following corollary—"Predestination being an immanent act of the Divine understanding and will, cannot be conceived as dependent upon any foreseen temporall acts of man's free-will.

"A prime and eternall cause cannot depend upon the self-same temporall effects which are thereby caused. If, therefore, Predestination be the prime and eternall cause from whence *Peter's* faith, repentance and perseverance were derived, his foreseen faith, repentance and perseverance cannot in any good sense be imagined antecedent causes, merits, conditions, or motives unto the Divine Predestination."

Davenant then goes on to show that the Jesuit Vasquez was sounder than Arminius on these points, and appeals to Dr Overall's (the learned Bishop of Norwich) gloss on the XVIIth Article, who was the author of the sacramental additions¹ to the catechism of our Church—whose words are, "Nostra Ecclesia conjungit particulare decretum absolutum non ex præscientia humanæ fidei aut voluntatis dependens, sed ex proposito Divinæ voluntatis et gratiæ de his quos Deus elegit in Christo liberandis, cum generali et conditionata voluntata, seu generali promissione," &c.²

When he (Bishop Overall) evidently acknowledgeth an eternall, secret, absolute Decree, predestinating particular persons unto eternall life without all dependency upon their foreseen faith or perseverance, though therewithall he conjoyn an open, revealed and Evangelicall Decree of bringing

¹ "The composition of this latter (*i.e.* the addition of an explanation of the Sacraments) is generally attributed to Bishop Overall, who was the Prolocutor of the Convocation, and at that time Dean of St Paul's. It was added by royal authority, 'by way of explanation,' in compliance with the wish which the Puritans had expressed at the Conference at Hampton Court, and with two emendations was afterwards confirmed by Convocation and Parliament in 1661."—Procter, *On the Book of Common Prayer*, p. 369.

² Our Church joins together a particular absolute decree, not dependent on a foreknowledge of human faith or will, but on the purpose of the Divine will and favour in the case of those whom God elected in Christ to free, with a general or conditioned will, or general promise, &c.

men into the possession of eternall life by the way and upon the condition of their faith, repentance and perseverance.”

Our Bishop passes on to account for the difference between some men being holy and happy, and others the reverse, which he lays down in his second Proposition.

Prop. 2. “Election or Predestination findeth or considereth all mere men in one and the selfsame condition: and it is the grace prepared for them in Predestination which maketh the predestinate become holy and happy men.

“If Predestination be conceived as antecedent to the fall, then it taketh all men *in statu innocentis* and so alike. If it be considered in *statu lapso*, then it also findeth all the sources of Adam alike miserable and damnable.”

Deducing therefrom a corollary that those are in error who believe that God only elected those whom He foresaw were “believing and persevering in faith and holiness unto the last gasp,” Davenant advances to his third Proposition.

Prop. 3. “The grace prepared for the Elect in God’s eternall Predestination, and bestowed upon them in the temporall dispensation, so causeth their belief, repentance, perseverance, as that it imposeth no necessity or violent co-action upon the wills of men, but causeth their free and voluntary endeavours.

“That the grace prepared in Predestination is an infallible cause producing faith and perseverance in all the elect, appeareth from the nature and essence of Predestination; which being a speciall part of the Divine Providence, is distinguished from that more generall providence, by appointing and applying such means as never fail to produce the end whereunto they are fitted.

“So that St Augustine feareth not to inferre, that if the grace prepared for the Elect in their Predestination should not work the intended end, which is their glorification:

aut vinceretur aut falleretur Deus. God Himself must either be overcome or deceived. Yet he withall defendeth. That this effectual grace hath no violent coercive operation upon the will, but causeth it to work by its own freedom. *Stat libertas arbitrii cum Divina motione voluntatem nostram ad id quod vult applicante.*¹ And St Augustine to the same purpose, *Deus omnipotentissimâ facilitate convertit, ac volentes ex nolentibus facit.*² In which few words he conjoyneth the invincible operation of the grace of God with the free operation of man's will. Nay, the grace flowing from the decree of Predestination is so farre from putting a necessitation upon the will, as that it is the very cause which freeth the will from the slavery of sinne, and maketh it freely to move and work in all good acts. It *giveth the will and the deed*, and therefore it implyeth a contradiction to say, it maketh a man do any good by way of necessitation, *ubi consensus, ibi voluntas; ubi voluntas, ibi libertas.*³ When as therefore God had eternally predestinated *Peter* to believe in Christ to repent, to persevere, he did by speciall grace move him and work him to the most free and willing performance of all these things; according to that of St Augustine, *Cum Deus vult fieri quod non nisi volentibus hominibus oportet fieri, inclinatur eorum corda ut hoc velint.*⁴ They who refuse to acknowledge this power of God's Will over man's will, do not perceive how they stumble at the *first article of the Apostles' Creed.*"

Our Prelate chargeth Arminius with novelty. And the platform which he and the Remonstrants tried to set up at the Synod of Dort *new-devised*. But the old is true, and

¹ "The freedom of the will with the Divine motion applying our wills to that which it wishes."

² "God with the most all-puissant facility converts, and makes the willing out of unwilling."

³ "Where the consent is, there is the will; and where will is, there is liberty."

⁴ "When God wishes that to be done, which ought not be done except by willing men, He inclines their hearts to wish (will) this."

the new false, according to the Vincentian Canon, *Quod semper, quod ubique, quod ab omnibus* (always, everywhere and by all believed). Davenant says Arminius', Predestination, as formulated at Dort, “is settled upon these foure pillars.

“1. The first is, an absolute decree of giving Christ for a Mediatour and Redeemer unto mankind considered as fallen, in the state of sinne.

“2. Another absolute decree, to receive into favour all such as shall repent and believe, and to save them persevering unto the end; as also, to leave the impenitent and unfaithfull under God's wrath, and to condemn them as men out of Christ.

“3. The third decree, Effectually to afford and administer unto all men sufficient and necessary means of breeding faith and repentance.

“4. The fourth and last, a decree, To save or condemne certain singular persons, grounded upon the Divine foresight who will repent, believe and persevere and who will not.

“To this platform in generall we say, That the marshalling of the eternall immanent acts of the Divine understanding or will into First, Second, Third, Fourth, is a weak imagination of man's brain, and so uncertain that amongst twenty who give us such delineations of God's eternall decrees, you shall not find two who agree between themselves in numbering them and ordering them, but where one maketh foure, another maketh five, six, or seven, &c., and that which one man setteth in the first place another setteth in the last, and in brief every man ordereth them *secundum suum modum imaginandi*. To build therefore any doctrines of faith upon the Prioritie or Posterioritie of such decrees, is to build castles in the aire. For as Hilarius speaketh, *omnia penes Deum æqualitati æternitatis infinitate consistunt* (all things with God abide with an equal infinity of eternity).

After the Propositions and Corollaries concerning Predestination have been laid down or deduced; and the decrees of Arminius discussed and rejected, our author then proceeds to review "The Question Stated," in which Davenant plainly tells Mr Hoard that "the Remonstrants (or Arminians) have not onely the Contra-remonstrants for their opposites, but the *Church of England* also: *which holdeth the middle way*, as the learned Bishop of Norwich (Hall) hath plainly shewed: The change of your opinion, therefore, is not to be blamed, unlesse where from one extremity you have run into the other.

"A friend might have been satisfied in this kind by private conference, or writing, though his Majestie's Declaration (*i.e.*, prefixed to the XXXIX. Articles) had not been broken by printing and publishing such controversiall points."

The Calvinists have been divided, as is well known, into two sections or schools of thought—the Sublapsarian or the Supralapsarian—*i.e.*, those who refer God's absolute or eternal decrees to a period posterior or anterior to Adam's fall and prevarication.

Let us see our Bishop's definition upon these two important sections, bearing in mind that Davenant belonged to the moderate party, or Sublapsarian section, which was strongly opposed to Bogerman and the extreme party or Supralapsarian at the Synod of Dort; and that all the Anglican representatives synchronized with Davenant, whose sound and commanding influence at the Synod, as we saw in a former chapter, was very great.

"As for those whom you (Hoard) term *Sublapsarian*, you should have taken notice that in this number, you must include all who imbrace *St Augustine's doctrine*, and who have subscribed to the XVIIth Article of our Church. Now these do as well oppose themselves against the conditionate Election and Preterition, built upon the foresight of men's good or bad acts, lately brought in by Arminius (the Re-

monstrants), as unto the extreme harsh opinions of Piscator, Gomarus, or whomsoever. So that by joyning yourself with the Remonstrants, you have as clearly forsaken the *doctrine of the Church of England*, as of Beza, Zanchius, or Piscator.¹

“ The description of their opinion whom you term *Sublapsarians* will not agree unto all who reject the conditionate Predestination and Reprobation of the Remonstrants. For many with St Augustine and our Church, condemne this as erroneous, who notwithstanding make no absolute decree adjudging men to hell-torments with an excluding of all preconsideration of sin : But they grant an absolute decree of not effectually freeing many men from their estate of sinne, and an absolute decree of permitting many men to want the joyes of Heaven, and an absolute decree of publishing such mens foreseen sins voluntarily committed and voluntarily continued by eternall torments in Hell.

“ Those who are passed-by in the eternall decree of God, are not by any force of the decree left without the benefit which the Scriptures promise upon condition of repentance, no more than those whom God hath eternally elected are by virtue of that decree freed from the punishment which supposing their impenitency must light upon them, notwithstanding the absolute eternall decrees of Election and Reprobation, the revealed Evangelicall decrees stand in their full force. If Cain repent, and live well, he shall be pardoned and saved ; If Peter repent not, and persevere in his sinne, he shall be damned. And yet farther (not to determine whether sufficient grace be offered to every par-

¹ Piscator or Fischer (John), a German Protestant, born at Strasburg in 1546. He was successively a Lutheran, a Calvinist, and an Arminian. But his attainments in divinity became so celebrated that he was invited to accept the Professor's Chair at Herborn, which he filled with such effect as to draw many students thither from different parts of Europe. He was very diligent and laborious, translated the Bible into German, and was the author of commentaries on the Old and New Testament, which are said to be valuable. His works were collected in four volumes, folio. He died in 1626.

ticular person in the world or no) we may resolutely determine that the distinct absolute decree of electing some infallibly unto perseverance in grace and attainment of glory, and of Passing-by and rejecting others, is no good argument to prove that therefore the non-elected are left without all remedy or sufficient means of Salvation. Adam was not predestinated to stand in the state of his innocency, yet he was not thereby excluded or bereft of sufficient means of standing. From the decree of Preterition or Reprobation, it well followeth Judas is reprobated: Therefore he will not use the remedies or means which God offereth for his salvation. But it is not good consequence to say, Therefore God hath not given him sufficient remedies or means to escape damnation, were not his own wicked will the only hindrance."

Dr Davenant played a very conspicuous part—perhaps the most conspicuous of all the Anglican representatives—at the Synod of Dort, and his reference here to an historical fact connected with it may prove not unacceptable.

"The Synod of Dort enjoined men to set down their particular judgements concerning Predestination and Reprobation: and therefore they had no reason to forbid any man to set down plainly his own opinion. And since the Divine understanding doth not consider or behold this after that, but all together in one instant of eternitie, there is no cause why men should stiffly contend about these Priorities and Posteriorities, which are humane imaginations, or *intellectus nostri fictiones* (fictions of our intellect) as some truly term them.

"Maccovius was upon a by-occasion brought before the Synod, and the businesse betwixt him and Lubbertus was committed to the examination of some few Delegates, according to whose report he was dismissed.

"For his denying of a *will* in God for the *saving of all men*, he understood it of the absolute effectuall operative will, not of the conditionall and approbative will of God.

“They both confesse that the Divine understanding could not but eternally foresee the originall and actuall sinne which should finally cleave unto every particular man who should afterwards be born into this world : but they for all this deny that the *moving cause*, whereupon God distinguished men into elect or non-elect, was the foreseen faith of some, and the foreseen infidelitie and impenitency of others. The state of men under sinne was common to all : the mercy of God in effectually freeing from sinne was due to none”(p. 31).

Continuing the same subject, “The absolute decree cleared,” he proves that Luther and the Greek Church agree with the teaching of the Church on this head.

“As for the Lutherans that bring in a conditional Predestination, no man can look into Luther’s works but must needs see that they have forsaken their own Master : and therefore they are lesse to be regarded when they rail upon the Calvinists.”

“For the Greek Churches. If they tread in the steps of the learned and ancient Greek Fathers they may found Predestination upon Prescience, but not upon the Pelagian or Arminian Prescience, which they make *merely intuitive*, and caused by the object foreseen ; but by a Prescience *practicall* or *factive* of that good which it foreseeth in the Elected, and *permissive* of those voluntary evil actions which are foreseen in the Non-elected, and also *preparative* of their just punishment.¹

¹ The second opinion (the third being Remonstrants, Arminians or Universalists, and the fourth Socinians) is of those called the *Sublapsarians*, who say that Adam having sinned freely, and his sin being imputed to all his posterity, God did consider mankind, thus lost, with an eye of pity ; and having designed to rescue a great number out of this lost state, He decreed to send His son to die for them, to accept of His death on their account, and to give them such assistances as should be effectually both to convert them to Him, and to make them persevere to the end ; but for the rest, He framed no positive act about them, only he left them in that lapsed state, without intending that they should have the benefit of Christ’s death, or of efficacious and persevering assistances.”—(Burnet’s *Exposition of the XXXIX. Articles of the Church of England*, Art. xvii.)

“The sublapsarian way of considering this high mystery of Predestination and negative Reprobation, is the way which the Church of England taketh, as the more easy for our understanding. And it so walketh in this way, that it maketh Predestination an absolute decree of giving grace and glory unto the predestinate, and not a conditionate decree foreseeing their gracious actions, and thereupon predestinating them: and by this it silently teaches what to think of negative Reprobation, which cannot be severed from Election.

“If you (*i.e.* Hoard) embrace the late Lutherans opinion, and bring within the compasse of the *Predestinary Pestilence* the doctrine of Predestination, which they disallow, you manifestly brand the Church of England with this note of infamy, and might as well charge us with the *Sacramentary Pestilence* for denying their feigned Consubstantiation and Orall manducation of the flesh of Christ, as with the *Predestinary pestilence* for denying their conditionall Predestination upon foresight of men’s belief in Christ. The Lutherans make Predestination or Election nothing else but a revealed decree of bestowing eternal life upon those which shall perseverantly believe in Christ: and consequently they make Reprobation nothing else but the revealed will of God to condemne all those who shall continue in their infidelity and obstinacy. Our Church acknowledgeth the truth of such decrees; but it placeth not Election or Reprobation in such generall conditionate decrees. The decree of Election or Predestination is by us conceived an act of God’s absolute will by effectuall grace mercifully ordaining certain persons unto the infallible atteinment of glory. In this decree, Faith, Perseverance, and all saving graces are not in order of nature the *foreseen* conditions, but the *afterseen* effects of Predestination (p. 60).

“So likewise,” continues Davenant, “our Church conceiveth Reprobation to be *negativus actus prædestinationis*

(the negative act of Predestination), a free act of the Divine will denying the special benefit or favour of Predestination (which is the preparation of grace, infallibly bringing men unto glory) to some certain persons. As for *positive* Reprobation (which is eternal damnation) this our Church foundeth upon the guilt and demerit of man's sinne. We say, therefore, with a learned writer of the Romish Church (to whom you (Hoard) think this opinion to be so odious), *omnibus hominibus consideratis sub esse possibili prius ratione quam prædestinarentur aut reproberentur, nulla fuit ratio discriminis quæ potuerit Divinam voluntatem inclinare ut prædestinationem Judæ negaret potius quam Paulo.* And again, *nulla scientia visionis ultimo formaliterque constituit reprobationem, sed potius totam reprobationem supponit ex parte objecti.* So that all they, whether Lutherans or Remonstrants, who make Predestination nothing but the will of God to save believers, and Reprobation or Preterition nothing else but the will of God to damne unbelievers, retain for fashion's sake the old words, but obtrude a *new notion* of those words upon the Christian Church.

“In vain, therefore, is it to dispute with those about Election and Preterition who reject all the definitions or descriptions given by ancient divines, and bring new ones of their own coyning” (p. 63).

The discussion is further continued under the two heads of “*Supralapsarians charge God with man's destruction,*” and “*Supralapsarians charge God with men's sinnes, which gives our Bishop an opportunity of giving his opinion, and enlarging upon the moot points “of the Supralapsarian distinctions.”*”

“This term of *Supralapsarian*, Davenant, who, if any body did, must have thoroughly understood the subtleties of this abstruse and intricate subject, says, “which is truly fastened upon some Protestant divines, but falsely upon Calvine, if it designe all those who place the decrees of

Election and Reprobation before the decree of Prevision or decree of permitting originall sinne, it taketh-in Scotus¹ and all his followers, it taketh-in a great number of the Romanists, for (if Suarez say true) it is the more common opinion amongst them. This I note to show the private spleen which our Remonstrants carrie against some Protestant writers of good desert in God's Church, whom they fouly handle for the self-same opinion which they wink at in the Romanists. But to come to their distinction :—

“The first Distinction of the *Supralapsarians*,² whereby they clear themselves from making God the true cause of men's sinnes, though they teach absolute Election and

¹ Davenant here cites from Duns Scotus, a famous scholastic divine who flourished in the fourteenth century: a Briton by birth, educated first in the Convent of Franciscan Friars at Newcastle, and then sent to Oxford, where he made rapid progress, and was soon distinguished. It is said that not less than 30,000 students came to Oxford to hear his lectures. This led to his transfer, by his Order, to Paris, where he was appointed Regent of the Divinity Schools. He was considered one of the first wranglers of his time, and was an indefatigable writer. Such was his acuteness and ability as to obtain for him the epithet of Doctor Subtilis; but differing with his Master Aquinas about the efficacy of Divine grace, he gave rise to a controversy which engaged the learned in eager and trifling disputes for years; and of the twelve folio volumes which resulted from all his labour and study, how small a portion would probably repay the trouble of perusal.

² “The first” (of the four opinions) “is of those commonly called *Supralapsarians*, who think that God does not only consider His own glory in all that He does, and whatever is done arises, as from its first cause, from the decree of God; that in this decree God, considering only the manifestations of His own glory, intended to make the world, to put a race of men in it, to constitute them under Adam as their fountain and head; that He decreed Adam's sin, the lapse of his posterity, and Christ's death, together with the salvation or damnation of such men as should be most for His own glory; that to those who were to be saved He decreed to give such efficacious assistance as should certainly put them in the way of salvation, and to those whom He rejected He decreed to give such assistance and means only as should render them inexcusable; that all men do continue in a state of grace or of sin, and shall be saved or damned according to that first decree; so that God views Himself only, and in that view He designs all things singly for His own glory and the manifesting of His own attributes.”—Burnet's *Exposition of the XXXIX. Articles of the Church of England*, Art. xiii.

non-Election or negative Reprobation considered before the Fall, is, that God's decrees may be *Operative* or *Permissive*. This decree of Reprobation is not a decree to work any man's sinfull actions whereby he incurreth damnation, but to let them come to passe by the free operation of his own will. This Distinction of God's decrees is not denied; but it is objected by this authour (Hoard) that God *standeth in no need of man's sinne for setting forth of His glorie*, as if the doctrine of the Supralapsarians concerning absolute Election and absolute Non-election or Reprobation made sinne so absolutely needfull that God's glory must suffer an eclipse if sinnes be not committed by his own procuring and working. But absolute Reprobation implieth onely, that God knew He could turn the sinnes of men and angels (yea, and their damnation) unto His own glorie: and that he decreed so to do in some, not out of any necessitie of setting forth His glorie by permitting or punishing their sinnes, but out of His Free-will determining so to manifest His glorie. The glorie which eternally and essentially belongeth unto God, needeth not the creature itself, much lesse then the sinne of the creature. God's glorie had been the same that it is if man had never been made: and so consequently if he never have sinned; if he had never been condemned unto Hell for sinne. Nay further, if no man had ever been elected, sanctified, or saved, God's glorie is a thing w^{ch} could not possibly have been lessened or any way blemished. The outward and temporall manifestation of God's glorie being in it self a thing of no necessitie in regard of God, it is fond to imagine that God standeth in need of any such means for setting-forth of His glory, seeing the very temporall setting-forth of His glory is a thing no way needfull unto Him. We agree, therefore, that God stands in no need of sin either for His glory as it is considered in it self, or as it is to be manifested unto the creature: For God in His infinite wisdome could

(without the permission of sin) have found means enough for sufficient illustration of His own glory" (p. 159).

Davenant then cites S. Augustine, Prosper, Fulgentius and even the schoolmen as represented by Thomas Aquinas as being all "defenders of absolute Election and Non-Election, and adversaries to that Election and Reprobation which the Pelagians and Semi-Pelagians founded upon contrary good and bad actions foreseen in men, yet all of these disclaimed this necessitation." . . . "And therefore we conclude," he says, "that it is not yet proved that the Doctrine of Reprobation maketh God the authour of sinne."

Space would fail to give such extracts from this most logical and weighty treatise, as would do justice to the Bishop's arguments, bristling with Patristic and other references, which are conducted under the following heads: "The Sublapsarian (the moderate Calvinian platform) (*i.e.*, our Author's, as opposed to the *Supralapsarian*) contradicted not Scripture" (209-229); "The Sublapsarian Doctrine opugneth not God's Holinesse" (240-272); "The Sublapsarian Doctrine opposeth not God's mercie" (277-310); "The Sublapsarian Doctrine opposeth not God's Justice" (319-342); "The Sublapsarian Doctrine robbeth not God of His Truth and sincerity" (349-362); "The Sublapsarian doctrine taketh not away the use and end of God's gifts" (374-404); "The Sublapsarian doctrine hindreth not Pietie and a godly life" (413-440); "The Sublapsarian doctrine is no means of despair" (467-491); and lastly, "Of the abuse and use¹ of the doctrine of Predestination and Election" (492-536).

¹ The following are Davenant's seven uses of Predestination:—

1. It serveth to illustrate many of God's attributes, and exceedingly manifesteth those Divine properties which every Christian ought rightly to know and acknowledge, and which they who impugn this doctrine can never acknowledge as is meet, &c.

2. The doctrine of Predestination doth serve to kindle in the hearts of the faithfull a most ardent love towards God, &c., &c.

The Bishop closes his powerful and erudite book with what he conceived to be the “uses” of election; and doubtless speaks the result of his own experience, with these which may be deemed almost his final words—the last legacy of a dying saint and child of God—a voice from the Border-land—and it proves what has been often averred, that although at first sight this doctrine looks only a mere speculative opinion—it has an objective side, and is most practical in its effects, and is “full of sweet, pleasant, and unspeakable comfort to godly persons,” as our Article says, *if rightly viewed*.¹

“Lastly (7), it is manifest that when the doctrine of Predestination is rooted in our hearts, it doth exceedingly enable us patiently and meekly to sustain all adversitie. Neither is this use lightly to be esteemed seeing that Patience, as Tertullian² saith, *is a grace so necessary in all religious duties, that he that wanteth it can neither keep any commandments nor perform any work acceptable to the Lord*. Now the consideration of Predestination doth work patience

3. This doctrine is a great spur and encouragement to the study of true godliness unto all those who are affected with a lively sense of their election, &c.

4. The fourth use of this doctrine is this, that it is a special means to bear down the pride of man, and to beget in him true humility, &c.

5. Fifthly, this orthodox doctrine of Predestination and Reprobation doth arm the faithfull against diffidence, and against all the temptations and assaults of Satan whereby he laboureth to throw them into despair, &c.

6. Sixthly, The consideration of election doth stirre up the faithfull to constancie in prayer, &c.

7. It is manifest when the doctrine of Predestination is rooted in our hearts, it doth exceedingly enable us patiently and meekly to sustain all adversitie, &c.

¹ “Aquinas speaketh very learnedly and soundly, *The Elect* ought to labour in good works and in prayer; for hereby their Election is ascertained and accomplished. For as naturall effects, though foreseen by God, yet are brought into act by naturall causes, without which they cannot come to passe; so the salvation of the Elect being decreed by God, whatsoever furthereth the same falleth under the same decree, as prayer, care to live godlily, and the like, without which the Salvation of the Elect will never be accomplished.”—(Part I. quest. 23, art. 8.)

² *De Patientia*.

in the Elect three manner of wayes. First, because from thence they conceive certain hope that their momentarie afflictions being ended they shall infallibly attein life everlasting. Now what man into whose breast this perswasion is entred, that he was elected to life eternall before the creation of the world, can be of so low and cowardly a spirit as to be moved to impatience by the crosses and troubles of this temporall life? The Apostle encouraged herewith crieth out thus in the midst of his adversitie: *That the sufferings of this present time are not worthy to be compared with the glory which shall be revealed in us.*¹ Holy Prosper, a disciple of St Paul, susteineth himself with the same prop. *I weigh, saith he, what I suffer with what I hope for, and my hopes do incomparably exceed all my suffering.*² Again, the Apostle, Heb. x. 34, alledgeth the knowledge that the saints had of being elected to eternall life as a special cause of their patience in enduring afflictions. *Ye had compassion of me in my bonds and took joyfully the spoiling of your goods, knowing that ye have in Heaven a better and enduring substance.* As though he had said, Those onely do patiently endure the losse of these earthly goods, who know that there be heavenly goods appointed and prepared for them. Secondly, The consideration of Predestination doth wonderfully conduce to the begetting of patience in the minds of *the faithfull*, because whosoever understandeth this doctrine aright, understandeth withall that he was elected not straight to be carried into Heaven on a bed of down, but to become conformable unto the Head of the Elect Christ Jesus as well in the crosse as in the crown. For so saith the Apostle, *If so that we suffer with Him, we shall be also glorified together.* And S. Peter, *Rejoice in as much as ye are partakers of Christ's sufferings, that when His glory shall*

¹ Rom. viii. 18.

² In Sent., *Appendo quod patior contra id quod spero et incomparabiliter majus est quod speratur quam quod infertur.*

be revealed, ye may be glad also with exceeding joy. Afflictions therefore do not onely not tire the patience of the Elect, but they beget within them a secret and spirituall joy. For being afflicted they rejoyce, and *embrace their sufferings like reliques consecrated by the touch of Christ.* And from this their conformitie with Christ here in suffering the miseries of this life they do assuredly gather their conformitie with Him hereafter in the fruition of everlasting joyes; according to that of Gregorie, *The more grievous and heavie my pressures are for the present, the greater is my certaintie of future joyes.* Hence not patience alone, but joy also in affliction doth spring up unto the predestinate. Thirdly, by the doctrine of Predestination *the faithfull* are trained up unto patience, because from thence they learn that all crosses and troubles fall out unto them not by chance, but by God's determinate appointment, not according to the fury of the wicked, but according to the will of their Father in Heaven, not for their hurt but for their advantage. No man hath thoroughly learned the doctrine of Predestination, but he also acknowledgeth all this; and no man is firmly perswaded of this, but he patiently endureth whatsoever misfortunes can befall him. But if at any time any impatience be found in the breast of *the faithful*, it is because they either do not sufficiently believe or not attentively consider this most comfortable doctrine of Predestination. For if this perswasion be rooted in our hearts, that no man can do anything against us but what the *counsel of God determined before to be done*, we shall never impatiently grumble because God doth not alter His eternall decrees that so we might escape our momentary evils. Further, if this also be added, That the wicked are onely as rods in the hand of God, and cannot scourge us as much and as they please, but as much and as long as seemeth good unto God our heavenly Father, who will not meekly suffer himself to be chastised by the powerfull hand of so gracious a Father? Lastly, if we take-in

this also, That those very things which seem hard and sharp to be suffered do undoubtedly work together for our good, who would take I will not say impatiently but unwillingly a potion which, though bitter, yet is tempered and prepared for him by so wise, so loving a Physician?" (p. 534).

"And thus you see how many excellent uses do flow from the *orthodox* doctrine of Predestination. What remaineth shall be dispatched in a word or two. If we will shew that we have not a fleeting or uncertain conjecture only, but a true and solidly knowledge of our Election, we must have recourse to the forenamed uses, and by them make triall, whether our conceit of our Election be a deceitfull illusion or a true perswasion springing from faith. We are to account it false and deceitfull if it prove idle and unprofitable, much more if we find it to be the pernicious mother of presumption; But if it hath taught us to conceive worthily of God, if it hath enflamed our hearts with the love of Him, if it hath kindled in us a zeal of true godliness, if it hath beaten down our pride and begot in us true humility, if it defend us against despair, if it stirre us up to frequent prayer, if it encourage us to patience under the crosse, then we may be assured of our Predestination and of our future possession of eternall life through Jesus Christ our Lord."

Thus far the "Animadversions." We leave Mr Hoard to Bishop Davenant—and his fate.

CHAPTER XIX

ECCLESIASTICAL AFFAIRS DURING THE LAST YEARS OF DAVENANT'S LIFE (1637-1640)

“God’s Calendar is more complete than man’s best martyrologies : and their names are written in the Book of Life, who on earth are wholly forgotten.”—FULLER’S *Worthies*.

“IN the summer of 1637,” says Dr Gardiner, “more than eight years had passed away since a Parliament had met at Westminster. During those years, in spite of threats of war, which Charles had neither the nerve nor the means to carry out, peace had been maintained, and with the maintenance of peace the material prosperity of the country had been largely on the increase. But the higher aspirations of the nation remained unsatisfied. England had been without a government, in the best sense of the word, as truly as she had been without a Parliament. That pacification of hostile ecclesiastical parties, which Charles had undertaken to bring about, was further off than when the doors closed upon the Commons after the last stormy meeting in 1629. The attempt to restore harmony to the Church by silencing Puritan doctrine, and by the revival of obsolete ceremonies, had only served to embitter still more that spirit of opposition which was bitter enough already. The enforced observance of rites enjoined by external authority had not as yet produced a temper of acquiescence. Yet it was in the firm belief that in this way alone could the spiritual welfare of the nation be promoted, that men like Laud and Wren were labouring against the stream which

threatened to sweep them away.¹ "The foundation of holiness," wrote Wren, who as Bishop of Norwich found himself in charge of one of the most Puritan districts in England, "is the Holy Spirit, God blessed for ever. God the Holy Ghost breathes not but in His Holy Catholic Church. The Holy Church subsists not without the Communion of Saints—no communion with them without union among ourselves—that union impossible unless we preserve a uniformity for doctrine, and a uniformity for discipline."²

There can be no doubt that Churchmen, especially in the Laudian days, have had a great deal to do, not only in putting their own spiritual house in order, but to fight the Church's battle in this country since the Reformation. Wedged in as she is between the intruded mission of Rome on the one hand, and the Sectaries on the other, she has had to fight against the two extremes for her platform of *via media*—Evangelical truth and Apostolic order—based as it is on her bifurcated appeal to Scripture and Primitive antiquity. "For the builders, every one had his sword girded by his side, and so builded" (Neh.

¹ *Fall of the Monarchy of Charles I.*, by Samuel Ransom Gardiner, LL.D. (p. 2).

² Wren to —, May 27. Tanner MSS., lxviii., fol. 92. The following passage from the same letter shows how Wren was prepared to carry out his principles in detail:—"Here, I must be bold to say plainly, the breach of that unity and uniformity in the Church hath principally been caused . . . by lectures and lecturers. . . . Now, therefore, for the advancing of the holy discipline of the Church, and for preserving uniformity therein, I am resolved to let no man preach in any place where he is not also charged with the cure; thereby to put a straiter tie upon him to observe and justify the rites and ceremonies which the Church enjoyneth: and I shall be very careful, if any man be found opposite or negligent in the one, without any more ado to render him unfit and unworthy of the other. For the preserving of unity of doctrine I dare promise myself nothing where the preacher shall be forced to suit his business to the fancy of his auditors, and to say nothing but what pleases them, at leastwise nothing that may displease them: and this needs he must do, if his means have not some competency in it, and if a competency, then so much the worse if no certainty, but wholly dependent on the will and pleasure of the hearers."

iv. 18). Then again, even among her professed members, there is the tendency to gravitate towards one or other of the extreme wings, the natural tendency of the human mind either towards authority, or opinion, and a leakage there has ever been, both on the side of Rome, and Geneva. So that side by side with this open conflict on the right and on the left, there has been the difficult task of generating in her own members an intelligent interest in their own system, preserving that moderation which is so needed, and producing that unity which is so desirable.

All these difficulties came to a head in Davenant's days in a way they have never done before or since, and perhaps may never be the case again. The times were troublous, restless spirits were abroad. Churchmen had not yet fully learnt to grasp their own system. A factious temper was stirring. Men who were tasting the sweets of liberty, forgot that that word did not spell licence. Internal divisions, external difficulties¹—such was the condition of the old ship, "Church and State," when Laud was at the helm, steering her through the foaming waters of sedition, heresy, and every kind of schism. "Without were fightings, within were fears."

Certainly greater stress was laid upon uniformity in those days than in our own, and Laud and Wren were attempting to reach unity through it. They seem to have

¹ Their own immediate difficulties, too, soon engaged their thoughts; when the depths of society are once broken up, it is not until after a long lapse of time, and many heavings to and fro, that they can settle down again in peace and order. Thus internal strife and gainsayings, hostilities from without fomented by Rome, and perplexities within, exhausted the energies of Churchmen during the reigns of Elizabeth and James, and for one hundred and fifty years no definite attempt was encouraged for extending the Church into the distant wilderness of the world. Thoughts, indeed, and crude proposals were entertained from time to time, but they serve only to bear witness to the state of unripeness in which Christians found themselves, to enter upon so high a work of evangelical duty and enterprise.—(Fuller's S.P.G. Sermon, "Where are the Men? or the Call of Heathendom to England's Church and Nation," p. 20.)

tried the effect of seizing upon the bodies of men because they were unable to convince their understandings, or to touch their hearts. And if we may form our judgment on the avowed ecclesiastical literature of the day, they were everywhere triumphant. Writers, like White and Dow, Peter Heylin and Shelford, used their prolific pens in defence of the festive character of the Lord's Day, or of the new position, *altar-wise*, assigned to the Holy Table. But no writer was able to make himself heard who thought otherwise, that it was sinful to shoot at the butts on Sunday, or to kneel at the reception of the Lord's Supper. As was to be anticipated, indignation found a way. There were presses at Amsterdam which would print any thing, and there were also secret presses in London. The risk to which unlicensed authorship was exposed, generated an acerbity of style, and many a biting and caustic pamphlet was eagerly circulated from hand to hand. The Primate soon found himself the object of fierce and angry vituperation. No misstatement was too gross, no charge too insulting, to be believed against a man who refused to his adversaries all chance of speaking in their own defence, and without the approval of others.

There appeared to Laud no other course than to persist in the path which he had hitherto followed, and he was resolved to put the terrors of the Star Chamber¹

¹ The Star Chamber, *Camera Stellata*, so called from the room where the Council sat, being emblazoned with stars, was a court of very ancient original, but new modelled by Stat. 3 Henry VII., c. 1, and 21 Henry VIII., c. 20. It consisted of divers lords, spiritual and temporal, being "Privy Counsellors," and other judges. Its jurisdiction was so extended beyond all due bounds that the greatest enormities were practised under its authority. Mr Hallam does not scruple to say it "rendered our courts of justice little better than the caverns of murderers" (Const. Hist., i. 231). "For which reason," says Blackstone, "it was finally abolished by Stat. 16 Car i., c. 2, to the general joy of the whole nation" (iv. 264). Lord Bacon extolled the use of this Court, but men began to feel even in his day that so arbitrary a jurisdiction was incompatible with liberty, "and it fell before the growing independence of the nation" (Hume, iii. 418). — Fuller's *Appellate Jurisdiction of the Crown in Ecclesiastical Cases*, note to p. 27.

and the High Commission Court against the unlicensed misleaders of public opinion. Three typical pamphleteers — “they were,” said Clarendon, “of three several professions which had the most influence upon the people, a divine, a common lawyer, and a doctor of physic,” — William Prynne, Henry Burton and John Bastwick were selected for punishment. The history of the trial and punishment of these three men is too well known to require us to go into their details. Suffice it to say that the first was condemned for his book *A Divine Tragedy lately Acted*, a collection of God’s judgments upon Sabbath-breakers, which was the natural outcome of the King’s *Declaration of Sports*: the second, for his two sermons *For God* and *The King*, in which the alterations of the position of the Holy Table, and its ornaments, were vehemently assailed; and the third for his *Flagellum Pontificis*—an argument in favour of Presbyterianism, published in Holland. In the last case, Bastwick composed his *Litany*, in which these words occur, “From bishops, priests and deacons, good Lord, deliver us.” The Prelates were the enemies of God and the King—the tail of the Beast. They had opened “the very schools of ungodliness and unrighteousness, impiety and all manner of licentiousness.” The Church was “as full of ceremonies as a dog is full of fleas.” “To speak the truth, such a multitude of trumperies and grollish ceremonies are brought in by the Prelates as all the substance of religion is thrust out.” Churchwardens were ordered to inform “about capping, ducking, standing and kneeling.” As for the Ecclesiastical Courts they were altogether abominable. “I shall ever be of opinion,” wrote Bastwick, “that there is never a one of the Prelates’ Courts but the wickedness of that alone and their vassals in it is able to bring a continual and perpetual plague upon the King’s three dominions.” All manner of wickedness was there vendible, so that if men would open their purses, “remission of sins and absolution with a free

immunity from all dangers would be with facility granted them," and more to the same effect. On June 14th, 1637, the three assailants of the Bishops appeared before the Star Chamber to answer to a charge of libel, and were condemned. The sentence was a severe one, even for those days, the loss of their ears, a fine of £5000, and incarceration for the rest of their natural days in the Castles of Carnarvon, Launceston and Lancaster. At Finch's suggestion, Prynne's cheeks should be further branded with the letters S L,¹ as a seditious libeller, which Prynne in a Latin distich interpreted as *Stigmata Laudis*, the scars of Laud. The way in which the sentence was carried out, and the sufferings of the unhappy men, may be seen in the graphic pages of Fuller's *Church History of Great Britain*.

Laud delivered a long and argumentative speech in Court, being put on his defence. The main charge against him was that these Church ceremonies were innovations on established usage. His answer was in effect that they were not innovations of the established usage, but only renovations.

Even Dr Gardiner—who, as descendant of Cromwell and Ireton, writes with a strong Puritan bias—admits "on many points of detail he had far the better of the argument."² As to the removal of the communion table to the east end of the chancel, he averred that it was a mere matter of convenience, and to promote decency and order; and he quoted most triumphantly, and with telling effect, an expression of Bishop Davenant, well known for his

¹ "So various were men's fancies in reading the same letters, imprinted in his face, that some made them to spell the *guiltiness* of the *sufferer*, but others the *cruelty* of the *Imposer*. Of the latter sort, many for the *cause*, more for the *man*, most for humanity's sake, bestowed pity upon him, and now, and all three were remanded to their former *Prison*, and *Mr Prynne*, as he returned by water to the *Tower*, made this *Distich* upon his own *Stigmatizing*—

S L

*Stigmata maxillis referens, insignia Laudis,
Exultans remeo, victima grata Deo."*

(Fuller's *Church History*, bk. xi. p. 155.)

² *The Fall of the Monarchy of Charles I.* (the Religious Opposition), p. 8.

Calvinistic proclivities: "Tis ignorance to think that the standing of the Holy Table there" (*i.e.*, against the east wall of chancel) "relishes of Popery." These are our Bishop's own words, and he could not be supposed to have ritualistic tendencies. Laud defended his own practice of bowing.¹ "For my own part," he said, "I take myself bound to worship with body as well as soul whenever I come where God is worshipped: and were this kingdom such as would allow no Holy Table standing in its proper place—and such places some there are—yet I would worship God when I come into His house." He flatly denied that he had compelled any one to follow his example. "Yet," he said, "the Government is so moderate, that no man is restrained, no man questioned, only religiously called upon: 'Come, let us worship.'" It must be remembered that the statutes of the Cathedrals and Chapels,² both College and Royal, inculcated the practice of bowing upon entrance into the sacred building.

To the question of the King's jurisdiction in ecclesiastical matters, Laud answered with equal firmness. It was charged against the Primate that he was undermining the

¹ Clarendon's *History of the Rebellion*, p. 41.

² "The Archbishop, guided purely by his zeal and reverence for the place of God's service, and by the canons and injunctions of his Church, with the custom observed in the King's Chapel, and in most Cathedral Churches, without considering the long intermission and discontinuance in many other places, prosecuted this affair more passionately than was fit for the season; and had prejudice against those who, out of fear or foresight, or not understanding the thing, had not the same warmth to promote it. The Bishops who had been preferred by his favour, or hoped to be so, were as solicitous to bring it to pass in their several dioceses: and some of them with more passion and less circumspection than they had his example for, or than he approved, prosecuted those who opposed them very fiercely, and sometimes unwarrantably, which was kept in remembrance; whilst other Bishops, not so many in number and not so valuable in weight, who had not been beholding to him, nor had hope of being so, were enough contented to give perfunctory orders for the doing it, and to see the execution of those orders not intended, and not the least pleased to find that the prejudice of that whole transaction reflected solely upon the Archbishop."—Clarendon, p. 41.

Royal Authority by laying claim to a Divine right for his own Order. On this point the speech was most emphatic. "Though our office," Laud said, "be from God and Christ immediately, yet may we not exercise that power, either of order or jurisdiction; but as God hath appointed us: that is not in his Majesty's or any Christian King's kingdoms, but by and under the power of the King given us to do." The language of the Archbishop gave such pleasure to Charles that the King ordered the immediate publication of his speech. The King also referred the question to the Judges whether the Bishops had infringed on his prerogative by issuing processes in their own names, and the Judges unanimously decided that they had not.¹

The three men, victims to Laud's terror rather than his hatred, went through their sufferings with great fortitude, and the place of their incarceration was removed further afield, to the Scilly isles, Guernsey and Jersey; but other pens took up their parables. Some libels were picked up in the streets, charging the Archbishop with being the Captain of the Devil's army in his war against the saints. Unseen hands nailed a copy of the Star Chamber to a board. Its corners were cut off as the ears of Laud's victims had been cut off, when standing in the pillory at Westminster. Round his own name a broad ink mark was drawn, and an inscription declared that "The man that puts the Saints of God into a pillory of wood stands here in a pillory of ink."

As the result of all this, stricter measures were called for, and the original decree of the Star Chamber as to press regulations, passed in the time of Elizabeth, was reinforced by a more stringent one. This limited the number of licensed printers in London to twenty, and even books formerly published were not to have new editions printed without a fresh scrutiny. Any man outside the magic circle of twenty who ventured to print a book was "to be set in

¹ Rymer, xx. 143, 156.

the pillory and whipped through the City of London.”¹ But men’s appetite for unlicensed literature would not be balked, and clandestine presses continued to pour forth biting and pungent political squibs and stinging pamphlets, which were read with avidity by the lower orders. This attempt at silencing his opponents only added fresh zest to the banquet of libel and invective. The licensed press² replied in tones of decorous rejoinder, bewailing the folly and ignorance of the time, but it convinced none who were not convinced already. It is almost impossible in our own enlightened days to comprehend any attempt to muzzle the press of a free country, and under no circumstances was the attempt of repression likely to take permanent root in such a country as England. And to give it any chance of even temporary success, it was bound to be fairly applied all round—Papist as well as Puritan. This Laud clearly saw himself. But he was anxious to put himself right before the world, for he knew full well that his enemies looked upon him as a secret emissary of Rome, and his action as being papalistic in its motive power; about which, however, his conscience was entirely free. This made him desire to meet out evenhanded justice to both parties, and if he persecuted the Puritan to show he had no love for Geneva, by parity of reasoning he should do the same by the Papist, to prove that he had no leanings to Rome.

No doubt one great difficulty stood in Laud’s way in

¹ Rushworth, ii. 430, App. 306. Lambe’s List of Printers—July, S.P. Dom. cccxlv. III.

² The licensed press received its official imprimatur in the following way. Thus Fuller’s sermon at the Savoy on “Reformation” came into the hands of *John Downam*, one of the licensors of the divinity publications, and he added his imprimatur in the following terms: “I approve the sermon as orthodox and useful. *John Downam*.” Some of Fuller’s works were published “under the hands of Mr Downam.” There were, of course, several other licensors, but most of Fuller’s publications received *his* official approbation. Not to have received the official imprimatur would have relegated a book to the Index Expurgatorius!

carrying out his scheme, and that was the indecision on the part of Charles with regard to any distinctive line of policy. His objections to the two schemes—both Papist and Puritan—savoured more of the well-bred man of the world than of the theologian; and Laud looked at the problems of the age through ecclesiastical spectacles of the most orthodox pattern, and tinted with the colours of Patristic antiquity. The King liked the persons of his subjects, and set more loosely than the Primate to their opinions, which he regarded as merely subjective, and not in themselves dangerous, even if delusive. Hence the “veiled obstruction” which lay in the way of Laud.

The Papal intrigues at the English Court at this time are matters of history, and the Roman party was even more ably led by Con, the Scotchman, who succeeded Panzani at the Queen’s Court. Con’s influence with the Queen was very great, and he managed to get her to take an interest in his schemes for individual proselytizing, although it was undertaken spasmodically from time to time. Many members of the Court fell away to the “intruded mission” of Rome, and the protection of Henrietta Maria was invaluable to Con. But the soul of the proselytizing movement was Mrs Porter, the wife of that Endymion Porter, who had been employed in so many secret missions by James and Charles. She was a niece of Buckingham, and inherited from her mother the quick decision and prompt impetuosity of the splendid favourite. She gained over to Rome her father, Lord Boteler, and the beautiful Marchioness of Hamilton. Converts, mostly ladies, followed in no inconsiderable numbers, and at last the world was startled with the news that even Lady Newport, the great Protestant champion, had gone over to Rome.

This provoked the greatest indignation on the part of her husband, and Lord Newport hurried to Lambeth to adjure Laud to punish the instruments of his misfortune.

He named Walter Montague and Sir Toby Matthew, as well as Con. This gave Laud the opportunity he wanted, for he knew that he would be held accountable for these defections from the English Church,¹ and he was therefore eager to do as Newport wished. On the next Council day Laud spoke of the unusual favours granted to the Romanists, begged the King to forbid Montague's access to Court, and recommended proceedings being taken against him in the High Commission Court. He seemed to carry all before him, for Charles was much displeased with what had occurred, and promised a remedy. But Laud had reckoned without the Queen *and* Con, and upon hearing the language at the Council Table, when the King came to visit the Queen in her apartments that evening, she spoke of the insolence of the Archbishop, and stood up stoutly for her religion.

What could Charles do under the circumstances? In his distress Laud appealed to the King, but he was only referred back to the Queen, so the battlefield was narrowed to a single-handed combat between the Archbishop and the Queen. The latter, backed up by Con, evinced great displeasure, and delayed the publishing the proclamation which had been agreed upon. Great excitement was the result of all this struggle, which lasted for some time, and the Chapel of the Queen was thronged by devotees, the Blessed Sacrament being kept on the altar till noon to satisfy their devotion. The Queen felt it was a struggle for influence between herself and Laud, and she threw herself into it with all the energy of which she was capable. The King looked on aghast. Con tried to irritate him against Laud, but he replied that he was not following his

¹“Though the nation generally,” says Clarendon, “was without any ill talent to the Church, either in point of the doctrine or the discipline, yet they were not without a jealousy that Popery was not enough discountenanced, and were very adverse from admitting anything they had not been used to, which they called innovation, and were easily persuaded that anything of that kind was but to please the Papists.”—*History of the Rebellion*, p. 40.

advice alone, but that of the whole Council, and besides, the Proclamation would be moderate enough. In fact Con subsequently learnt that he had promised to omit anything which might give the Queen offence.

Thus manipulated, the proclamation was issued Dec. 20th, and in its final shape could hardly give offence to anyone. Even Con described it as "so mild as to seem rather a paternal admonition to the Catholics than a menace," and the Puritans, he added, were of the same opinion. It contained, in point of fact, nothing more than a threat that those who persisted in withdrawing his Majesty's subjects from the Church of England would do so "under pain of the several punishments" provided by the law, and that all who gave scandal by the celebration of Masses would be punished according to their offence. No definition, however, was given of the amount of notoriety which constituted a scandal.

Still, gentle as was the admonition, Henrietta could not resist the temptation to treat it with contempt. All her recent converts, with Lady Newport as their head, were marshalled on Christmas Day to Somerset House to receive their first Communion. And when the Queen returned to her apartments she called Con to her side and said to him triumphantly, "You have now seen what has come of the proclamation."¹

Every Roman priest in England took his tone from the Queen's open defiance of the proclamation. Never were Masses more publicly celebrated in the Ambassador's chapels, or with less concealment in the houses of the Roman Catholic laity.

"Before you came," said Lady Arundel to Con, "I would not for a million have entertained a priest at my table, and now you see how common a thing it is." The proclamation had, in fact, been only wrung from Charles

¹ Con to Barberini, Dec. 29.
Jan. 8.

by Laud's insistence, backed up by the special annoyance caused by the bravado of the Spanish ambassador. The King felt too sure of his own position, too blind to the real dangers by which it was environed, to sympathise with Laud's perception of the risk which he would incur by holding the balance uneven between Puritan and Papist. "The Archbishop," he said to Con, "is a very honest man, but he wants to have everything his own way."¹

Whether it would have been better for Laud to have had his own way we cannot at this distance determine, and perhaps the danger on the side of Rome was less serious than it seemed. The question is, Was there any real accession of political strength to the Papal party? As for the gay Court ladies, whose life had been one round of emptiness and frivolity, it was possibly far better for them to submit to a sterner discipline than any to which they had been accustomed; and if they would not be guided by the Anglican clergy—their legitimate pastors—to be at all events under some restraint. Among the gentlemen, it was only such fantastic speculators like Sir Kenelm Digby, or such witty intriguers like Montague, who were got over; but such men as William Cavendish, the Earl of Newcastle, the governor of Charles' eldest son, were beyond the reach of Con. Enough, however, was done to alarm English Protestants. Roman Catholic books were passed from hand to hand. To all those who took their tone from Whitehall, Puritanism was an object of derision and of stern repression

¹ Con to Barberini, June 11, July 13, 1638. Laud's bewilderment at the charge brought against him of being recently a Roman Catholic is well expressed by some words which he made use of nearly two years previously, "Because," he said, "he strove to maintain the old Orders of the Church, the common people, who were enemies to all order and government, proclaimed him a Papist; but (if he had been one) he had had reason enough—besides his ill-usage he had when he had no friend at Court but the King—to have left the Church and have gone beyond seas."—Charles Lewis to Elizabeth, May 31, 1636, Foster MSS. in the South Kensington Museum.

in the Ecclesiastical Courts. Even men who had no Calvinistic tendencies were attracted by the stern morality, which rebuked the solemn trifling which went on at Charles' Court.

It was to give expression to feelings such as these the nobler spirits of Puritanism took their rise. This cause, which at first was taken up by "certain lewd fellows of the baser sort," became at last dear to men of cultured minds and poetic imaginings. The unhappy state of things was put down to the practical outcome of the Laudian influence, and therefore it was thought its overthrow would promote a more healthful spiritual life. Hence Milton's lofty satire, which burst forth, as if from a suddenly raised volcano, out of the smooth and graceful lamentations of Lycidas, which took everyone by surprise. Not that he had any distinct insight into the difficulties of government, for he was quicker in detecting the evil than suggesting the remedy. Before the imagination of the great poet rose the Apostle Peter addressing the dead Lycidas, lost too early for earthly service, and thus he shaped his thoughts and emphasized his indignation. "The Pilot of the Galilean Lake," he says,

"Shook his mitred locks and stern bespake :
 'How well could I have spared for thee, young swain ;
 Enow of such as, for their bellies' sake,
 Creep, and intrude, and climb into the fold.
 Of other case they little reckoning make,
 Than how to scramble at the shearer's feast
 And shove away the worthy bidden guest.
 Blind mouths, that scarce themselves know how to hold
 A sheep-hook, or have learnt ought else the least
 That to the faithful herdsman's art belongs !
 What recks it, then ? What need they ? They are sped ;
 And, when they list, their lean and flashy songs
 Grate on their scrannel pipes of wretched straw ;
 The hungry sheep look up, and are not fed.
 But, swoln with wind and the rank mist they draw,
 Rot inwardly, and foul contagion spread ;
 Besides what the grim wolf, with privy paw,
 Daily devours apace, and nothing said.'"

And having thus denounced the system, he predicts its speedy downfall, and concludes in these words :

“ That two-handed engine at the door
Stands ready to smite once and smite no more,”

a prophecy which was purposely left vague and mysterious, but about its general intention there were not two opinions.

When Puritanism was advocated by such men as Milton and John Hutchinson—men of the noblest character, who in their patience possessed their souls, and condescended to no scornful scurrility or pitiful anger—then the more sober part of the nation began to take up the cause with greater seriousness. The contrast between the stern lives of these really religious men and the gaities of the Court would not redound to the credit of the latter. And it was their persistent refusal to countenance this state of things which generated a nobler class of religionists, who, however wrong-headed in theory, were better in practice than their creed, “ as deceivers and yet true.” And it was the attitude of such men as these which really gave weight to those forlorn hopes which from time to time dashed themselves, and apparently in vain, against the defences of the Government.

But as in all similar cases there is sure to be a large middle party—a *tertium quid*—who hate extremes and love only moderation. These are men who are content with the union of Church and State¹ which obtained when they were born, provided no great demand is made upon their consciences, and the relationships are not overstrained. This middle party was represented by George Wither, a popular verse-writer, who was neither a Laudian nor a

¹ “ For without doubt, many who loved the established government of the Church, and the exercise of religion as it was used, and desired not a change in either, nor did dislike the order and decency, which they saw mended, yet they liked not any novelties, and so were liable to certain jealousies that more was intended than was hitherto proposed ; especially when those infusions proceeded from men unsuspected to have inclination to change, and from known assertion of the government both in Church and State.”—Clarendon’s *History of the Rebellion*, p. 42.

Puritan. Men of this stamp, and no doubt the great middle classes of the time were much of this opinion, would have formed, if properly tractated or skilfully manipulated, a firm barrier against the rising Puritanism, instead of which they have been allowed to fall away to the ranks of non-Conformity. This class never could understand the Church's real platform as formulated by Laud—the bifurcated appeal to Scripture and primitive antiquity, and hence it came to pass that Laud's proceedings irritated them in every possible way till they forgot that Puritanism could be irritating at all.

If Bishop Williams had been a different man in moral respects, and had not made himself obnoxious both to the King and the Archbishop, he was the man who from his mental qualification could have undertaken the task of mediation in those dark days which were now so rapidly approaching. But he lay under a cloud. For many years he had been an object of a star-chamber prosecution, because he had betrayed some secrets which had been entrusted to him as a Privy Counsellor. And now he was being prosecuted a second time on a charge of subornation of perjury in the same court. Seeing his danger he asked Laud to mediate with the King on his behalf, and owing to the importunity of his friends, he was in great hopes of a pardon. But Charles hesitated and withheld the boon.

It was when smarting under his failure to bribe his way to impunity, that Williams¹ threw himself once more into that ecclesiastical controversy, which we noticed in our last chapter. Peter Heylin (Laud's chaplain) had written a book, "A Coal from the Altar," attacking Williams' well-known views about the position of the Communion Table. To this he replied anonymously, although it was an open secret, in a work entitled "*The Holy Table, Name and Thing.*" This book advocated the compromise that it should remain at the east end of the chancel at all other

¹ Clarendon's *History of the Rebellion*, p. 42.

times, but be brought down into the body of the church or chancel during the celebration of the Holy Communion. This he had maintained from the very first was the only legal arrangement.

Heylin replied to this work, which preserved all the courtesies of debate and was the more galling on that account, and Laud¹ referred to it bitterly in the speech which he delivered at the censure of Prynne. Thus Williams, who had before tried to escape by the assistance of the Roman Catholic party at Court, now once more threw in his lot with the Puritans and semi-Puritans. This change of front however availed him but little, and his case was called on in the Star Chamber the next Court day after the sentence had been passed on Prynne, Burton and Bastwick. He was condemned, his sentence being a particularly heavy one, especially on the fiscal side, and he was sent to the Tower. Terms of a more lenient character, however, were offered him by Laud, at the command of the King, but many weary months passed over the prisoner's head before he was prepared to accept the new conditions, which were sufficiently hard, even in part.

¹ Clarendon thus speaks of the disgraceful state of things when Laud became Primate: "The remissness of Abbot, and other bishops by his example, had introduced or at least connived at, a negligence that gave great scandal to the Church, and no doubt offended very many pious men. The people took so little care of the churches, and the parsons as little of the chancels, that, instead of beautifying or adorning them in any degree, they rarely provided for their stability and against the very falling of very many of their churches; and suffered them at least to be kept so indecently and slovenly, that they would not have endured it in the ordinary offices of their own houses; the rain and the wind to invest them, and the sacraments themselves to be administered where the people had most mind to receive them. This profane liberty and uncleanness the Archbishop resolved to reform with all expedition, requiring the other bishops to concur with him in so pious a work: and the work sure was very grateful to all men of devotion; yet, I know not how, the prosecution of it with too much affectation of expense, it may be, or with too much passion between the ministers and the parishioners, raised an evil spirit against the Church, which the enemies of it took much advantage of, as soon as they had opportunity to make the worst use of it."—*History of the Rebellion*, p. 41.

The spirit of compromise was the genius of Williams' character, and but for his moral defects, he might have formulated them with potential efficacy. But there was a group of men who were working their way in the same direction, about whom no complaint could be made, and who, by their actions and writings, were accentuating the new doctrines which had been so ably initiated by Williams—viz. those of compromise or moderation. These men, if they were unable to mould the age in which they lived, have been looked upon by later generations as the pioneers of thought. These were Falkland, Chillingworth, and John Hales, of Eton, and they may be regarded as the fathers of the Latitudinarian school or party.

Lucius Cary was the son of the Lord Deputy who had preceded Wentworth in Ireland. When he was only twelve years old he was sent by his father to Trinity College, Dublin, and at the conclusion of his academical career was bred to a soldier's life. But his mother—a violent and overbearing woman, the daughter of Chief Baron Tanfield, having become a Roman Catholic, her father was so annoyed, that he passed her over in his will, and left his estates directly to his grandson. The result was young Cary found himself, when he came of age, master of Great Tew in Oxfordshire. Here he settled down and devoted himself to his books and friends, having inherited the Scottish title of Falkland. His house was the trysting place of wits and poets, and of scholars and divines, Falkland himself playing the host to perfection. All those who had any serious matter to be discussed, found a hearty welcome at Great Tew. University men from Oxford "found their lodgings there as ready as in the colleges; nor did the lord of the house know of their coming or going, or who were in his house, till he came to dinner or supper, where all still met: otherwise there was no trouble, ceremony or restraint to forbid men to come to the house or to make them weary of staying there: so

that many came there to study in a better air, finding all the books they could desire in his library, and all the persons together whose society they could wish, and not find it in any other society."¹

Falkland's character was of the highest, and his mind was quick to detect the salient points of a case, and to attach itself to the positive side of truth. He was in the highest sense of the word a seeker after truth, and for a thing to be true, it must be pure and of good report. His virtues had their attendant defects, and he was quicker in detecting defects than providing a remedy. He was too large a mind to be trammelled by party, and yet not big enough to stand alone. He missed indeed being a great man by a little, but that little was enough. He swayed to and fro on some neutral zone as the special evils of the extremes struck him most vividly. His favourite poet was Ben Jonson, and in the poetic gifts with which he credited him—"wit, judgment, learning, art or industry"—he omits the supreme gift of imagination, in which his own versification was deficient. Too clear-sighted to be a party leader, he had not the power to push a special political principle to its logical consequence. His gentle loving spirit longed to compose the differences of the world, and to bid party weapons fall from antagonistic hands. But the comprehensiveness of his brain did not give effect to the comprehensiveness of his heart. His desire for reconciliation was followed by a petulant attitude, rather than the commanding thought which should have arrested reasonable men. If he did not know the faults of a side when he joined it, he did not know half its merits when he left it.

Falkland had not yet thrown himself into opposition, and in 1637 had gone out of his way to eulogise the King, complimenting him on the sovereignty of the seas, not very consistent with his strong feelings as to ship-money.

¹ Clarendon's *Life*, i. 41.

Ben Jonson had just been carried to his grave full of years and honours. He, says Falkland, would have told in befitting verse

“ How mighty Charles, amidst that weighty care
 In which three kingdoms as their blessing share
 (Whom as it tends with ever watchful eyes,
 That neither power may face nor art surprise,
 So, bounded by no shore, grasps all the main,
 And far as Neptune claims extends his reign),
 Found still some time to hear and to admire
 The happy sounds of his harmonious lyre.”¹

It was on a question of religion that Falkland was first drawn into the controversies of the world around him. His mother, having turned Romanist, was endeavouring to bring all her friends and acquaintances over to her newly adopted faith. She plied the usual stock arguments that certitude of faith could only be obtained from an infallible Church—that there was no assured belief outside infallibility and “extra ecclesiam nulla salus.” These arguments would naturally be weighed by a mind so open to conviction as Falkland, and though all his tendencies of thought were his own, and his convictions not another's, yet the very gentleness of his nature would lead him to lean on a stronger will, especially at any important crisis of his life. He had leant on Hampden or Pym in different phases of his political life, and now he once more turned to his old friend Chillingworth in his religious difficulties.

In Chillingworth, Falkland, who may have been his superior in moral perceptions, found a man of profound thought, vast erudition, and a most logical brain. He was in fact, above all things, a thinker. His clear incisive intellect cut its way through all difficulties, and brushed away all sympathies and antipathies. Whence, once he had made up his mind that a thing was logically true, nothing but sheer force of argument and the clearest reasonings

¹ Falkland's *Poems*, ed. Grosart.

could force his convictions or alter his resolutions. Born at Oxford in 1602, he had Laud for his godfather. He received a good education there, and became in 1628 a Fellow of Trinity College. But to the consternation of his friends they suddenly learned that he had gone off to the College at Douai, and become a pervert to the Roman Catholic Church. The Jesuit Fisher—who was Laud's doughty antagonist in that marvellous conference which bequeathed to the English Church that immortal work of Laud, whose arguments have never yet been answered—had put before him the argument that an infallible guide was necessary to salvation, and that the only infallible guide on earth was the Roman Church—in fact that no other Church claimed to be such. Chillingworth could see no escape from the conclusions of this argument, and as the result in following a superior argument, he “went over” as the phrase is. But a brief sojourn at Douay convinced him that he had not gone to the bottom of his subject, or got behind the argument. Books of Jesuit casuistry were in the habit of applying the test of probability to moral action, and Chillingworth, no doubt, came to the reasonable inference that if we might act upon the mere probability that an action was right, it would be enough to believe, on the mere probability that the belief was true. There was no further need of an infallible guide if he accepted this as the best theory to be adopted.

In making up his mind to return to the English Church, Chillingworth had been much assisted by letters from Laud. The logical positions assumed by the two men were, for the most part, identical. In his celebrated conference with Fisher, just alluded to, Laud had declared that it was unnecessary to require assent to more than the fundamental articles of the Christian faith,¹ *i.e.*, those of

¹ Such a sentence as the following, for instance, has a very Chillingworthian ring. “The Church of England never declared that every one of her articles are fundamental in the faith: for it is one thing to say, ‘No one of them is

the historic Creeds of the Church, but that any argument would fare exactly in Laud's hands as it would in Chillingworth's. Still for all that we must give Laud the credit of bringing Chillingworth back to the faith of his fathers.¹ Being then Bishop of London, he "was too faithful to the office of a sponsor to leave him in the toils of the Romish Church without a vigorous effort for his deliverance. He commenced a correspondence with him, which ended in Chillingworth's return to England and retirement to Oxford, for the free and undistracted prosecution of his enquiries. And four years afterwards the cares of his friend and patron were rewarded by the appearance of a book, which has ever since been extolled as one of the most perfect models of controversial writing."

It is by no means unlikely then that Chillingworth had braced himself up to his task at Laud's own instigation, although we have not direct evidence to that effect. At all events before the book was published—and much of it was done in the library at Great Tew, where Falkland's intimacy soon ripened into the greatest friendship—Laud had ample reasons to look upon it with interest. In a short pamphlet, Knott, the Jesuit, and author of *Charity Mistaken*, sought to discredit by anticipation the answer in reply to his work which he expected. His satire was no doubt pungent, and it was certainly unscrupulous. His

superstitious or erroneous,' and quite another to say, 'Every one of them is fundamental, and that in every part of it, to all men's belief.'"—Laud's *Works*, ii. 60.

¹ The honour of recovering Chillingworth is expressly claimed by Laud in his answer before the Lords, on the first day of his trial. "Mr Chillingworth's learning and abilities," he says, "are sufficiently known to your Lordships. He was gone and settled at Douay. My letters brought him back, and he lived and died a defender of the Church of England. And that this is so your Lordships cannot but know. For Mr Prynne took away my letters, and all that concerned him, and they were examined at the Committee."—*Troubles*, etc., p. 222. Prynne, however, would have it, that after all Chillingworth died a desperate apostate Papist.—Rev. Henry Wharton's note. (Quoted Le Bas' *Life of Laud*, p. 242.)

words were gleefully caught up by the Puritans, who averred that it was exactly what they had been reiterating for years. No wonder Laud and Charles were deeply annoyed by so unexpected an attack. Charles weakly allowed Winderbank to apply to Con to visit with displeasure this audacious Jesuit, but Con said he was powerless. Laud, with greater wisdom, turned his attention to hastening the appearance of Chillingworth's reply. Towards the end of 1637, in the very heat of the excitement generated by Lady Newport's conversion, *The Religion of Protestants* was issued to the world.

In the main argument, that "nothing is necessary to be believed but what is plainly revealed,"¹ Chillingworth did little more than put in a clearer and more logical form the contention of Laud in the conference with Laud with all its excrescences cleared away. That which marks the pre-eminence of the younger writer is his clear sense of intellectual conviction to moral effort. If men, he says, "suffer themselves neither to be betrayed into their errors, nor kept in them by any sin of their will: if they do their best endeavour to free themselves from all errors, and yet fail of it through human frailty, so well am I persuaded of the goodness of God, that if in me alone should meet a confluence of all such errors of all the Protestants of the world that were thus qualified, I should not be so much afraid of them all as I should be to ask pardon for them."²

Not in the counter dogmatism of the Puritan but in these words lay the true answer to the claim of infallibility, which was so ostentatiously flaunted before the world by Roman emissaries. It was, under happier auspices, the old doctrine of Sir Thomas More, and the men of the new learning coming to the front once more. In the midst of intellectual differences it breathed the very spirit of mutual respect for zeal and earnestness. As Chillingworth pointed out, it became men to be very

¹ *Works*, i. 230.

² *Works*, i. 81.

careful how they set up the creations of their own imaginations, as if they were the veriest certainties of Divine revelation. "This presumptuous imposing of the senses of men upon the general words of God," he writes, "and laying them upon men's consciences together, under the equal penalty of death and damnation; this vain conceit that we can speak of the things of God better than in the words of God, this deifying our own interpretations and tyrannous enforcing of them upon others; this restraining of the Word of God from that latitude and generality, and the understandings of men from that liberty wherein Christ and the Apostles left them—is and hath been the only fountain of all the schisms of the Church, and that which makes them immortal: the common incendiary of Christendom, and that which tears into pieces, not the coat, but the bowels and members of Christ. . . . Take away these walls of separation and all will quickly be one. Take away this persecuting, burning, cursing, damning of men for not subscribing to the words of men as the words of God; require of Christians only to believe Christ, and to call no man master, but Him only; let those leave claiming infallibility that have no title to it, and let them that in their words disclaim it disclaim it also in their actions." "Christians," he says again, "must be taught to set a higher value upon those high points of faith and obedience, wherein they agree than upon those matters of less moment wherein they differ, and understand that agreement in those ought to be more effectual to join them in one communion than their differences in other things of less moment to divide them. When I say in one communion, I mean in a common profession of those articles wherein all consent, a joint worship of God. After such a way as all esteem lawful, and a mutual performance of all those works of charity which Christians owe to one another."¹

¹ *Works*, ii. 39.

Space forbids our criticism of the defects of Chillingworth's system, but we turn our eyes to one who was in his own estimation less than the two just mentioned, but of whom those who knew him best loved to speak as the ever-memorable John Hales.

This genial recluse, endowed with a prodigious memory, and a keen rapier-like thrust of argument, was the most loving and tender-hearted of men. He was Fellow of Eton, and found a congenial home under the presidency of the large-hearted Sir Henry Wotton. His views were in the main those of Chillingworth, but he approached the subject on the other side, and began where the former left off. In Chillingworth the logical faculty was dominant, but in Hales it was at the service of a singularly gentle and affectionate heart. "He would often say that he would renounce the religion of the Church of England to-morrow, if it obliged him to believe that any other Christian should be damned, and that nobody would conclude another man to be damned that did not wish him so."¹

"Every Christian," he wrote, "may err that will : for if we might not err wilfully, then there would be no heresy, heresy being nothing else but wilful error. For if we account mistakes befalling us through human frailties to be heresies, then it will follow that every man since the Apostles' times was an heretic."² Hence he cared little about Chillingworth's search after fundamental truth. "If truth and goodness," he wrote, "go by universality and multitude, what means the prophets and holy men of God everywhere in the Scripture so frequently, so bitterly to complain of the small number of good men careful of God and truth? Neither is the complaint proper to Scripture : it is the common complaint of all that have left any records of antiquity behind them. Could wishing do any good I could wish well to this kind of proof ; but

¹ Clarendon, *Life*, i. 54.

² "On the Sacrament of the Lord's Supper," *Works*, i. 63.

it shall never go well with mankind that the most shall be best. The best that I can say of argument and reason drawn from universality in multitude is this: such reason may perchance serve to excuse an error, but it can never serve to warrant a truth."

Yet for all this the investigation of truth was the highest work of man. The words of the apostle, "Be not deceived," were spoken not only to the wise and learned, but "to every one, of whatever sex, of whatever rank or degree and place soever," from him that studies in his library to him that sweats at the plough-tail. But the command is not obeyed by those who content themselves with storing their memories with opinions learnt by rote. He that would not be deceived must not only know "what it is that is commanded," must not therefore take his duties on trust from a Church claiming to be infallible, or from a venerated teacher, but must also know "wherefore—that is, upon what authority, upon what reason."¹ At last the new thought had reached its full and clear expression, which was to form the modern world.

Hales too, like Chillingworth, had his dream of Utopian harmony of worship. "Were liturgies and public forms of service so framed," he argued, "as that they admitted not of particular and private fancies, but contained only such things as in which all Christians do agree, schisms in opinion were utterly vanished. For consider of all the liturgies that are or ever have been, and remove from them whatsoever is scandalous to any party, and leave nothing but what all agree on, and the event shall be that the public service and honour of God shall nowise suffer; whereas to load our public forms with the private fancies upon which we differ is the most sovereign way to perpetuate schism unto the world's end. Prayer, confession, thanksgiving, reading of Scripture, exposition of Scripture, administration of the sacraments in the plainest and simplest manner,

¹ Sermon on private judgment in religion, *Works*, iii. 141.

were matter enough to furnish out a sufficient liturgy, though nothing else of private opinion, or of church pomp, of garments, of prescribed gestures, of imagery, of music, of matter concerning the dead, of many superfluities which creep into churches under the name of order and decency, did interpose itself.”¹

The tract on schism from which these words are taken was circulated in manuscript in the spring of 1638. At last it came into the hands of the Archbishop, who discovered in it with much regret some positions which he regarded as false and dangerous. On learning that his grace was dissatisfied, Hales addressed to him a letter of apology and explanation, which appears to have produced an interview at Lambeth, of which the following curious account is given by Dr Heylin, who was at the Palace when the interview took place. Hales having been invited to a conference with the Archbishop, attended at the time appointed, to know his Grace's pleasure. The Archbishop “took him into his garden, commanding that none of his servants should come to him on any occasion. There they continued in discourse till the bell rung to prayers; and after prayers were ended, till the dinner was ready, and after that too, till the coming in of Lord Conway, and some other persons of honour, put a necessity upon some of his servants to give him notice how the time had passed away. So in they came, high-coloured, and almost panting for want of breath: enough to show that there had been some heats between them not then fully cooled. “It was my chance,” says Heylin, “to be there that day either to know his Grace's pleasure or to render an account of some former command; but I know not which. And I found Hales very glad to see me in that place, as being himself a mere stranger in it, and unknown to all. He told me afterwards that he found the Archbishop (whom he knew before for a nimble disputant) to be as well versed in

¹ Tract concerning schism, *Works*, i. 114.

books as business ; that he had been ferreted by him from one hole to another, till there was none left to afford him further shelter ; that he was now resolved to be orthodox, and to declare himself a true son of the Church of England both for doctrine and discipline ; that to this end he had obtained leave to call himself his Grace's chaplain, that naming him as his Lord and Patron the greater notice might be taken of the alteration."¹

Whatever doubt may have been thrown on this conference, this much at least is certain, that the Archbishop was sufficiently satisfied, either with the written explanation, or the personal conference, or both, to procure for Hales a Canonry of Windsor.

"In the days of conflict," says Dr Gardiner, "Falkland and Chillingworth and Hales would be found on Charles' side. In the long run the spirit which inspired them would be found a more powerful dissolvent of Laud's system than the Puritanism which he dreaded. Its time was not yet come. Two theories of the religious life were in presence of one another, and those theories were entwined with a whole mass of habits which could not readily be shaken off. The strife was approaching, and it was not till the combatants had measured their strength with one another that they would be ready to listen to the words of peace. Even when that time came, the solution would not be altogether such as Hales would have approved. The religious conscience would demand a more definite creed, and a more definite ceremonial, than that for which he had asked. By the side of the idea of comprehension would arise the idea of toleration. The one would soften down asperities, and teach the assured dogmatist to put on something of that humility in which the controversialist of all periods is so grievously deficient. The other would prepare room for the unchecked development of that individuality which is the foundation of all true vigour in Churches and in nations."²

¹ Heylin, p. 361-2.

² *Fall of the Monarchy of Charles I.*, p. 54.

CHAPTER XX

BISHOP DAVENANT'S "GOLDEN TRACTATE"—LAST DAYS, ILLNESS, AND DEATH—HIS CHARACTER, OBITUARY NOTICES, AND WILL (1640, 1641)

"The death of the godly ought to put life in the godly; the loss of pious men in former generations ought to enrich such of the age present to succeed in their places, take up their arms, and valiantly acquit themselves in their room. Let those, therefore, who have read over the life of this worthy man, now gathered to God, summon their strength, and unite their forces, according to the distance of their parts and places, to discharge themselves to the glory of God and good of His Church. For it is high time when such Pauls set, for other Timothies to rise."—Fuller's *Abel Redivivus*, Life of Junius, p. 449.

THE troubles which preceded the downfall of the Monarchy and the overthrow of the Church were deepening and gathering thick and fast above the heads of those who were the principal actors in those stormy days. The political outlook was of the gloomiest, and that of the theological sphere was by no means reassuring. The Archbishop was doomed; the King's days were numbered, and the fierce waves of revolution were rolling up, which would carry all before it, and before which crown and mitre—which have so many times risen and gone down together in our nation's history—would be laid in the dust. Some men, like our good Bishop, were being taken from the evil to come. The storm was beginning to burst at last, and "coming events cast their shadows before them."

"March" (1641) "began very blusteringly," says Fuller in his *Church History*, "on the first day whereof *Archbishop Laud* was in Mr Maxfield his *coach* carried to the

Tower, and not long after the *Lords* appointed a *Committee*¹ of their own members for settling of peace in the *Church*. What hopeful opinion the aforesaid *Archbishop* had of their *proceedings* will appear from the following note, which he entered into his *Diarie*:—‘A Committee for Religion settled in the upper house of Parliament, Ten Earles, ten Bishops, ten Barons. So the lay votes will be double to the Clergy. This Committee will meddle with doctrine as well as ceremonies, and will call some divines to them to consider of the businesse, as appears by a letter hereto annexed, sent by the Lord Bishop of *Lincoln* (Williams) (who in the preceding year had been released from the *Tower*, and restored to his place in the House of Lords) to some Divines, to attend this service: upon the whole matter, I believe this Committee will prove the Nationall Synod of England, to the great dishonour of the Church, and what else may follow upon it, God knowes.’”

“At the same time,” continues Fuller, “the Lords appointed a *Sub-Committee*, to prepare fit for their cognizance (the Bishop of *Lincoln* having the *Chair* in both) authorised to call divers *Bishops* and *Divines*, to consult together for correction of what was amisse, and to settle peace. Jerusalem-Chamber, in the Dean of *Westminster’s* (Williams) house, was the place of their meeting (where they had solemn debates six severall dayes), alwaies entertained at his Table with such bountifull chear as well became a Bishop. But this we behold as the *last course* of all *publick Episcopall-Treatments*, whose *Guests* may

¹ The names of the Committee were as follows:—

The Archbishop of <i>Armagh</i> .	Doctor <i>Ralph Brownrigg</i> .
„ Bishop of <i>Durham</i> .	„ <i>Richard Holdsworth</i> .
„ „ <i>Exeter</i> .	„ <i>John Hacket</i> .
Doctor <i>Samuel Ward</i> .	„ <i>Cornelius Burges</i> .
„ <i>John Prideaux</i> .	Master <i>John White</i> .
„ <i>William Twisse</i> .	„ <i>Stephen Marshall</i> .
„ <i>Robert Sanderson</i> .	„ <i>Edmund Calamy</i> .
„ <i>Daniel Featley</i> .	„ <i>Thomas Hill</i> .

now even *put up their knives*, seeing soon after the *Voïder* was called for, which took away all *Bishops' lands*, and most of *English-Hospitality*.

"First, they took the *Innovations of Doctrine* into consideration, and here some complained, that all the tenets of the *Councell of Trent* had (by one or other) been preached and printed, abating only such points of *State-popery* against the *King's supremacy*, made treason by the Statute. *Good-works co-causes with faith, by justification: private confession by particular enumeration of sinnes, needfull necessitate medii to salvation*, that the *oblation* (or, as others, the consumption) of the Elements; in the Lord's Supper, *holdeth the nature of a true sacrifice, prayers for the dead, lawfulness of monasticall vowes*, the grosse substance of *Arminianism*, and some dangerous points of *Socinianism*.

"Secondly, they enquired into *præter-canonick conformity* and *innovations in discipline*; advancing *candlesticks* in parochiall churches in the day-time, on the *Altar so called*; making canopies over, with traverses of curtains (in imitation of the *Vaile* before the *Holy of Holyes*) on each side and before it. Having a *credentia*, or *side table* (as a *Chappel of Ease* to the *Mother Altar*), for divers uses in the Lord's Supper; forbidding a direct prayer before sermon, and ministers to expound the Catechism at large to their parishioners; carrying children (when baptized) to the altar so called, and then offering them up to God, pretending for some of these innovations; *the injunctions and advertisements of Queen Eliz., which are not in force*, and appertaining to the printed *Liturgy secundo et tertio Edwardi sexti*, which is reformed by Parliament."¹

It will be seen that there were ritualistic troubles and disputes in those days as well as in our own, and that the high ritual party relied upon the injunctions and advertisements of Queen Elizabeth in support of their ceremonial. Yet in our own difficulties these advertisements have been

¹ Fuller's *Church History*, bk. xi. p. 135.

Toppled to, and their judgment was based upon them by ofe Judicial Committee of the Privy Council for *putting Vowen* ritual, as the *maximum* not the *minimum*—the *very 'opposite conclusion* they were intended to have. Yet Fuller, no mean authority, and a contemporary historian, informs us, and he must have known, as historical fact, that they are no good for appellate reference, nor can they be relied on as being defunct or effaced, for in the year 1640, nearly 240 years before the Ridsdale judgment, "*they are not in force.*"¹

It will be remembered that the sixth canon of the Canons of 1640 referred to the question of innovation. It runs thus: "An oath injoynd for the preventing of all Innovations in Doctrine and Government." This oath was not allowed to remain a dead letter, and the Primate gave orders at once to the Suffragans to take it, and then administer the same to their own clergy. Laud would naturally wish to know the effect of this oath, and from the letters in Lambeth Library it would seem that most of the Suffragan Bishops wrote very fully on the subject, and explained the mode of administering the oath and the way in which it had been received in their respective dioceses. The following letter of Davenant, touching the administration of the oath in his diocese, is to be found in the manuscripts at Lambeth. It follows the letter of the Bishop of Ely, and it precedes that of Robert Saunderson, and is to the following effect:

"To the Most Reverend Father in God y^e Lord Archbishop of Canterbury. Most Reverend Father in God: my very good Lord.

"I received yo^r Grace's letter, in w^{ch} you are pleas'd to signify that some Exceptions have been taken to y^e oath required by the late Canon. I have lately seen y^e effect (as I guess) of those objections, and in my poor judgement, there is no one of them w^{ch} in full satisfaction may not be given to any minister who is not unwilling to be satisfied. Upon y^e Receipt of y^e Broad Seal, I promptly took the oath myself, and administered it unto y^e Dean and some of y^e Residentiaries. As for y^e country ministers, I intended to have called them, to

¹ See Author's letter on the Advertisements of Queen Elizabeth and the Ridsdale Judgment, p. 14.

take y^e same after Harvest be ended. But now I shall guide my *der*ceedings in y^e Business, according to your Grace's letter. I have and one or two come unto me for Institution, who have made no m^oscruple of taking y^e oath than of y^e Benefice. And I verily hope that when they have well and duly considered, few or none in y^e Diocesi (Sarum) will refuse to take it. If any hereafter out of any point of conscience stagger thereat, I will labour in y^e best and mildest fashion I can to remove y^e Doubts.

So committ^s yor. Lorship to y^e blessed protection of y^e Almighty,

I rest ever

Salisb., Aug. 28,
1640.

Yo^r Grace's in all duty,

JO. SARUM.¹

But the administration of the oath could do nothing to arrest the onward course of events, and the storm-cloud was soon to burst in all its fury on Church and State. Soon after the Archbishop's commitment to the Tower, the work of vengeance and confiscation went vigorously forward, of the doom which awaited him he speedily received a mournful warning, in the trial and execution of his illustrious friend the Earl of Strafford. Next year his own trial came on, and at length he was consigned to the hands of his inveterate adversary, William Prynne, who repaired to the Tower with full powers to search and seize. Everything was taken, even to his diary, and the Archbishop's book of private devotion. Laud's sufferings during his imprisonment were intense, and he has himself given us a history of them in his *Troubles*. Additional articles were filed against him, and then ensued his trial, and the elaborate defence of himself and conduct. He was condemned as is known by an ordinance of the two Houses, and was executed at the Tower, the scene at his execution being most affecting, and his conduct on the scaffold most exemplary. "Thus fell Laud," says Heylin, "and the Church fell with him"; the Liturgy whereof was noted

¹ Lambeth MSS. 577, p. 259. (Quoted in Searle's *History of Queens' College, Cambridge*, p. 426.)

down about the same time that the ordinance was passed for his condemnation.

To return to our Bishop. Our author's final work was well suited to his whole life and truly charitable and Christian character, which was marked with so much love and paternal regard. It was a small volume written with a view of uniting the Evangelical Churches; under the title of *Ad pacem ecclesie adhortatio*, &c., which was translated into English with the title of *An Exhortation to Brotherly Love*, &c.¹ It contains the *imprimatur* of *Tho. Wykes*, and is dated April 8, 1641, just twelve days before its author entered into his well earned rest, literally "dying in harness." Of this beautiful little work, Bishop Hall in his "Peace-Maker," laying down the principles of Church Unity, says: "None hath so fully cleared the point, as the late honour of our schools, the learned Bishop Davenant, in that last Golden Tractate which he wrote, now breaking towards the Gates of Heaven; his pious and pithy exhortation of the Evangelical Churches to a happy peace; wherein the fundamentals of our faith are so evidently laid open, that it is not hard to judge by that unfailling rule, whom we may and must admit to the Communion of Christ's Church, and whom we ought to exclude from that Holy Society."

"He" (that is the good Bishop), says Fuller, "ever makes honourable mention of foreign Protestant Churches, even when he differs and dissents from them. English charity to forein Protestant Churches is payment of a debt: their children desire to be our welcome guests, whose grandfathers were our loving hosts in the days of Queen Mary." It is the above work which Fuller is alluding to, an English translation of which was published just before Davenant's death, from the later edition, Cantab. 1640.

¹ It was printed for R. B., for Richard Badger and John Williams, and are to be sold at the shop neare St Dunstane's Churchyard, and in St Paul's Churchyard. 1641.

Bishop Davenant did not live to see the troubles that were so soon to come upon the Church, though he must often have discerned the gathering clouds that told the approaching storm. Just as the long Parliament met, and for a few months only before it began its work of destruction, by depriving its bishops of their titles and offices, and confiscating the revenues of the Church, Bishop Davenant died.

On the 20th April 1641, our good Bishop was summoned to his rest, in the full vigour of his faculties and piety, at the age of seventy-one, having presided with such good effect over the See of Salisbury twenty long and eventful years. He was an active working bishop, as well as a learned theologian, two qualities not often combined. The immediate cause of his decease was an asthma, with which he had been long afflicted; but his death is said to have been much accelerated by the melancholy forebodings of his mind, as to the sad prospects of the nation both in Church and State—the downfall of the monarchy and the overthrow of the Church—to the support of which great constitutional principles he gave up all his life, and those rare powers of mind and gifts of grace, with which he has been so abundantly blessed. “The righteous is taken away from the evil to come.”

“In the midst of these troublesome times,” says Thomas Fuller, his nephew, in the concluding obituary notice of his uncle, and who was present at his death, “*John Davenant*, Bishop of *Salisbury*, ended his life. His father was a wealthy and religious citizen of *London*, but born at *Davenant's-lands* in *Sible Henningham* in *Essex*. Where his ancestours had continued in a worshipfull degree from *Sir John Davenant*, who lived in the time of King *Henry the Third*. He bred his sonne, a Fellow Commoner in *Queens' Colledge*, in *Cambridge*, and would not suffer him to accept a Fellowship, though offered, as conceiving it a bending of these places from the direct intent of the Founders, when

they are bestowed on such as have plenty. Though, indeed, such preferments are appointed, as well for the reward of those that are worthy, as the relief of those that want; and after his Father's death was chosen into that society. In his youthfull exercises, he gave such an earnest of his future maturity, that *Dr Whitacre*, hearing him dispute said, *That he would in time prove the Honour of the University*— a prediction that proved not untrue; when afterwards he was chosen *Margaret Professour* of Divinity, being as yet but a private Fellow of the Colledge, whereof some years after he was made Master, and last Bishop of *Salisbury*. Where with what gravity and moderation, he behaved himself, how humble, hospitable, painfull in preaching and writing, may better be reported hereafter, when his memory (green as yet) shall be mellowed by time. He sate Bishop about twenty years, and died of a consumption, *anno* 1641, to which, sensibleness of the sorrowfull times (which he saw were bad, and foresaw would be worse), [Archbishop Laud had been on 1st March 1641, sent to the Tower; the Commons had on 10th March passed a vote against the Bishops sitting in Parliament, and the trial of the Earl of Strafford had begun] did contribute not a little. I cannot omit, how some few hours before his death, having lyen for a long time (though not speechlesse, yet) not speaking, nor able to speak, (as we beholders thought, though indeed he hid that little strength we thought he had lost, and reserved himself for purpose), he fell into a most emphaticall prayer for half a quarter of an hour. Amongst many heavenly passages therein, *He thanked God for this His fatherly correction, because in all his life time he never had one heavie affliction, which made him often much suspect with himself, whether he was a true child of God or no, untill this his last sickness.* Then he sweetly fell asleep in Christ, and so we softly draw the curtains about him." ¹

¹ Fuller's *Church History*, book xi. p. 176.

Thus died this man of God at his Palace in Salisbury, in the presence of his relations—the Davenants, the Townsons (which family he had given a home to for twenty long years), and the Fullers—his two favourite nephews Edward Davenant and Thomas Fuller being present. He sweetly fell asleep in Jesus, and received his reward in the Paradise of peace and rest.

“Now the labourer’s task is o’er :
 Now the battle day is past :
 Now upon the farther shore
 Lands the voyager at last.
 Father, in Thy gracious keeping
 Leave we now Thy servant sleeping.”

(Rev. JOHN ELLERTON.)

He died, as it has been correctly said, at “a truly convenient season ; that he might neither see nor suffer those bitter calamities which speedily overwhelmed both Church and State,”¹ and which his old friend Dr Ward—to whom so much of his epistolary correspondence is addressed—keenly experienced, being persecuted with great severity for his steady adherence to the Church and King by the Puritan leaders, notwithstanding his piety and the soundness of his doctrinal views. Similar also was the treatment experienced by their colleague Balcanqual, now Dean of Durham, who literally fell a victim to the fury of the Puritans ; being driven from all he possessed, and dying at Chirk-Castle, Denbighshire, in consequence of the severity he met with. The like persecutions, although in a slighter degree, involved our author’s nephews Archdeacon Davenant, Dr Fuller and Prebendary of Sarum, whose benefices were sequestered. The latter became quite a mendicant divine, assisting at the sieges at Basinghouse and Exeter, in the capacity of Cavalier parson, retaining, however, his title of Prebendary of Sarum, but losing everything till the Restoration, when he was made

¹ Bp. Godwin, *de Præsulibus*, Richardson’s.

Chaplain Extraordinary to King Charles II., and was offered a Bishopric (that of Exeter).

Bishop Davenant was buried with a solemn funeral in his own Cathedral, Dr Nicholas, afterwards Dean of St Paul's, preaching an excellent sermon at his interment. At this time Nicholas was a Prebendary of Salisbury.

"We read of the *Patriarch Israel*," says Fuller in his *Worthies*,¹ that the time drew nigh that he *must dye*. *Must*, a necessity of it. Such a decree attended this Bishop, *happy* to die, before his *Order* (for a time) dyed April 1641.

He was interred in the South Aisle of the Choir of his own Cathedral, where there is a mural tablet to his memory. He bequeathed £200 for the benefit of the Cathedral: and he left to Queens' College the perpetual advowson of the Rectories of Cheverill Magna and Newton Toney, Wilts: and a rent-charge of £31, 10s. per annum to found two bible-clerkships, and buy books for the Library of the same College.

The following is the inscription on his monument:—

MONUMENTUM OMNIUM
JOHANNIS DAVENANTII
Minime perenne, quid loquatur audi.

Natus Londini Anno Christi 1572, Maii die 20
Cantabrigiæ in Collegio Reginali
Bonis literis operam felicem dedit
Cujus cum Societate esset meritissime donatus
Ætatemque et doctrinæ et morum gravitate superaret,
Cum nondum plures quam 36 annos numerasset
D. Margaretæ in S. Theologiâ Professor est electus.
Celebremque prius Cathedram longe ornatiorem reddidit.
Intra quadriennium mox Collegii sui Præsidents factus est.
Cui dubium Rector an Benefactor profuerit majis
Tum vero a serenissimo et in rebus Theologicis
Perspicacissimo Rege, Jacobo, honorifice missus

¹ Fuller, *Worthies*, London, p. 207.

Synodo Dordracensi magna pars interfuit,
 Tandem hujusce Diocœseos Saribus Episcopus
 Anno 1621, die Novembris viii.¹ consecratus est.
 Cui velut vivum exemplar antiquitatis venerandæ
 Universas Primitivi Præsulis partes explevit
 Atque ita per 20 pene annos huic Ecclesiæ præfuit
 Summo tum bonorum omnium tum etiam hostium
 Consensu optimus et vel inde, felicissimus
 Quod ruinam sedis, cum superesse per ætatem non potuit,
 Priusquam oculis conspiceret, vivere desierit,
 Anno scilicet Christi MDCXLI, Aprilis die xx.

“As a living example of venerated antiquity,” says the inscription, “he discharged all the duties of a primitive bishop; and thus during his twenty years oversight of this diocese he was honoured by all good men, and even by his enemies.” The monument is set up against the south wall of the Cathedral, near the eastern transept, being flanked and supported by two Corinthian pillars, and surmounted with the Bishop’s arms. The family coat, which has been variously stated, was, *Gules*, three escallops, *arg.* between light cross-crosslets, fitches, *or* a crescent for difference.² Upon the south wall of the eastern transept of the Cathedral is a monument to the memory of Davenant’s elder brother, Edward, of Whiddly Island, Co. Cork, who died June 2nd, 1639. He also left by his will legacies to the Fullers, etc.

The most marked feature in the Bishop’s character was his *piety*. *Regem venerabatur*, says an elaborate epitaph quoted by Lloyd, *sed et timebat Deum*. On one occasion, when commanded to preach at Court, he came a day too late, because he would not ride on Sunday.

Davenant was succeeded by Dr Duppa, Bishop of Chichester, and formerly Chancellor of the Cathedral, being promoted by Charles I., who, despite of the remonstrances of the Commons House of Parliament, filled up this and several other vacant bishoprics), who held a brief pos-

¹ Rectius xviii.

² Cole’s MSS., Brit. Mus. Add. 5, 8o8.

session of the See. He became a fugitive to Oxford, and in after years was associated with Fuller and others of the clergy in meetings to consult *ne ecclesia aliquid detrimenti Capiat*. During the troubles, the Bishop's palace was sold to a person who pulled down part of it, and turned the rest into an inn. As to the Cathedral, the biographer of Dr Seth Ward says it was to the eternal honour of the local gentry of the diocese, that during the civil war, when there was neither bishop nor dean to take care of it, they employed workmen to keep the magnificent pile in repair.

Bishop Brian Duppa was the trusted friend of the king, and to him had been committed the guidance and education of his son, afterwards Charles II. But it was a poor heritage to which he now succeeded, for already the Parliament had begun its work against the Church. In this same year we have the Commons impeaching no less than thirteen bishops for their share in the Canons of 1640, and passing votes against their sitting in Parliament at all; ordering, moreover, that commissions be sent into all counties for the "defacing, demolishing, and quite taking away of all images, altars, or tables turned altar-wise, crucifixes, superstitious pictures, monuments, and reliques of idolatry, out of all churches or chapels." In truth, scarce a speech was made in Parliament but the bishops and the Church were the chief if not the only subjects of it: nor was scarce any petition presented unless alleged superstition and popery filled the greater part of it. Within but a few months indeed of Bishop Duppa's entry on the Diocese of Sarum, the Commons had deliberately resolved that "the government of the Church by archbishops and bishops was a great impediment to reformation, and prejudicial to the State, and that the same should be taken away."

At the restoration in May 1660, Brian Duppa returned once more to Sarum as its bishop, but in a few months

afterwards was translated to the See of Winchester. He was succeeded as Bishop of Sarum by Humphrey HENCHMAN, precentor of Sarum, one of the three surviving members of the chapter of residentiaries, who had married Ellen, Bishop Davenant's niece, third daughter of his sister, Mrs Townson. He was author of the "Gentleman's Calling," and one of the numerous persons to whom *The Whole Duty of Man* has been ascribed. His episcopate here was but a brief one, as in 1663 he was translated to the See of London. Nevertheless, great events happened in it, inasmuch as in 1662 the Act of Uniformity was passed, by the operation of which the Diocese of Sarum, as elsewhere, lost some of her best men. Another of Bishop Davenant's nieces, Maria Townson, married Alexander Hyde, who succeeded John Easter, the successor to Humphrey HENCHMAN. His episcopate, however, was very short, 1665-1667, only two years.

"His discharge of his episcopal functions, on the part of Bishop Davenant, is allowed on all hands to have been most exemplary, and it would not be easy to find a more decided testimony than that afforded by the Lord Keeper WILLIAMS, whom we have had so often to mention in the course of this work, a man eminent for his learning and official attainments: for his long exercise in all the functions of public business, and for his penetration in divining into the characters of men. Upon resigning the great Seal and retiring to the more consistent duties of the See of Lincoln, he took Bishop Davenant for his pattern, and framed his measures upon what he considered the most wise and successful example in these times of peculiar difficulty and danger; and it is confessed by his enemies that the episcopal conduct of WILLIAMS was remarkably temperate, discreet, and conscientious. By all parties, indeed, the Bishop was spoken of with respect, his contemporaries giving him the soubriquet of "the good Bishop." In Fuller's delineation of that character in his *Holy State*, references

seem to be made to his uncle throughout, and he appears to be the original of that word-portrait, which the author of the *Worthies* so wittily sketches.

“And as Diogenes,” says Fuller, “confuted him who denied that there was any motion, by saying nothing, but walking before his eyes; so our Bishop takes no notice of the false accusations of people disaffected against his order, but ‘walks on’ circumspectly in his calling, really repelling their cavils by his conversation. A Bishop’s bare presence at a marriage in his own diocese is by the law interpreted for a license; and what actions soever he graceth with his company, he is conceived to privilege them to be lawful, which makes him to be more wary of his behaviour. He is loved and feared of all, and his presence frights the swearer either out of his oaths or into silence; and he stains all other men’s lives with the clearness of his own” (13).

There is an anecdote of Davenant, illustrating the foregoing remarks, in Fuller’s *Worthies*: “He was humble in himself and (the consequence thereof) charitable to others. Indeed, once invited by Bishop Field,¹ and not well pleased with some roisting company there, he embraced the next opportunity of departure after dinner. And when Bishop Field proffered to light him with a candle downstairs, ‘*My lord, my lord,*’ said he, ‘*let us lighten others by our unblameable conversation*’; for which speech some have since severely censured him, how justly I interpose not. But let others unrelated to him write his character, whose pen cannot be suspected of flattery, which he when *living did hate, and dead did not need.*”²

The sixth maxim of Fuller’s character of *The Good Bishop*, that he is careful and happy in suppressing of heresies and schisms, illustrates the mild sway of Davenant in his diocese. “He distinguisheth of schismatics as

¹ Theophilus Field, of St David’s, 1627-35, and of Hereford, 1635-6.

² *Worthies*, London, p. 207.

physicians do of leprous people; some are infectious, others not; some are active to seduce others, others quietly enjoy their opinions in their own consciences. The latter, by his mildness, he easily reduceth to the truth; whereas the chirurgeon's rigorously handling it, often breaks that bone quite off, which formerly was but out of joint; towards the former he useth more severity, yet endeavouring first to inform him aright before he punisheth him. To use force first before people are fairly taught the truth, is to knock a nail in a board without wimbling a hole for it, which then either not enters, or turns crooked, or splits the wood it pierceth."

Again (10), "*He meddleth as little as may be with temporal matters*, having little skill in them, and less will to them. Not that he is unworthy to manage them, but they unworthy to be managed by him. Yea, generally the most dexterous in spiritual matters are left-handed in temporal business, and go but untowardly about them. Wherefore our Bishop, with reverend Andrewes, *meddleth little in civil affairs*, being out of his profession and element. Heaven is his vocation, and therefore he counts earthly employments avocations; except in such cases which lie, as I may say, in the marches of divinity, and have connection with his calling; or else, when temporal matters meddle with him, so that he must rid them out of his way."

In the same sketch (5) the essayist commends "worthy Bishop Lake," whose hand had the true seasoning of a sermon with law and gospel, and who was most fatherly grave in inflicting church censures; such offenders as were unhappy in deserving, were happy in doing penance in his presence."

We have seen during the course of this work how hospitable our Bishop was in providing a home for his sister, Mrs Townson (the late Bishop of Salisbury's widow) till the end of her days, and her numerous family, so that "hospitality" is another note (as St Paul teaches) of the

Episcopal character. "*He (the Bishop) is hospitable in his housekeeping according to his estate.* His bounty is with discretion to those that deserve it; charity mistaken, which relieves idle people, like a dead corpse, only feeds the vermin it breeds. The rankness of his housekeeping produceth no riot in his family. St Paul calls a Christian family well ordered, *a church in their house.* If a private man's house be a parochiall, a Bishop's may seem a Cathedral church, as much better as bigger, so decently all things therein are disposed."¹

Such was our "Good Bishop" in his nephew's own words, "An overseer of a flock of shepherds, as a minister is of a flock of God's sheep." Divine Providence and his prince's bounty advanced him to the place, whereof he was no whit ambitious; only he counts it good manners to sit there where God hath placed him, though it be higher than he conceives himself to deserve, and hopes that He who called him to the office hath, or will in some measure fit him for it."²

The following extract from Dr Hume's life of that zealous Churchman³ and excellent Christian, Bishop Hacket, prefixed to his sermons, is worthy of citation, as well for its good sense as the testimony it bears to the worth of our author. "In matters of doctrine," he (Hacket) embraced no private and singular opinions, as many great men delight to do, *in veterem via novam semitam querentes*, says the father (Jerome): but was in all points a perfect

¹ Fuller's *Holy State*, p. 270.

² Fuller's *Holy State*, p. 265.

³ Dr Hacket is recorded as the last man in England who persisted to read the Liturgy in public, after it had been proscribed by the Parliament: and the following well-known anecdote is given by his biographer, illustrative alike of his attachment to the Church and of his holy courage. "One Sunday, while he was reading the Common Prayer in his Church, a soldier of the Earl of Essex came and clapt a pistol to his breast, and commanded him to read no further. The Doctor smiled at his insolency in that sacred place; and, not at all terrified, said, 'he would do what became a divine, and he might do what became a soldier'; so the tumult for that time was quieted, and the Doctor permitted to proceed."

Protestant, according to the Articles of the Church of England: always accounting it a spice of pride and vanity to affect singularity in any opinions or expositions of Scripture, without great cause: and withal very dangerous to affect precipices, as goats use, when they may walk in plain paths. In the Quinquarticular Controversy he was very moderate: but, being bred under Bishop Davenant and Dr Ward in Cambridge, was addicted to their sentiments. Bishop Usher would say, Davenant understood these controversies better than ever any man did since St Austin. But *He* used to say he was sure he had three excellent men of his mind in this controversy: (1) Padre Paulo,¹ whose letter is extant to Heinsius, anno 1604; (2) Thomas Aquinas; (3) St Austin; but beside and above them all, he believed in his conscience. St Paul was of the same mind likewise: yet would profess withal he disliked no Arminian, but such a one as reviled and defamed every one that was not so; and would often commend Arminius himself for his excellent wit and parts, but only tax his want of reading and knowledge in antiquity; and ever held that it was the foolishlest thing in the world to say the Arminians were Papists, when so many Dominicans and Jansenists were anti-Arminians; and so again to say the anti-Arminians were Puritans or Presbyterians, when Ward and Davenant, and Prideaux, and Brownrig were anti-Arminians, and also stout champions for Episcopacy:² and Arminius himself was ever a Presbyterian—and, therefore, he much

¹ The famous Historian of the Council of Trent.

² To which might be added Hooker, Whitgift, Bancroft, Hall, Saunderson, Beveridge, and innumerable others. In fact, some of the ablest defences of our Church have proceeded from the pens of writers of these views. So true is the remark of Bishop Horsley: "If we would look for warm advocates of Church authority in general, and for able writers in defence of our own form of Church government in particular, such we shall find among those Divines of our Church who were called in their day the Doctrinal Calvinists" (Charge at Rochester, 1800).

commended the moderation of our Church, which made not any of these nice and doubtful opinions the *resolved doctrine* of the Church: this, he judged, was the great fault of the Tridentine and late Westminster Assemblies; but our Church was more ingenuous, and left these dark and curious points to the several apprehensions of learned men, and extended equal communion to both."

That the views of Davenant were moderate Calvinian, or such as bear the name of *Sublapsarian*¹ Calvinism, all his writings prove. In short they were Augustinian.

It has, however, been said that, with respect to the doctrine of Universal Redemption, he was led by Archbishop Usher. This is distinctly stated by Baxter; and from this it has been inferred by many that the views of Davenant underwent a change, and that he declined to the opinion that redemption is *attainable* by all. In fact the extraordinary endowments of the Irish Primate, his stupendous and universal erudition, his extreme moderation, humility, fervent piety, and judgment, placed him in correspondence with all the learned men of Europe of all Churches,² who appealed to him for information and advice upon almost every topic of learning and theology. When in London the most eminent divines were wont to apply themselves

¹ Yet Cassan tells us (*Lives of Bishops of Salisbury*, pt. ii. p. 113) "Davenant had adopted the Supralapsarian hypothesis, *i. e.*, of unconditional predestination in the utmost sense." This writer's definition of doctrine is well-suited to his accuracy of assertion. He has, however, favoured the world with more than one choice specimen of his theological attainment: suited indeed to what might be expected from a man who in narrating a witty story of Bishop Thomas, concerning a Lutheran divine who refused to bury a Calvinist, sagely observes: "Although the Calvinism of the dead be not *contagious*, it may fairly be doubted whether a *known heretic* is entitled to have the service read over him, and to receive the same honour with one dying in the true faith of the Church. In this case, no doubt, the clergyman was acting in conformity to the spirit of the Rubric. For a Calvinist must, *ispro facto*, be 'excommunicate': and such, we know, are not entitled to Christian burial."

² We need go no farther than a mere glance at the invaluable selection of letters which his chaplain, Dr Parr, selected from the vast mass of his correspondence, and published at the end of his life.

to him as to a father.¹ Among others, Davenant was on close terms of intimacy with him, as was his nephew Thomas Fuller; and to this the following passage of Baxter refers, in the year 1658, seventeen years after our author's death: "In the time of my abode at Lord Broghill's, fell out all the acquaintance I had with the most reverend, learned, humble, and pious Primate of Ireland, Arbp. Usher, then living at the Earl of Peterborough's house in St Martin's Lane. Sometimes he came to me, and oft I went to him. And Dr Kendal, who had wrote pettishly against me, about Universal Redemption and the specification of Divine Grace, desired me (when I had answered one of his invectives, and had written part of the answer to the other) to meet him at Bishop Usher's lodgings, and refer the matter to him for our reconciliation and future silence; which I willingly did. And when the Bishop had declared his judgment for that doctrine of Universal Redemption which I asserted, and gloried that he was the man who brought Bishop Davenant and Dr Preston to it, he persuaded us, who were both willing, to silence for the time to come" (p. 205). In the same book, referring to the same conference, he delivers his opinion more fully: "In my book called *R(ichard)B(axter)s Judgment about the Perseverance of Believers*, I showed the variety of opinion about Perseverance, and that Augustin and Prosper themselves did not hold the certain perseverance of all the elect; but held that there are more sanctified than are elect, and that perseverance is affixed to the elect *as such*, and not to the sanctified *as such*; which Bp. Usher averred to Dr Kendal, before my face, to be most certainly Austin's judgment, though both he and I did incline to another. From hence, and many other arguments, I inferred that the sharp censures of men against their brethren, for not holding a point which Austin himself was against, and no one author can be proved to hold from the Apostles' days till long after

¹ Dr Bernard's Funeral Sermon on Usher.

Austin, doth argue less of judgment and charity than many of the censurers seem to have."

"Upon a topic so important," says the Rev. Josiah Allport, in his short biographical sketch, "a few observations may be made. That Usher became less partial to the strict points of Calvinism in later life, rests upon evidence too distinct to be questioned; and Mr Todd, in his *Life of Bishop Walton*, has given some interesting letters on the subject. Nevertheless, so early as 1617, when yet a private divine, he maintained Universal Redemption, and his correspondence contains two powerful letters on the subject. But then, perhaps, he would not then have so fully allowed what he afterwards maintained in one of his last conversations, when, having preached what he called 'a soul-saving' sermon upon the words, '*Whom He called, them He justified*'; and being asked by Walton whether 'God, with His Word, doth give internal grace to all that are called by it, that they may repent if they will; and that they certainly *can will?*' he answered, 'Yes, they *all can will!* and that so many will not is because they resist God's grace,' adding, 'Bishop Overall was in the right, and I am of his mind.'

"It is from this that a supposed change in Davenant's opinion has been inferred. Hence, Mr Jackson, in his able life of the great Puritan divine, John Goodwin (the most profound Arminian theologian that this country has produced) tells us (and Mr Nicholls, in the preface to his *Works of Arminius*, repeats the remark), that 'Bishop Davenant appears to have undergone a change of sentiment similar to that of Baxter.'

"There is no difficulty in refuting this, but there is much difficulty in reconciling Baxter's remark with the fact. Davenant's views at the Synod of Dort, prior to his acquaintance of Usher, are distinctly stated in his 'Reasons,' and in many of his works, and his reply to Hoard, just before his death, is in strict accordance with them. He held Universal Redemption, as we have seen, at Dort, but

he held it as inseparable from Reprobation or Preterition ; and he maintained against Hoard the same doctrine and the same inseparable Preterition. The truth, or error, of the doctrine is, of course, not affected by this ; but, as a matter of fact, the evidence is too distinct to be doubted for a moment, that not a shadow of change occurred in his opinions. How, therefore, to understand Baxter's remark, I know not." ¹

But though Davenant held what are called *sublapsarian* views on the "doctrines of grace," he was most firm and persistent in his opposition to the *supralapsarian* hypothesis, and set his face like a flint against the extreme party at Dort. And in what did he differ from the Jansenists in these views, or the Dominicans, or Aquinas, or Augustin, or Prosper, or Fulgentius, or, for the matter of that, St Paul himself ? But side by side with these predestinarian opinions, he was a doughty champion of the Episcopal regimen, and clearly pointed out to the foreign Protestants what they had lost in giving up Episcopacy, which at last they frankly owned themselves. Davenant had the greatest reverence for his spiritual mother, the Church of England : he held to what are called Church principles, baptismal grace, and the spiritual presence of Christ in the Eucharist, and the power of the Keys. He clung to the creeds of a Catholic and undivided Christendom, and had the greatest respect for the old Fathers of the Early Church—in short, he fully understood, what we have endeavoured to illustrate in this work, the true Anglican platform, the twofold appeal to Scripture and primitive Antiquity. But call him by what name you please, it is the Churchman, not only of the Anglican Reformed Church, not merely of England, and of the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries after Christ, but of Catholic Christendom,

¹ *Life of Bishop Davenant*, by Rev. Josiah Allport, and prefixed to the translation of the *Exposition of the Epistle to the Colossians* (p. 48), a sketch to which I beg to acknowledge my indebtedness in composing these memoirs.

and of the first three centuries, every feature of him finding within that period (in which the loving voice of Christ and His apostles was actually heard, or had so recently ceased to be) its faithful exemplar. Nor can we afford to lose sight of these principles in the present crisis, when the old controversy with Rome is opened afresh—a controversy which we can only carry on successfully by taking up our ground, like Davenant did, with great good heed (ground which our Reformers and their followers—men experienced, as Laud and Davenant and Chillingworth, in that most delicate warfare—in general marked out for us); and standing fast by the Church of England as she stands fast by the Primitive Church; being in fact that Church, *in the main*, restored, which the Papist has corrupted, and the Puritan thrown into disorder. For it is certain that any man professing *himself of the Church of England*, and yet in his honest but improvident zeal adopting the line of argument of the Protestant Latitudinarian, will not long contend with a Romanist of common sagacity (and such champions are not wanting to Rome at this moment) without discovering that his position is untenable, without finding out that, whilst tilting at his foe, he has over-reached himself, and laid open his own guard. Whereas, let him be true to the moderate principles of his own Church, and he may not only defend himself against the Romanist, but turn on him and smite him down. In Davenant we have done our best to pourtray the typical Churchman—the Churchman of the Primitive Church—combining something both of the High and Low party of more modern times—the moderate Anglican—a *tertium quid*, nearer to our Reformers and to the great worthies of our Church than either—the disciples of the *via media*, one who has found the old paths and walks therein.

Few men appear to have been more honoured and venerated by men of all parties than Bishop Davenant. In all the works of friends or opponents there is not to

be found a single sentence approaching even to disrespect, much less anything that can tend to cast the slightest reflection upon his deportment in any measure of his public or private life. His profound learning, acuteness of intellect, Catholic spirit, active benevolence, and meekness, are constantly adverted to; and the phrases — “The good Bishop Davenant,” the “excellent Bishop Davenant,” the “learned Bishop Davenant,” &c., &c., are the usual appendages, or ordinary epithets, to his name, even in the writings of those who took up the pen in express hostility to certain of his theological views.

A distinguished Nonconformist, Dr Edmund Calamy—whose father, Master E. Calamy, formed one of the Subcommittee under the presidency of Bishop Williams in 1640-1—in the memoirs of his own life, gives an account of a conversation which he had with Bishop Burnet¹ (the author of the *Exposition of the Thirty-nine Articles* already referred to in connection with the seventeenth), who particularly requested to know the opinion of the Dissenters upon his explanation of that seventeenth Article. “I told his Lordship,” says Dr Calamy, “that as for those whom his Lordship particularly enquired after, though they were very thankful to his Lordship for his pains, and for his charity to those of different sentiments: yet, on the head of Predestination, which he had so laboured, they could not but be surprised to find that, when he had been at such pains, nicely to state the two extremes, he should quite overlook the middle way, where truth commonly lies. He told me that the true reason of that was because he could not see how that called the middle way differed from one of the extremes. I freely told him this seemed more strange to several among us, because *the learned Davenant*, one of his Lordship’s predecessors in the See of Sarum, had not only vigorously asserted and defended that middle way in the Synod of

¹ Gilbert Burnet was Bishop of Salisbury from 1689-1715.

Dort, in opposition to Remonstrants and Supralapsarians, but had also been at no small pains to support it in several of his writings; of which his Lordship took not the least notice. This led into a pretty close discourse of two hours' length, in which his Lordship endeavoured to convince me that such as declared for the middle way must at last, when pressed, fall into the Arminian scheme; while I, on the contrary, asserted, and endeavoured to prove, that such as were in that way of thinking were no more obliged to fall in with the Remonstrants than with the rigid Predeterminants" (vol. i., p. 276).

"We may add fittingly enough," says the author of the *Diocesan History of Salisbury*, "a few words respecting Bishop Davenant, to whom the difficult task was assigned of ruling and guiding the Church of Sarum in those dangerous and anxious times. He succeeded Bishop Townson, his brother-in-law, who, after having held the Bishopric for barely *ten months*, died, leaving behind him a widow and fifteen children, by no means plentifully provided for. He accepted the See, it is said by Camden, with an implied pledge that he would remain unmarried, and so be able the better to provide for his nephews and nieces. He certainly redeemed his pledge fully, for during the twenty years that he was Bishop of Sarum he bestowed dignities, prebends, or livings on all who had any claim of kindred. Like many of the divines who received their advancement in the Reign of James I., he had a strong dislike to everything connected with Rome,¹ and also

¹ His opinion on this subject he thus himself expresses, as Mr Russell says in his *Memorials* of Fuller, p. 256, "as able a controversial Divine as the Church of England ever produced, places among the fundamental points as well the *Decalogue* as the *Creed*, and in respect of the *Decalogue* remarks: *Viderit itaque Romana Ecclesia, quæ fundamenta fidei Christianæ sua potissimum opera gloriatur fuisse hactenus conservata, an in fundamentalibus Decalogi non erraverit crasse et damnabiler; ut de erroribus aliis nihil dicam*" (*Ad fraternam Communionem*, p. 98). In Pausani's *Memoirs*, p. 246, he is described by Bishop Montague as violently bent against the Church of Rome.

strong Calvinistic sympathies. The Puritans were treated by him with much kindness and tolerance. "Fuller," says Bailey, in his life of that historian, "whose connection with his uncle throughout his boyhood and early manhood was pretty close, held him in great respect, and to the Bishop's school of Churchmanship ever tenaciously clung, and did very much to perpetuate it." Fuller's biographer justly says of Davenant that he was "a man in whom piety and sound learning were united to a degree perhaps rarely excelled" (*Life*, p. 77).¹

Lloyd, in his *Memoirs*, has given an epitaph on our Bishop, which, as giving a good summary of his character and genius, we here subjoin—²

" Hic jacet omnigenæ eruditionis modestæ
 Epitome. Cui judicium asservit
 maxime discretiorum.
 quicquid uspiam est literarum Hebraicarum
 Ethnicarum, aut Christianarum
 omnes linguas, artes et historias
 quicquid prædicarunt
 patres, disputarum scholastici
 decreverunt consilia
 in sobriam pacificam, et practicam concoxit
 Theologiam.

¹ *History of Salisbury*, S.P.C.K. Diocesan Histories, by Rev. W. H. Jones, Vicar of Bradford-on-Avon, p. 204.

² Lloyd, *Memoirs*, 283. The following is a translation of this epitaph, which was recorded very incorrectly. It may, perhaps, have been one of the epitaphs placed, as was usual, upon the coffin when lying in state :—

"Here lieth the epitome of all solid learning. His judgment, assisted by his profound acquaintance with the entire range of Hebrew, Heathen, and Christian lore, converted all tongues, arts, histories, every maxim of the fathers, every disputation of the schoolmen, every decree of the Councils into sober, peaceful, and practical divinity. He swayed the Schools in so far as they are ruled by assemblies, and he gave laws to Synods. As wise as simple, he, whose austerity of life was little known, for he was more strict in practice than in profession (being by his learning a great light to the Church, by his example a greater)—whose books were all marked with this posy, '*Præfuit qui*

Quæ in concionibus dominata est, Scholis
 Imperavit, et Synodis leges dedit
 Prudens pariter ac simplex,
 ille, ille cui severior vita quam
 opinio : ut pote strictius vitam
 agens, quam sententiam (Doctrina
 magna lux Ecclesiæ, exemplo major)
 Cujus libri omnes una hac notabantur
 Inscriptione *Præfuit qui Profuit*,
 qui Regem venerebatur, sed et timebat
 Deum, non tam suo, quam publico morbo
 Succubuit Aprilis 3, 1641, extremam
 in hæc verba agens animam :—
 ‘Tantum religio potuit suadere malorum.’”

“Bogerman, the eloquent President of the famous Synod of Dort, a Dutchman, confessed that Dr Davenant’s experience and skill in the laws and histories of Councils gave them directions for the better ordering of their debates and votes.”

There is an autograph of Dr Davenant in the album of Sir Thomas Cuming of Scotland, which may be seen in the MS. Addit., fo. 108 (special), in the British Museum.

Bishop Davenant’s printed works were—

1. Expositio Epistolæ D. Pauli ad Colossenses. Fo., Cantabr., 1627, 1630, 1639 ; 4°, Amst., 1646.
2. A Fast Sermon on Jer. iii. 12. 4°, Lond., 1628.
3. Prælectiones theologicæ de duobus in Theologia Controversiæ capitibus, de judice controversiarum primo : et de justitia habituali et actuali altero. Fo., Cantabr., 1631.
4. De pacis ecclesiasticæ rationibus inter Evangelicos usurpendis et de theologorum fundamentali consensu in Colloquijs Lipsinitio, trium in ecclesia Anglicana episcoporum Tho. Mortonii, Joh. Davenantii, Jos. Halli sententiæ Jo. Duræo traditæ. 4to, 1634, s.l.

profuit,’ who while honouring the king feared God—yielded rather to the public malady than to his own complaint, died on the 3rd of April 1641, repeating with his last breath the words, ‘*Tantum religio potuit suadere malorum.*’”

5. Determinationes (xlix.) quæstionum quarundam theologiarum per Joannem Davenantium publici disputatarum. Fo., Cantabr., 1634-1639.
6. De Pace inter Evangelicos procuranda sententiæ quatuor. Tho. Morton, Dunclemensis Episcopi: Jo. (Davenant) Sansburiensis Episcopi: Josephi (Hall) Exoniensis Episcopi: et quorundam Ecclesiæ Gallicanæ Pastorum. Amst., 18°, Lond., 1638.
7. Ad fraternam Communionem inter evangelicas ecclesias restaurandam adhortatio: cui prefixa est de pace ibidem ecclesiastica commentatio Jo. Duræo non ita pridem missa. 8°, Cantabr., 1640.
8. Animadversions on a treatise lately published and entitled, "God's love to mankinde, manifested by disproving his absolute decree for their damnation (by Samuel Hoard). 8°, Cambridge, 1641.
9. An exhortation to brotherly communion betwixt the Protestant Churches. 12°, London, 1641.
10. Dissertationes duæ: prima De Morte Christi, quatenus ad omnes extendatur, quatenus ad solos electos restringatur, altera de Prædestinatione et Reprobatione, quibus subnectitur ejusdem D. Davenantii sententia de Gallicana Controversia se de gratiosa et salutari Dei erga homines peccatores voluntate. Fo., Cantabr., 1650.

These treatises, selected from our author's papers, had been sent to Archbishop Usher by Dr Edward Davenant for the purpose of publication. But the wretched state of the times prevented their appearing for some years; and it does not seem that the Archbishop was the editor, for the preface is signed with the initials T. B., probably Thomas Bedford, mentioned below. (Allport.)

11. A letter to Dr Samuel Ward prefixed to T. Bedford, *Vindiciæ gratiæ sacramentalis*. 8°, Lond., 1650.

In the Bodleian library is a series of letters of Dr Davenant to Dr Samuel Ward, Master of Sidney College; the following list is taken from the Tanner MSS., of which they form part:—

- lxxij. 25, May. 1621. Referred to above.
 lxxij. 31, 27 May. do.
 lxxij. 36, 7 June. Directions for the Moderations at the approaching commencement; rumoured translations in the Episcopal Bench.
 lxxij. 66, 5 Aug. Day of his Consecration to the Bishopric of Salisbury not fixed.

- lxxij. 273, 20 Feb. 1622-3. His readings not in a fit state for publication.
- lxxij. 497, 9 Dec. 1624. Pelagianism of Mark Antonio De Dominis, Archbishop of Spalatro.
- lxxij. 52, 26 Sept. 1625. Consents to publish his Readings on the Colossians.
- lxxij. 61, 5 Dec. 1626. Directions for printing the Readings; Richard Mountagu's opinions on Predestination contrary to the doctrine of the Church of England.
- ccxc. 81, 10 Oct. Progress made in describing the Readings. Approval of Ward's theses, as also his vindication of the Synod of Dort from the charge of Mr Mountagu.
- lxxij. 135, 312; lxxi. 5, 26, 37, 41, 64, 140, 153; 1626-32. Letters on the Predestination controversy.
- lxxij. 146, 17 July 1626. Desires a fellowship for his nephew Thomas Fuller of Queens' College.
- lxxij. 172, 174, 13 Feb., 6 March 1626-7. Two letters to same, relating to the imperfect transcript of the readings.
- lxxij. 205, 27 July 1627. Sends the dedication for his readings.
- lxxij. 207, 213, 230, 23 Sep., 25 Oct., 28 Oct. 1637. Three letters to Dr Ward on the plague at Salisbury, and the fellowship for Thomas Fuller.
- lxxij. 296, 21 Oct. 1628. Removal of Thomas Fuller to Sidney College on being passed over at the election at Queens'.
- lxxij. 298, 4 Nov. 1628. Mr Montagu's book contrary to the doctrine of the Church; notice of Dr Jackson's treatise of the Divine essence; approval of Ward's publishing the *Suffragium Collegiale*.
- lxxij. 310, 27 Feb. 1628-9. Notice of a sermon preached by Mr Williams at Sleaford; the Bishop of Lichfield disapproves of Dr Jackson's book; controverted points in the doctrine of Election.
- ccxc. 86, 16 March 1629-30. Account of his appearance before the Council for preaching on predestination.
- lxxi. 105 ff., 27 Sept., 12 Oct. 1631. Draught of the Epistles dedicatory to the King and of that to the reader, prefixed to the "*Prælectiones*," with two letters to Dr Ward touching the same.
- lxxi. 164, 23 July 1633. On various controverted points of theology; censure of a sermon preached at Cambridge by Mr Simson.
- lxxi. 172, 23 Feb. 1633. Surprize at the delay in filling up the Mastership at St John's College.
- lxx. 41, 8 Dec. 1634. Sends one of his Determinations for publication.
- lxx. 48, 27 Jan. 1635-6. Sends presentation copies of his Determinations; passage to be omitted in the Determination last sent.

- lxvij. 1, 27 March 1638. Offer of the Vicarage of Martinston to Mr Hasell; design of building a library at Cambridge.
- lxvij. 40, 31 Oct. The doctrine of oral Manducation.
- lxvij. 55, 23 Feb. 1638-9. Directions in reprinting the Determinations.
- lxvij. 147, 29 Oct. 1639. Notice of Thomas à Kempis de imitatione Christi; advises John Fuller to remove to Trinity Hall for the study of the law.
- lxvij. 160, 3 Dec. His age too great to allow of his writing on the controversies of the day; notice of his animadversions upon Sam Hood's "God's love to mankind."
- lxv. 80, 1 June 1640. Directions for publishing his treatise de Fundamentalibus.
- lxv. 118, 12 Sept. Presentation Copies of the de Fundamentalibus; the deputies at Dort from Bremen accused of heresy.
- cclxxix. 267 ff. Notes concerning predestination, election, and grace.
- cclxxix. 300. Annotata ad concionem Pauli Micklethwaite.
- cclxxix. 301. De baptismi effectu in parvulis.

The following are some other of the MS. remains of the Bishop:—

Bishop Davenant's answer to queries propounded by certaine ministers concerning the oath in the sixt Canon (of 1640), MS. Cai. Coll. Lib. No. 291, p. 274 ff.

Letter of Davenant to Archbishop Laud touching the administration of the oath in his Diocese (1640). Lambeth MSS. 577, p. 259.

His will is in the office of the (late) Prerogative Court of Canterbury (Evelyn, p. 101). An abstract of it is given with considerable inexactness in Cassan's *Bishops of Salisbury* (ii. 121). The document is valuable as giving particulars *inter alia* of the state of the Fuller family and its connexions at that period. Most of the family names, also, will be found in the pedigree at the end of first chapter, p. 14. It bears date 29th January 1637, and was proved 23rd July 1641. He directs his body to be buried in the Cathedral, bequeaths to it £200, rings to the Dean and each of the residentiaries, and gowns to forty poor persons. In it he makes a great number of bequests to his brothers and sisters, and to their children, and ratifies his gift of the rectory of Newton Toney to the College. However, Dr Humphrey Henchman (afterwards Bishop of Sarum), who had married his niece, Ellen Townson, and Thomas Clark,

who were seized in fee of the advowson of the living, were to have the presentation at the next avoidance of it.

Bishop Davenant was a great benefactor to his College. In 1626 he gave £100 for the use of the library,¹ with which 130 volumes were purchased, and in 1637 he gave a rent-charge on an estate at Eastchurch, Isle of Sheppey, out of which two scholars were to be maintained, and besides £10 out of the same estate to be employed in increasing the library.

1665, May 30. Granted by the M^r and Fellows (Queens'), to Mr Pedley 10*l.*, to Mr Court 5*l.*, for their services at the Coll. in the sute about Shepey rents, B^p Davenant's gift to the Coll. (Old Parch. Reg. 139).

In addition to this he gave to the College, in 1677, two livings—the rectory of Cheverell Magna, Wiltshire (exchanged in 1774 for the rectory of Seagrave, Leicestershire), and the rectory of Newton Toney, Wiltshire.

His arms were—gules semée of cross crosslets, or three escallop shells, arg. a crescent, or for difference.

His portrait (not the one in this volume) is in the lodging of the President of Queens' College. It represents him full face, in the Episcopal habit, with a skull cap and small double ruff, and with beard and moustache. It is engraved by Garner, and prefixed to Allport's work, a biographical sketch appended to Davenant's Exposition to the Colossians.

FINIS

¹ The writer of these memoirs takes this opportunity of recording his gratitude to the honourable Society of Queens' College, Cambridge, for electing him Clark's Scholar, to which was attached the Librarianship of the College, soon after his matriculation, when he went up to Cambridge as Captain of his school from Brighton College. He was therefore a scholar of his College (enjoying the perquisites of a scholar) many months before the men of his own standing, which would not be till the end of their first year. Being lineally descended from Dr Thomas Fuller, the celebrated church historian, whose maternal uncle was Bishop Davenant, it was a very graceful act on the part of this Society in electing him (as a *quasi*-founder's kin) to the Custodianship of that Library, now a most valuable one, for which Davenant had done so much in interest and by bequests.

BISHOP DAVENANT'S WILL.

In the name of God, Amen. The nyne and twentieth day of January, one thowsand six hundreth thirtie seaven, in the thirteenth yere of the raigne of our Sovereigne Lord Charles, by the grace of God of England, Scotland, France, and Ireland, Kinge Defender of the faith, &c. I, John Davenant, Bishopp of Sarum, beinge at this tyme in good health and perfect memory (praised bee God) weightinge with myselfe the frailtie of this mortall life and the certaintie of my death have therevpon judged it fitt and expedient to order and settle myne estate without delaies, And doe therefore, make, declare, and publish this, my last Will and Testament in manner and forme followinge. First, I comitt and comend my soule into the handes of Almighty God, relyinge vpon the mercy in Jesus Christ for the free pardon of all my sinnes and for the free guift of eternall life through the same my Lord Saviour: and as for my earthlie Bodie I bequeath it to the Earth to bee buried in the Cathedrall Church of Sarum in such decent manner as myne executor shall thinke fitt, assuredly hoping for a joyful resurrection thereof at the great and last daie of judgment.

Item, I give to my loving *brother*, Edward Davenant, Esquire, my fower coach horses and the coach and furniture therevnto belonginge, *Item*, I give vnto him my greater gold ringe with a deathes heade. *Item*, I give to my lovinge *brother William Davenant* one of my saddle geldinges, fortie pounds in money, and my lesser gold ringe with a deathes heade.

Item, I give to my *nephewe*, John Davenant, of Whiddy, in the Countie of Corck and Realme of Ireland, Esquire, one hundred poundes. *Item*, I give to my neices, *Margaret Palmer* and *Anne Onslowe*, fiftie pounds a peece. *Item*, I givee unto *John Davenant*, the sonne of my brother, William Davenant, twenty poundes to be paid vnto him when hee shall take the degree of Master of Artes.

Item, I give unto *William Davenant, brother*¹ unto the same John, twentie poundes, to bee paid vnto him at the age of three and twentie yeres, or when he shall have taken the degree of Master of Artes.

Item, I give unto *William Davenant, brother* unto the same John, twentie poundes, to bee paid vnto him at the age of three and twentie yeres, or when he shall have taken the degree of Master of Artes, which shall first happen. *Item*, I give vnto *Marie Davenant*, sister vnto the said John and William, one hundred poundes, to bee paid

¹ These two brothers, Edward and William, the one a merchant-taylor, the other a draper, were of Bread Street, London, and were the sureties for the payment of the first-fruits of Dr Townson with respect to his vicarage of Wellingborough, 13 April 1604.

to her at the daie of her marriage or at her age of twentie yeres which shall first happen.

Item, I give to my nephewe, Thomas Fuller, Batchellour of Devinitie, the sonne of my sister, Judith Fuller, deceased, tenn poundes, and to his youger brother, John Fuller, twentie poundes, which I will haue paid vnto him when hee shall take the degree of Master of Artes.

Alsoe I give to the three daughters of my said *sister* Fuller, Elizabeth, Margaret, and Anne, to each of them, fiftie poundes a peece, to be paid within six monethes after my death. *Item*, I give to John Townson, (the elder sonne of my *sister*, Margaret Townson, (deceased) tenn poundes, and to *Ralfe Townson*,¹ her youger sonne, twentie poundes, to bee paid vnto him when hee shall take his next degree in schooles. Moreover I give vnto the Daughters of my sister Townson,² as severally followeth, vizt. to Margaret Rives, featherbedd, boulster, pillowe, redd rugge, two blanchettes, one paire of sheets, togethcr with the beddstedd, redd vallence, and curtaines of Phillip, and chenie³ thereto belongingc, alsoe one of my silver colledge pottes, one brasse pott and a wainscott chest. To Ellen Henchman, one bedstedd, with a canopie, curtens and vallence of Say printed yellowe and blacke, a feather bedd, a boulster, a pillowe, a yellowe rugge, two blankettes, one paire of sheets, a silver colledge pott, and a paire of brass andirons. To *Anne Cooke*, one halfe headed bedstedd, with canopie and curtaines of Dornix,⁴ a feather bedd, a boulster, a Dornix coverlett, a rugge, a paire of sheets, the great leather chaire standinge in the dynionge parlor, a halfe backed chaire with the leather stooles which are all suteable, one silver beaker, and a nutmegg collour cupp garnished. To *Judith White*, a featherbedd and bowlster, a rugge, a paire of sheets, a great chaire of Bendado leather, with all the lesser chaires of like leather standinge alsoe in the dyninge parlour, a beaker and paire of andirons standinge in my lodginge chamber, with the fire shovell and tonges. To Bridgett Rogers one feather bedd, one boulster, one rugge, one pillowe, a paire of sheetes, one brasse pott, one chaire of Bentado leather which stands in my said lodginge chamber, two lowe stooles suteable thereunto, six ioyned stooles and a breaker.

¹ It was this Ralph Townson who is mentioned by Walker (*Sufferings*, ii, 110) as being ejected from a scholar's place in Christ Church, Oxon. His burial there is noted by A. Wood (*Colleges*, Oxon, ed. Gutch, p. 476) who states that he died on the 8th Sept. 1678, aged 65, being then Senior Student of the house.

² Particulars of six of these nieces will be found at pp. 147, 148.

³ An old-fashioned material, formerly in extensive use.

⁴ A kind of damask.

To *Gertred Townson*, a feather-bedd, a boulster, a pillowe, two paire of sheets, the one flaxon, the other canvas, a rugge, a diaper table cloth with a dozen of napkins suteable to it, a greene carpett, a greene cupboard cloth, a brasse pott and a silver beere bowle. *Item*, I give unto her fortie poundes to bee paid vnto her at the daie of her marriage. To *Marie Hide*, the featherbedd, boulster, pillowe, and quilted matteres vsed in myne bedchamber, with the curtaines, rugg, and two blanckettes therevnto belonging; and alsoe the cupboard with drawers, and the broad linnen box standing there. *Item*, I give vnto her a trumbworke chair with eight stooles suteable to it, which stand in the parlor, an iron bound greene chest, and a dozen of knobbed silver spoones. *Item*, I give unto *Grace Shaplie*, the daughter of my brother *James Davenant*, deceased, fiftie poundes and a silver tankard.

Item, I give to *Elisabeth North*, the daughter of my brother *Ralph Davenant*, deceased fiftie poundes and a silver tankard. *Item*, I give unto *Katherine Davenant*, the wife of my nephew Edward Davenant, Doctor of Divinitie, tenne poundes to buy her a paire of bracelettes, and the like soñie unto *Anne Davenant*, the wife of my said nephew John Davenant of Whiddie. Also I give unto the eldest sonne of the said *John* and *Anne*, thirtie poundes to bee bestowed in a bason and ewre, and to be delivered vnto him at his age of twentie and one yeres.

Item, I give unto *Ellen Fuller*, the wife of my said nephew *Thomas Fuller*, Batchellor of Divinitie, a dozen of my silver spoones and a beere bowle. *Item*, I give unto *Anne Townson*, the wife of my nephew John Townson a guilt tankard ymbossed. *Item*, I give to the Husbandes of my neeces as followeth: to *Humfrey Henchman*,¹ Doctor of Divinitie, a good serviceable geldinge and my Greeke Concordance of the Newe Testament and *Dronisius Areopagita* in two volumes. *Item*, to *John Rives*, Archdeacon of Berks, one of my gownes, and one of my cassockes, which himself shall make choice of. I give to him also my lattine *Chrisostom* in fower volumes, and twentie shillings for a ringe. *Item*, I give to *Alexander Rede*, sub-deane of the Church of Sarum, one of my saddle geldinges, *Bernard* in two volumes, and twenty shillings for a ringe. *Item*, I give to *James White*, Batchellour of Divinitie one other of my saddle geldinges, *Kircherus Hebrewe* and Greeke Concordance in two volumes, and twenty shillings to make him a ringe. *Item*, I give to *John Rogers*² on of my gildinges, Bar-

¹ The Maurice Henchman who was surety for the payment of the first-fruits of Fuller's prebend, p. 139, was Bishop Henchman's brother; his co-surety, Edward, being perhaps a nephew.

² Rev. John Rogers was prebendary of Chute and Chesingbury, having been appointed thereto by Dr Davenant in 1634 in the place of Edward Davenant. (Walker, ii. 66). He was the husband of Bridget Townson.

radius Concordance upon the Gospells in two volumes folio, and twentie shillings for a ringe. *Item*, I give unto John Cooke, a gildinge, Sir Walter Rawleighe's Historie, and twentie shillings for a ringe.

Item, I give to Edward Onslowe,¹ a Lattine Concourdance of the Bible, Szegedine's Comon Places, Catalogus Testium Veritatis, and twentie shillings for a ringe. *Item*, I give to Edward North,² one of my gownes, a cassock, Marlbrates' Expositio Ecclisiastica in fower volumes and twentie shillings for a ringe. *Item*, to Bartholomew Shapley,³ Chemnitius, his Examen in folio, his Comon places in three volumes in quarto, and twentie shillings for a ringe. *Item*, to Mathewe Huit, Doctor Whitaker's Workes, whereof two volumes are in folio, one in quarto, one in octavo, and twentie shillings for a ringe. *Item*, to Vincent Palmer, twentie shillings for a ringe.

Item, I give unto these my loving Cozens twentie shillings a piece to make them ringes :—

vizt. ; to the *Ladie Elizabeth* Jermie, *Abigail Hales*, *Anne Coope*, and *Catherine Sowth*. And in like manner to theis my welbeloved Friendes, Samuele Ward, Professor of Divinitie in the Universitie of Cambridge ; Robert Pearson,⁴ Doctor of Divinitie and Parson of Creak, in Norfolk ; Thomas Clarke, Doctor of Divinitie and Viccar of Longe Sutton, in Lincolnshire ; Thomas Clarke,⁵ Parson of Manningford ; *Robert Davenant*,⁶ Parson of Westkemton. I give alsoe unto my

¹ Rev. Edward Onslowe was also connected with the diocese and was preferred to a prebend just before the death of the Bishop, March 1641. He married Miss Anne Davenant, the Bishop's niece (Walker, ii. 66).

² Rev. Edward North was the husband of the Bishop's niece, Miss Elizabeth Davenant.

³ Rev. Bartholomew Shapley (or Shipley) held the prebend of Winterbourn Earles, to which he was presented in 1640. He was married to one of the Bishop's nieces Grace Davenant (Walker, ii. 69).

⁴ This Dr Robert Pearson was the father of the celebrated Bishop Pearson. He was an old associate of the Bishop, having been admitted at Queens' College in 1587, Fellow 1592, and he was also tutor at the College. He was presented to North Creak, Co., Norfolk in 1607. He died Archdeacon of Suffolk 1639.

⁵ Rev. Thos. Clarke (or Clark), Rector of Manningford Abbots, in Wiltshire, is described as "a man of that humility, piety, charity, and universal goodness, that his name is not yet mentioned in those parts without particular regard." Davenant made him a prebendary in 1634 ; but he was ejected from his rectory in 1634 (Walker, ii. 227 ; 69).

⁶ Rev. Robert Davenant of West Kempton was brother to Sir W. D'Avenant, Poet Laureat. He was born of St John's College ; and in 1660, when he was made D.D., he was prebend elect of Salisbury (Shennet).

lovinge friendes, Mr William Ireland of Westminster,¹ and Mr Hugh Grove, the elder, of Chisenburie, twentie shellinges a peece for ringes.

Item, I give to the Deane of Sarum² and to each of the residentiaries in remembrance of our mutuall love, and good accord, twentie shillinges a peece to make them ringes.

Item, I give unto the Cathedrale Church of Sarum, the some of two hundred poundes to be employed for the benefitt of the said Church, in such manner as shall seeme most expedient to the Deane and Chapter. *Item*, I give unto the cittie of Newe Sarum, one hundred poundes to be added to the stock which they have already, and to be employed onlie for settinge the poore on worke in the new workhouse. *Item*, I give the some of thirtie poundes to bee divided by equal portions betweene eight poore viccars or curates within the diocese of Salisbury, such as my executor shall thinke fittest. Now for my Howshould Servauntes :—I give unto them as followeth in perticuler, vizt., unto my auntient servaunt John Greene, fiftie poundes.

Item, to my servaunt Henry Wilkinson, twentie poundes ; to Richard Bisbie, five poundes, and one of my cart horses ; to Edward Read, five poundes, and my great olde coach ; to Roger Humphrey, twentie nobles ; to *James Harris*,³ five poundes ; to John True and Edward Burford, three poundes a peece ; to my cooke, fortie shillings ; to the boy in the stable, to the kitchen boy, to the widdowe, to the porter, and to the carter, thirtie shillings a peece. All which somes unto my servauntes my will is shall be paid to them before my howshould bee dissolved. *Item*, I will that my funerall fortie poore men at the least shall have gownes bestowed upon them, as for other mourners or morninge cloathes with other solemnities, I leave them wholly to the discrecoñ of meyne executor, whome I advise to avoide herein all needlesse pompe and superfluous trouble or charge. Moreover, whereas by severall deeds, bearinge date the five and twentieth daie of October, in the thirteenth yere of the raigne of our Souveraigne Lord Kinge Charles, I have given tenn poundes a yere to Anne Cooke, duringe her life ; and tenn poundes to Ralph Townson duringe the terme

¹ His name occurs as one of the sureties for the payment of the first-fruits of Thomas Fuller the elder, with respect to his prebend of Highworth, 9th April 1623, being described as "gen." he attests the codicil. The other surety was John Stogdell, yeoman, also of Westminster.

² Richard Baylie, D.D., who was Dean 1635-67. He was president of St John's College, Cambridge, 1627, became Dean through his kinship with Laud, whose executor he was. There is a long account of him in Walker, ii. 117.

³ Perhaps the same James Harris mentioned page 148.

of tenn yerres, and twentie poundes a yere to John Davenant (sonne of my brother William Davenant) for seaven yerres, and sixteene poundes a year to William Davenant (sonne of my said brother William) duringe the terme of twelve yerres ; and sixteene poundes a yere to John Fuller duringe the terme of seaven yerres, All the said yearlie paymentes to beginne ymediately from and after my decease. Nowe I doe here by this, my last will, ratifie them all, and will that the said deedes shall bee delivered with all fitt expedicoñ to every one of them respectivelie to the end that every of them maie trulie enjoye the same accordinge to the tenour of my deedes. *Item*, whereas I have given the Rectory and Parsonage of Newton Toney for ever to the Master and Fellowes of Queene's College, in Cambridge, by a deed, bearinge date the six and twentieth daie of October in the thirteenth yere of the raigne of our Sovereigne Lord, Kinge Charles, I doe by this my will ratifie the same, and appoint that all deedes, evidences, writings concerninge the said Rectory beinge delivered unto them with all fitt expedicoñ.¹ *Item*, I do likewise by this my will ratifie a conveyance of the manor of Bictam, made betweene me and Edward Davenant, bearinge date the sixe and twentieth daie of October in the thirteenth yere of the raigne of our Sovereigne Lord, King Charles. As for my bookes not formerly bequeathed, my will is that none of them shall bee sould, but that the said Doctor Edward Davenant shall take of them for himselfe, such whereof hee is not already provided, as hee shall thinke good.

And out of my English bookes, hee maie give one to anie of my neeces, kindred, or friends, as a token of remembrance. As for the rest of my bookes, such shall remayne, my will is that they be distributed not by equall number of value, but whollie accordinge to the discrecoñ of the forenamed Doctor Edward Davenant to the aforesaid Thomas Fuller, John Townson, John Davenant (sonne of my brother William Davenant) Ralfe Townson and John Fuller. The rest and residue of all and singular my moneys, debtes, goodes, chattelles, rights, and estate, whatsoever, not before by mee herein disposed (my debts beinge first paid) I doe fully and wholly bequeath vnto my wel-beloved nephewe, the said Edward Davenant, Doctor of Divinitie, and I doe hereby appoint, constitute, and ordaine him to bee the full and sole executor of this my present last will and testament, revokinge and annullinge all former wills by mee made. In witness whereof, I have to theis presentes sett my hand and seale, the daie and yere above written.

JO. SARUM.

Subscribed, sealed, and published by John Davenant, Bishopp of

¹ Fuller, curiously, does not include this among the Queens' College livings. See the Codicil.

Sarum, the Testator, as his last Will and Testament in presence of Tho. Sadler, Will. Buckner, Antho. Hillary, Fran. Robertes.

CODICIL.

Bee it knowe that whereas I, John Davenant, Bishopp of Sarum, haue made my last Will and Testament in writinge, and whiche nowe resteth in the Custodie of Hugh Grove the elder, in the close of Sarum, Gent. Nowe forasmuch as I have changed my mynde onlie concerninge some certaine thinges in the said last will conteyned, I doe by this present Codicill confirme and ratifie the said last Will in and concerninge all Thinges in the said last Will mençoined other then in thus followinge perticulers, in which pointes onlie I revoke my said former Will, and dispose as followeth. And First, whereas by my last said Will I have bequeathed and appointed to Mrs Anne Cooke an annuitie or annual pençoñ of eight poundes, forasmuch as since the makinge of my said Will I have otherwise provided for the said M^{rs} Anne Cooke, I doe hereby revoke and make voide this legacy or request of eight poundes per annum. And secondly, whereas Humphrey Henchman, Doctor of Divinitie, and Thomas Clarke, clerke, stand seized in fee of and in the advowson of Newton Tonie in the Countie of Wiltes, in trust for mee, my hieres and assignes ; and whereas by my said last will I doe give and devise vnto Queenes College in Cambridge in fee and for ever all my right, title, interest, use or trust in and to the said Advowson ; my will nowe is that the said Humfrey Henchman and Thomas Clarke, their Executors and Assignes, have the first presentatioñ to the said church of Newton Tonie, and the disposicoñ thereof at the next avoydance that shall happen after my death : and the fee and inheritauce of the said Advowson, and all my right, interest, trust and vse in and to the same (the said first avoydance excepted), I doe as formerly will and devise to Queens' Colledge in Cambridge. And my will is that this Codicill or Shedule bee, and bee adjudged and taken to bee, parcell of my said last Will and bee annexed to the same, and to bee of force in the best manner that maie bee. In Witnes whereof to this present Codicill I have subscribed my name, the sixth daie of April, in the yere of our Lord One Thowsand Sixe Hundreth fortie and one.

JO. SARUM.

Signed, sealed, and published in the presence of John Harrison, Rob. Grove, Wm. Ireland. Proved 13 July 1641, by Edwd. Davenant, S.T.P., the Executor.

APPENDIX

(From MS. 291 in Caius College Library, Cambridge.)

BISH^p DAUENANTS ANSWER VNTO THE QUERIES PROPOUNDED BY
CERTAINE MINISTERS CONCERNING Y^e OATH IN Y^e SIXT CANON.

The desire to bee fully satisfied in conscience concerning y^e lawfulness, & true meaning of y^e oath, w^{ch} wee are enjoined to take, is both a comendable & religious desire: If y^fore any minister vnfaynedly desire it to this end, y^t hee may y^e more heartily, & willingly take it wⁿ y^e lawfulness, & meaning therof shall be cleared vnto him, it is a worke of charity herein to afford him an helping hand, & not to suffer him to take y^e oath wth a doubting & pplexed conscience: But wⁿ both y^e lawfulness, & meaning of y^e oath may easily appeare to any man of ordinary discretion, and vnderstanding, men will still shutt their eyes, this is a shrewd signe of a factious mind, not of a religious conscience: I conceiue better of all those y^t haue made y^e aboute mentioned Queries, & I suppose they may breed the same scruples in other mens mindes w^{ch} they haue done in theirs: I take not y^fore vpon mee out of mine owne priuate Judgment to Interpret y^e oath by way of authority, or to give satisfaction to y^e Clergy of another B^{ps} Diocesse: but out of y^e duty of charity to comūnicate to those of mine owne, w^t I conceiue to bee y^e meaning of y^e oath, & w^t may be truely said vnto those Queries, w^{ch} as they haue troubled others elsewhere, soe in likelihood may also trouble many here.

To y^e first Querie.

It is asked whether this oath be legally imposed soe as to bind all y^e Clergy to take it: This question is propounded concerning an obligation or binding of men, onely of y^e Comōn law, or of some particular statute Law: but y^e proper Question now should have been, whether this oath bee by y^e authority of y^e king, & the church soe imposed, as y^t y^e clergy wthout violatēing y^t duty w^{ch} by diuine Law, & the law of charity they stand bound vnto, cannot refuse it: for ministers, & all X^{tians} may stand bound in diuers cases, & vpon diuers

just causes to submitte vnto y^e performance of particular actes, w^tvnto by noe humane positieue law they stood formerly bound ; and amongst others, y^e submitting to a lawfull oath enjoined, made by lawfull authority vpon consideracions of such moment, as well besee me y^e reuerence due vnto an oath, is one, & a principall one : Now w^t considerations to ground an oath vpon can be imagined of greater importance the y^e preseruing of truth, & peace in this church, & giueing assurance both to Prince, & people, y^t wee will neuer perfidiously revolt from y^e doctrine of y^e gospell vnto Popery, nor factiously consent to y^e alteration of y^e government, & discipline, w^tvnto we haue subscribed. As for y^e ground of this first Querie taken out of the Statute of the 25 of H. 8 : my answer is, *Quam quisq norit artē in eā se exercent.* I leaue it to y^e professours of y^e cōmōn law, & could wish y^t they would leaue y^e determination of matters of conscience to y^e professours of a higher law. I say y^e same concerning the answer to y^e petition of right : I knowe B^{pps} in conuocation are bound from decreeing, or executeing ought repugnant to y^e custome, lawes, & statutes of this Realme : But I cannot vnderstand how y^e kings royall assent, approbation, & cōmānd signified vnder the great seale, to administer this oath, should be repugnant either to law, or custome, neither ought wee to imagine y^t his Ma^{ty} would by his royall assent, & seale haue ratified, & cōmānded y^e takeing of this oath, had his reuerend Judges, & learned Counsayle, conceiued it to be repugnant vnto his lawes. Howsoeu^r it being consonant to Gods Law, y^e priuate opinion of some lawyers, who thinke it repugnant to y^e statute of H: 8: cannot trouble greatly any discreet, or religious mans conscience. The newnesse of this oath, & new Imposition of it, prooues it not to be contrary to y^e customes of this Realme : if oathes of like kind & like nature haue formerly by y^e same authority been enjoined. Neither does it crosse y^e title of y^e Canon whereby it is enioined w^{ch} is for preuention of all Innouations in doctrine & gouernment : for though it bee in it selfe now newly conceiued, yet it is manifestly subordinate, & subservient vnto y^e end specified in y^e title, & y^fore not crossing it, or repugnant to it : New lawes made & intituled for y^e preuening of all new inconueniences in such, & such particulars, doe not y^rby crosse y^mselues, or y^r titles because they are new : Now w^tas it is further alleadged *ex concilio cabilonensi 2^o sub car: mag: cap: 13^o* (that such an oath as this was condemned, & cashered, *quia periculosū*), It is true, an oath was there condemned, and casheered : but not such an oath as this : that was an oath w^{ch} some particular B^{pps} had thrust vpon clergymen of y^r Diocesse out of their owne priuate discretion : This is an oath w^{ch} by y^e ioynt & generall consent of y^e B^{ps}, y^e King also ratifying, and cōmāding it :

is lawfully enioined. That was an oath wⁱⁿ (to let all y^e rest passe) they enioined men to sweare their owne worthinesse, or sufficiency to bee receiued into Sacred orders, w^{ch} stands not wth y^e vertue of X^{tian} humility, & modesty besides w^{as} y^e end of an assertory oath, is to give y^e best assurance y^t may bee of the truth vnknowne, this affirming, and protesting of a mans owne worthinesse makes it rather more to bee doubted of: pride, & self loue being many times most strong in men of weakest abilities, and least worth. Lastly, it was iustly casheered quia periculosū for in all likelyhood it would haue multiplied periuries, since, few or none, how vnworthy soeuer of sacred orders would bee kept out, if their owne testimony concerning y^r owne worth might haue helped them in; but in this our oath noe man can shew any one clause which carries a repugnancy to any X^{tian} vertue. No man can deuise how to giue better assurance y^t he will not revolt from the true doctrine taught in our church, nor attempt y^e alteration of y^e established gouernment yrof, then by a religious oath. Last of all this oath is soe farre from being dangerous, as y^t noe man is likely to violate it, vnlesse it be such as are already disposed to Popery, or faction, of w^{ch} kind charity bids vs hope y^t wee haue few, or none placed in y^e ministry. So y^t all in y^t oath being quite contrary to this, as y^t was iustly inhibited, soe this is iustly enioined, And (me thinkes) as much in effect is confessed by themselues who made this Querie, for when they say they doe not scruple y^e oath of Canonically obedience to yr particular diocesan, they haue lesse reason to scruple an oath of obedience to y^e doctrine, & gouernment established, & approved by y^e King, y^e Church, & Co^monwealth.

The second Querie.

It is in y^e Second place demanded (w^t is meant by y^e doctrine, & discipline, & gouernment established in y^e Church of England) It is somew^t strange y^t ministers who haue for soe many years subscribed both to y^e doctrine, & gouernment of y^e Church, vnto y^e truth of y^e one, & lawfulness of y^e other should now (as newly awakened out of a long sleepe) ask w^t is meant by this doctrine, & gouernment, or discipline, and if they haue not learned it hitherto, it is much to bee feared they will neuer well, & willingly learne it hereafter: but y^e reason of this Querie is, they knowe not w^t articles of religion they are to sweare vnto, I suppose y^e 39 Articles of 1562 ratified by y^e Kings declaration 1629, is y^e doctrine w^{ch} by this new oath they approue, & promise neuer to endeavour y^e bringing in of any Popish doctrine contrary therunto. I see noe reason why they should stumble

at this : but they seeme to suspect y^t this oath tend to some new doctrines, not comprised in y^e 39 articles, though they wthall confesse they knowe not yet w^t these other doctrines are, I must confesse no more doe I, & yrfore I know not well how to free y^m from yr vn-grounded feares & suspitions. Let y^m shew y^t by vertue of this oath they shall be bound to approue any other doctrine y^m w^t has bene already established in y^e Church of England, & yⁿ they yeeld some reason of yr scrupulous feare, if they thinke y^t y^e doctrine is enlarged wth any new articles since his Ma^{ties} late comission vnder y^e great Seale, was directed to y^e Convocation, let y^m insist in y^e new doctrines added to y^e old articles of religion, tell us w^t they are in particular, & w^t to bee seene. It may bee pressed in y^e first of our new constitutions : if this be y^t meaning they should not haue said (they knowe not w^t y^t other doctrine is, & yrfore cannot swears to it) for their is noe question but by this time they haue seene y^e new Canons, & haueing seen this declaration they could not but see, y^t it brings in noe new doctrine into y^e Church of England, nor any conclusion w^{ch} is not cleerly, and strongly grounded in holy Scripture, & w^{ch} was not formerly declared to be y^e doctrine w^{ch} all ministers in y^e Church of England ought to acknowledge, and maintaine, as euidently appears by the first of those Cañons, or constitutions w^{ch} were set out Anno 1612, and by sundrey other lawes & ordinances : Now for the discipline they say, (wee knowe not wether by discipline is meant onely the Cannons, & constitutions of the Church or the thinges besides y^e word government being coupled wth the word discipline as an explication yrof shews y^t nothing yrby is to bee vnderstood but w^t y^e governours have for decency, order & the good of y^e Church soe enjoined, & prescribed, y^t every minister may, & ought to take notice of y^m of this nature are not onely w^t is enjoined by the Cannons, but also w^t is prescribed in y^e Liturgy, or service booke : being ratifyed, and published by y^e same authority, if any can truely alleadge invincible ignorance in any of these things prescribed by humane authority : non est transgressor legis, neither on the esteeme of God, nor man, as Diuines generally agree ; but if it bee a wilfull, or willing ignorance, let such looke a little better vnto y^t conscience ; for nemini licet ea nescire quot spectant ad officiũ propriũ, crassa ignorantia reputatur in fraudem, it is further objected (they knowe not w^t Cannons they are w^{ch} they approued by this oath) and they giue two reasons hereof, (some of y^e ancient ones are growne out of vse, and some others are altered) to y^e former reason I answer, y^t y^e oath binds noe man to a further approbation of any Cannons, then they be approued by y^e authority of those who first established y^m, and yrfore if wth their knowledge, and wthout yr contradiction, they bee growne out of vse,

iudicanda sunt per non vsū amisso vim obligationis as Gerson (p. 2^a fol. 200) truly, and other schoolmen define : for if y^e magistrate saw not iust reason to permitt y^m to growe out of vse, it is to be supposed he would quicken, and reniue y^m; w^{as} tis further obiected y^t some other Cañons are altered) I answer againe, y^t humane constitutions or Cañons are of an alterable nature ; and yrfore by wise magistrates, variantur secundum varietates temporū, et occasionū, w^r this is done, former constitutions being either quite abolished, or in part altered by new Cañons, y^e old must be content to giue place vnto y^e new : and men must be content to let goe y^e old, and subiect y^mselves vnto y^e new ; y^r is one thing more wⁱⁿ satisfaction is expected, namely how the gouernours of the Church could permitt any Canons to growe out of or to be in any part altered (if y^e discipline be necessary to saluation) for (as they conceiue, and y^t truly) yr ought to be noe alteration, much lesse an abrogation in necessarijs ad salutē, they did not well heed the wordes of y^e oath who reason after this manner, and yrfore they haue deceiued y^mselues by a false conversion, y^e proposition in y^e oath is this (in the doctrine, and discipline of the Church of England, all things are contained w^{ch} are necessary to saluation) yr proposition falsly conceiued, and converted is this (all things w^{ch} are contained in y^e doctrine, and discipline of y^e Church of England are necessary to saluation) y^e first proposition is true, and contained in y^e oath, y^e other is false, and to be found onely in yr brains who conceiued it, in y^e very doctrine established wee doe not defend euery particular conclusion is dogma ad salutem necessariū, thonge wee maintaine it to bee true, and y^e knowledge yrof to be profitable, much lesse will wee maintaine y^t euery Cañon, order, or Ceremonie pertaining to our discipline, is to be reckoned among things necessary to Salvation : If I should affirme, all things necessary to y^e essence of a man are to be found in y^e Americans, he y^t would hence inferre y^t all things w^{ch} are found in y^e Americans are necessary to y^e essence of a man, alters my proposition, and make euery accident in a man to be necessary to y^e essence of a man, w^{ch} was neuer affirmed by me : Lastly, w^{as} they obiect y^e Canons to bee soe many, and made at soe many different tymes y^t they knowe not how to sweare vnto y^m, till they be altogether in terminis set forth ; It may be answered, y^t oath is not to knowe all y^r Canons, or to performe and keepe all y^e Canons, but onely they approue y^e discipline established in y^e Church of England ; If y^r bee any part of it w^{ch} you knew not doe your endeauour to knowe it and in the meantime approue the discipline and obey it, as farr as you know it : this being done y^e oath doth neither endanger, nor intangle any man's conscience, for (in my judgment) it is a rule grounded in reason, and equity, nōn plus

obligant huiusmodi iuramenta quam Legislatores voluerunt, aut rationabiliter velle debuerunt ; noe Lawmakers are soe vnreasonable as to intend y^e binding of a X^{tian} by oath to approue a particular order, w^{ch} yet he does not knowe, or cannot come to the knowledge of.

The third Querie.

Whether it is meant y^t y^e doctrine and discipline containe all things necessary to salvation, conjunction, or diuision, this demand, and y^e discourse w^{ch} followes upon it, for y^e most part fauours of y^e mistake w^{ch} was spoken of in y^e former Querie : but y^e meaning of y^e wordes will best bee cleered by sheweing y^e marke they ayme at, w^{of} these question makers seem to take notice : it has been feared by many, y^t Jesuites Seminaries and others of y^e stampe, are dayly labouring how to bring vs backe to y^e Romish Religion, their most forcible Engyne is y^t lowde clamours, y^t in our church y^r are two damnable defects, one in our doctrine (w^{ch} they say) is vsufficient to saue vs, because wee take not in the Tridentine additions ; another in our gouernment : because wee refuse subiecting our selues to X^{ts} Vicar (as they terme him) and soe are deprived of y^e vnion wth y^e ministeriall Head of y^e Catholicke church, w^{ch} in yr conceit is absolutely necessary to Saluation : in opposition to these Popish errours wee sweare y^t y^e doctrine established in our church containes all things necessary to salvation, though the Tridentine Creed (in a great part yrof) by y^e Church of England bee reiected, ag wee sweare, y^t in the gouernment established in our church all things necessary to Saluation are contained, though noe such Vicar, Pope, or ministeriall Head be placed ouer vs soe y^e sume of those wordes w^rwth they quarrel, take y^e coniunction or diuision import onely this : y^e in the doctrine of our church yr is wanting noe point of faith necessary vnto y^e saluation of a X^{tian}, and in y^e gouernment of our church y^e is wanting noe order of eccciall persons, noe performance of any eccciall duties, or sacred actions, w^{ch} are necessary for y^e procureing of y^e Salvation of X^{tian} people : hee y^t thinks otherwise is bound to proue y^t a Popes Lay Elders, or some other peice of gouernment yet vnknowne to vnnamed is a thing necessary to Saluation : to y^e reason of y^e Querie I answer in breefe : y^t quoad credenda all things necessary to salvation are comprized in y^e articles of religion : but quoad agenda, as preaching y^e gospell of Saluation, administring y^e Sacraments, & performing all other sacred acts w^{ch} are ordinary meanes of bringing men to saluation, it is y^e discipline & gouernment of our church by w^{ch} both y^e persons are ordained, by w^m such actions must be performed, & y^e due manner how they ought to be performed is regulated, & enjoined : hee y^t in y^e discipline,

or gouernment of our church, sees all necessary sacred orders conferred : all necessary sacred actions performed is but diuine sighted, if hee cannot see somew^t in y^e discipline, (as distinct) from the doctrine necessary to y^e procureing of mens saluations, I am sure y^e Apostle was of this mind Rom. 10: 14: 15: & Ephes: 3.12. 13: v: here's noe feare yrfore of coasting vpon periury by takeing this oath : & as for y two heapes of sand, I see not employment for y^m in this matter and yet if any desire further satisfaction let him suppose y^t a prisoner is to be ransomed, & 1000*l.* is necessarily required vnto his Ransome : now let a freind of his who had laid 1000*l.* in 2 heapes of sand : should shewe him y^e 2 heapes, and sweare vnto him, in these 2 heapes of sand is contained all y money necessarily required vnto your ransome : though in those heapes of sand y^t were some stones, or leases to bee found, w^{ch} were noe ways necessary to y^e prisoners ransome, though in y^e one heape y^t were neuer soe little money, in y other neuer soe much, yet hee would bee deemed an vndiscreet & vnthankful man, who vpon such pretences should giue out, y^t his freind in y^e forenamed oath had coasted vpon periury, y^e application is soe easy y I leaue it to every one's owne makeing. Secondly, w^e as it is vrged y^t diuism, &c.: these different respects haue bene shewed, namely y^t all doctrinall articles absolutely necessary vnto Saluation, are contained in y^e doctrine of our church : and all orders of euangelicall ministers, & all sacred actions, of y^m to be performed for y^e bringing of X^{tian} people into the State of Saluation, are contained in the gouernment, and enjoined by y^e discipline of o^r church : neither was yr any need to put such an explication into y^e body of y^e oath, seeing it was reasonably, and charitably presumed y^t noe minister of God's word was so ignorant as not to knowe in w^t respect y^e doctrine of y^e gospell is the power of God vnto Salvation, & in w^t respect, y^e gouernment, & discipline of y^e church is a necessary instrument, for applying y^e doctrine, y^e Sacraments, & all ordinary meanes of Saluation vnto y^e souls of X^{tian} people here is nothing y^{fore} in y^e oath to be casheered, nor nothing enjoined to be sworne, for w^{ch} important, and iust reasons may not bee alleadged. The Canonists, and Casuists are very scrupulous in Imposing Oathes¹ vpon Clergymen, yet they grant willingly y^t in some Cases, possunt & debent iurare, y^e mayne ones are, pro fide, pro pace, pro debitâ obedientiâ, and ther is another more generall, w^{ch} may comprize y^e many other, Quando homines pigri sunt Credere, quod ijs vtile est credere, now let vs see if all these doe not concurre in this oath soe much stucke vpon ; ffirst in swearing our approbation of the established doctrine, it is granted wee sweare

¹ Sayr. li. 5, c. 3, N. 11. Gratian caus., 22. 9. 1395. Sum Ang., p. 86.

profide rectâ, & in swearing our approbation of y^e discipline, or government established, it will not bee denied by those who haue subscribed & conformed yrvnto, y^t they sweare nothing,¹ but y^t wth wth a good, & safe conscience they may, 2^{ly} it is plaine y^t this oath, in y^t part wth concerns y^e discipline or gouernment, directly conduceth vnto y^e peace of y^e church & obedience vnto y^e gouernours yrof & is euery moment in danger of being disturbed, if y^e ministers disallow the present government to affect new platformes, Lastly, lawfull gouernours cannot bee well assured of yr obedience vnto y^e established government, soe long as y^e ministers subiect yrvnto shall make a question whether something necessary to y^e Saluation of men's Soules be not yet wanting in it; to all these add, y^t as y^e state of things now stands, vtilitas proximi, & vtilitas propria does as it were call vpon ministers to take this oath more yⁿ it did in former times, Our gracious Soueraigne seeing the disallowance of episcopall gouernment, to have produced this dangerous, and wofull effectes, elsewhere, has reason to require from y^e ministers of this our Church y^e best security they can possibly giue him, that they approue it & will not practise the vndermining of it heere, w^t greater or better security yⁿ this oath? Secondly our people, & many of y^e ministers ymselues haue bene distracted wth feares, & suspitions y^t this Church was in great danger of being subiected to Popish doctrine, & Tyranny, Now Charity on our parts & vtilitas proximi on yr parts, who were thus perplexed wth feare, made vs consider w^t was y^e readiest & best meanes to free y^m out of these perplexities & agonies, This oath taken by the B^{PPS} y^mselues (who were most suspected & traduced) & y^e whole body of y^e Clergy, should in our Judgment free both Laity, and such of y^e Clergy as haue been hitherto ouer Jealous and Suspitious from y^t false feares, & will doe it, if they haue but soe much charity as to bee perswaded, y^t y^e B^{PPS} would not enioine an oath to periure y^mselues, & damne y^t owne soules; But it is yet further objected (y^t enioining all to sweare y^t our government, or discipline is necessary to saluation, Implyeth a condemnation of all Protestant Churches abroad, y^e haue not y^e same discipline, or government, as wanting somew^t necessary to saluation, & y^e essentiall being of a church): wee enioine noe man to sweare y^t all orders, rules, officers, in our ecctiall discipline, or government, are things necessary to y^e saluation of mens' soules; or to the essentiall being of a Church (this is too grosse a mistake). But our oath is y^t in y^e discipline, or government established in our church, nothing is wanting necessary to y^e saluation of men's soules. These men who make these objec-

¹ Constitut., 6, 7.

tions must either acknowledge y^e same for true, or defend y^t for all y^e time wherein our church hath bene vnder this gouernment, and discipline, it hath ben out of y^e state of saluation, for there can be noe saluation in y^t church w^r any one thing is wanting in y^r discipline, w^{ch} is necessary vnto saluation; but they should have considered y^t as he y^t says this kingdome of England has in it, all times, things necessary to y^e sufficient, & plentiful maintenance, or orderly gouernment of her people, does not imply y^t other kingdomes w^{ch} have not the same lawes & y^e same comodities w^{ch} wee have, want all things, or anything necessary to the iust gouernment, and sufficient maintenance of y^r people. Even soe in saying y^e gouernment, or Lawes of our English Church containes all things necessary to the saluation of y^r people, wee deny not but y^e gouernment, & discipline of y^e French, & Dutch Churches may doe y^e same; If wee had sworne y^t w^{so}euer is established in y^e Church of England is necessary unto saluation, or vnto y^e essential being of a true church we had implied y^e condemnation of other churches: But no such matter being said, or thought, the inference is false, & frivolous, & these men were affrayd onely at y^e shaddow of y^r owne conceit. Wee return y^rfore y^r owne wordes vpon y^mselves (wee have neither read, nor heard any such position soe much as asserted in those termes) w^{ch} they would father vpon y^e oath. The ancient constitutiō of Archbishop Arundell was directed against priuate doctours,¹ Inferiour graduates, or any other priuate persons w^{so}euer, who in y^r disputations would boult out, & maintaine conclusions sounding contrary to y^e Catholicke faith, & then thinke to salue y^e matter vp with some intricate curious distinction, but it was neuer imagined thus this constitution should be vrged by priuate ministers agst propositions, or conclusions established in a Synod by publicke authority: yet if they can shew any conclusion in y^e oath (besides y^e Imaginery one Invented by y^mselves) w^{ch} sounds either in credendis, or agendis contrary to y^e Catholicke faith wee shall be well content y^t Archb^{ps} Arundell constitution, & Hugoes testimony be alledged ag^t vs.

The fourth Querie.

(W^t is meant by y^t clause, nor will I euer give my consent to alter y^e government of this church by Archb^{ps} B^{ps} &c.). The meaning is as the wordes Import, you shall never give your voluntary consent, neither shall you imply your voluntary endeavours vnto a pragmaticall, or schismaticall alteration of the gouernment, by combineing, consenting, & practising wth any private persons, to change it in such

¹ Lynwood, li. 5, de magistris, fol. 155.

parts as are disliked, without & contrary to y^e authority of lawfull Superiours who have established it. The first reason of this Querie is weake, & insufficient, for if iust, & lawfull authority shall hereafter make some alteration in things alterable: y^e consenting of Inferiours vnto such changes is noe way contrary vnto this oath, or to y^e oath of Allegiance, Supremacy, or any other, and I marvell how men y^t seeme to bee soe well versed in y^e Canonists, & Casuists, should not out of y^m have learned y^t wⁱⁿ they all agree. A promissory oath¹ in things subject to humane authority sayes Angelus de Clausio, ceaseth to bind when lawfull authority enjoines y^e contrary quia in omni iuramento intelligitur,² saluo iure superiori, sylvester to y^e same purpose: promissory oathes giuen by singular persons for y^e obseruing of humane ordinances, and constitutions, bind noe longer, wⁿ such statutes are taken away by those y^t made them, our countryman Sayr³ in his cases of conscience sets it downe for a rule, impletio iuramenti cuiuscunq̄e facti in fauorem tertij, licitè amitti potest ex solo consensu illius cui iuratū est; now these wordes (I will neuer consent) being sworne in obedience vnto superiours, and to giue y^m satisfaction, y^t wee will not consent to alter y^r ordinances lawfully established, looses y^r power of binding wⁿ y^mselues first consent to the alteration, & afterwarde to enioine others to admitte of it, y^e forme of wordes though seeming neuer soe peremptory, cannot hinder y^e weakest vnderstanding from conceiuing y^e true intent of those who haue enioined y^e oath: neither are such expresse limitations either needfull, or vsuall in oathes w^{ch} concerne things of this nature, & w^r reason, & comon sense teacheth men y^t they are always intended, I dare boldly say y^t none of those who make these objections, & call for such limitations, are soe simple as to thinke y^t y^e K^g, & y^e B^s intended by those peremptory wordes (as they terme y^m) to abridge y^mselues for y^e time to come of y^r lawfull power in altering things of an alterable condition, or to binde y^e Clergy to resist their authority, if they should happen hereafter soe to doe: seeing y^rfore they knowe y^e intent & meaning of those who require y^e oath, they may wthout all rashnesse, nay they must swear vnto it according as tis understood by those who haue enioined it: quâcunq̄ arte verborū iuratur, deus sic iuramentū accipit, sicut ille cui iuratur, intelligit: those who tender it vnto others will not haue it vnderstood to y^e preiudice of y^r owne lawfull authority: nor to y^e binding of any man to resist it, and y^rfore God will not haue it vnderstood soe, and y^rfore those who will needs wrest it vnto such a meaning, might haue done better to haue let this Querie alone.

¹ Sūma Angelli.² Verbo unam, p. 79.³ Li. 8 + 7, p. 275 & 263.

The fifth Querie.

Whether y^r be y^e same reason of not consenting to y^e alteration of government by Deanes and Archdeacons, as yr is of not consenting to alter y^t of B^{ps}: Their is not altogether y^e same reason though y^r be a comon reason w^{ch} forbids men subject to y^e authority of y^e Prince, & y^e Church, to consent vnto, or practise y^e alteration of either; this comon reason is because both stand now established by y^e same lawfull authority; but a peculiar reason why y^t Order of B^{ps} as it now stands in dignity, & power aboue presbiters, ought not to be altered, as y^t of Deanes, & Archdeacons may is this: because y^e order of B^{ps} has been settled in the Catholicke Church by the Apostles y^mselues, directed by y^e wisdom of Gods spirit, and has by the church of God been hitherto preserued through y^e X^{ian} world, as w^{out} w^{ch} peace, & truth cannot soe easily and conveniently be maintained: nor sacred Orders so lawfully as they should bee, conferred vpon ministers w^{ch} are to succeed one another vnto the worlds end: as for Deanes, & Archdeacons (as they are distinguished from other priests) though wee defend y^r superiority to be lawfull, & vsefull, yet wee acknowledge y^t they cannot deriue it from the Apostles as B^{ps} doe: nor plead any other right yⁿ meerly ecchiall, soe y^t w^t they tell us (they see no case to riuett y^m into an inalterable order by y^e sacred bond of an oath) wee answer, these officers being of humane constitution are not soe riuetted by this oath, but y^t such as haue power, & authority in things of this nature may alter y^m; whensoever they shall see, & iudge such an alteration to be expedient,¹ & for the good of y^e Church: albeit therefore promissory oaths are not vsually clog'd & stuffed with conditions, yet y^r are conditions which reason & right hath taught vs must be vnderstood. As, for example, nisi contrariū præcipiat superior in eis rebus quæ eius auctoritati subjectæ sunt: & this is a principall, and perpetuall condition, another is, si res in eodem statu permanserit, w^{ch} it does not after lawfull authority has altered it, and taken it away: soe y^t by this oath priuate persons obedience is riuetted vnto such constitutions, soe long as they stand in force, & life, but wⁿ they are dead (lawfull authority having abolished y^m) men vnder subiection continue no more bound vnto y^m, yⁿ y^e wife does vnto her husband after hee is dead and buried; Lastly, w^{as} they say (bare subscriptions w^{out} an oath might haue serued well enough) they must knowe y^t wⁿ y^r are on all parts Jealousies and feares, y^t an alteration of y^e present government is by many much longed after, by diuers couertly, and craftly practised; some sus-

¹ Sayr. l. 5 to 8, p. 263. Sylvester Joram, p. 76.

pected desire our church were subiected vnto y^e Popish gouernment : some vnto y^e presbiteriall, I say in such a case, if bare subscription will not giue y^t satisfaction vnto Prince, and people, as to make y^m beleuee noe such thing is intended, either by y^e B^{ps}, or inferiour clergy : Duty & Charity should mooue y^m both willingly to submitte vnto this oath, ffor though swearing in it selfe & for it selfe bee not an act desireable,¹ yet wⁿ wee see men wthout an oath, will not easily beleuee concerning vs, y^t w^{ch} is true, & fit, or profitable by y^m to bee beleueed. Heer is an Important reason for y^e vse of an oath, & wⁿ tis vsed to this end, it is well vsed.

The sixth Querie.

W^t is meant by, &c. : nothing else is meant or can be meant by an etc. in this place but such other persons or things, as stand now established by y^e same lawfull authority, w^t by Archb^{ps}, B^{ps}, Deanes and Archdeacons stand established : It is true an etc. is not conueniently put into y^e body of an oath, & I thinke it fell vnawares from the pen of y^e Actuary : for I cannot remember y^t euer I heard of it in y^e reading of this 6. Canon : but yet y^t need noe such exaggerations since it can point at noe other persons, or things, yⁿ such as are lawfully, & publiquely established by y^e authority of y^e church, vnlesse y^rfore men will professe y^mselues ignorant of things w^{ch} haue been publiquely appointed & established, & w^rvnto they have solemnly subscribed, y^r is noe such obscurity, or ambiguity in this etc.: although I thinke y^e pronouncing of y^e words (et cætera) was neuer intended by y^e actuary himselfe, much lesse by y^e Synode (w^{ch} for ought I knowe, or remember) neuer appointed it to bee put into the body of y^e oath.

The seauenth Querie.

What is meant by y^t clause (as it stands now established, and as by right it ought to stand) I suppose vnder this clause (now established) are comprized all establishments of y^e present gouernment, whether made by Queene Elizabeth, King James or K^s Charles, who haue all three consented in establishing y^e same episcopall Gouernment, w^{ch} now stands in force, As for y^e late Synode, is has established noe new gouernment, nor gouernors, & y^rfore I see noe reason why the *et cætera* should breed any feares, or suspitions; their is yet a further exception taken against these words (as it now stands, & as by right it ought to stand) (It stands say they by positieue Law, and it ought soe to stand, & y^rfore heer is a meere Tautology) The

¹ Gratian caus., 22, 9, 1 : ex Augustin's.

ioining of two wordes, or phrases in the same sentence expressing y^e selfsame thing is not to be condemned as an Idle Tautology, w^m yrfore to a more full expression in y^e holy Scripture it selfe, in one period, or sentence y^e same sense is twice expressed in diuers wordes, yet noe man is soe censorious as to tax y^m of meere Tautology: But wee deny y^t heere is any such Tautology, for y^e former clause (as it stands now established) intimates onely matter of fact, but y^e latter (and as by right it ought to stand) ioines y^rvnto an assertion of y^e right, or lawfulness yrof, In Queene Mary's tyme Popery stood established by the positieue Law of y^e Kingdome, but it ought not by right soe to have stood, because y^r is in men noe lawfull, or rightfull power, to establish any doctrine, or gouernment repugnant to y^e law of God, In the ioyning yrfore of these two forementioned phrases together, we imply two seuerall things. The former w^{ch} euery man sees, aud knows to bee true, That our Episcopall gouernment stands at this Present established by y^e positieue Lawe of y^e Kingdome. The latter, whereof wee are affrayd some may doubt, y^t it not onely stands thus established, but y^t iustly, rightfully, & wthout any crosseing of God's Lawe it stands thus established. Had not our gouernment as well an establishment de iure, as de facto, it were ouer hard to bind men by oath, neuer to give y^r consent to the alteration yrfore: The conclusion of is this, In y^e gouernment of our church as now it stands established, y^r are some orders of ecclesiasticall persons, some sacred actions of those persons, w^{ch} haue not onely humane authority to support y^m, but diuine also, & these are, & ought to bee perpetuall & unalterable, Their are some others w^{ch} haue been introduced iure tantum Ecclesiastico, & yet are convenient, & noe ways repugnant to diuine Lawe, & these ought not to bee opposed, much lesse abolished by priuate persons. Soe long as publicke authority thinks it expedient, & for y^e good of y^e Church to have y^m stand established. And I verily beleuee y^t if (wthout moueing or resolueing any doubtfull Questions) our Clergy will be content to sweare y^t they will not consent to alter y^e gouernment of this church, as now it stands by the positive Lawe of this Kingdome, y^e B^{ps} will bee very well content to leaue y^m to y^e liberty of y^r owne Judgment in any question about gouernours, or government w^{ch} has neuer yet been decided in this Church. The last clause in the oath is noe other yⁿ ought to bee obserued by euery man y^t takes an oath, whether it had been their expressed, or noe. The craft, & malice of Jesuites wth others of y^e strayne, has occasioned such clauses to bee put into oaths, but this should occasion none to rayse needlesse doubts, nor to quarrell wth oaths tendred by lawfull authority, vnlesse they be made soe cleare, & plaine y^e noe make can mistake y^e meaning. It will be a harder taske to frame such an

oath then men are aware of: & y^refore it should content discreet, & moderate men, when words, or sentences in an oath may be drawne to diuers seuerall meanings, to take w^{ch} they hold to be good, true & according to the intention of y^e lawgiuer: If they cannot resolute y^mselues herein, they must with modesty, & humility desire resolution from those who made y^e oath, who should best vnderstand y^r owne meaning, eiusdem est interpretari, cuius est condere.

FINIS.

THE OPINION OF THE ENGLISH DOCTORS AND DIVINES AT
THE SYNOD OF DORT, CONCERNING EPISCOPACY AND LAY-
ELDERS.

We thought not fit with warrantable silence, but consulting together what was fit to be done, in delivering our opinions. We joyntly conclude that howsoever our Church Discipline had not been synodically taxed, nor theirs avowed, yet it was convenient for us (who were assured in our consciences that their Presbyterial Parity, and Laical Presbytery was repugnant to the Discipline established by the Apostles, and retained in our Church to declare our judgment.

We therefore professed and declared our utter dissent in that point, and further showed that by our Saviour a Parity of ministers was never instituted. That Christ ordained Twelve Apostles, and seventy Disciples; That the authority of these Twelve was above this other; That the Church preserved this order left by our Saviour. And ∴ when y^e extraordinary authority of the Apostles ceased, yet their ordinary authority continued in Bishops who succeeded them, who were by the Apostles themselves left in the Government of the Church to ordain ministers, and to see that they who were so ordained should preach no other Doctrine. That in an inferior degree the ministers who were governed by Bishops succeeded the 70 Disciples. That this order hath been maintained in the Church, from the time of the Apostles. And herein we appealed to the judgment of antiquity, or of any learned man now living, if any could speak to the contrary. To this our exception and allegations, not one word was answered by any of the Synodiques either strangers or Provincials, moreover in our Private conversing wth the most eminent of the ministry there, we found divers times (upon occasion of our declaring unto them the order and manner of our Church Government) that they were more

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ready to deplore then defend their own estate; and wished rather than hoped to *be made like the flourishing Church of England.*

Ita Testamur.

Georgius Caleton.

Gualter Balcanquall.

John Davenant.

Samuel Ward.'

Thomas Goad.

London. Printed for J. T. 1642.

LIST OF THE BISHOPS OF NEW SARUM.

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| 1217. Richard Poore, trans. | 1571. Edmund Gheast, trans. |
| 1229. Robert Bingham. | 1577. John Piers, trans. |
| 1247. William of York. | 1591. John Coldwell. |
| 1257. Giles de Bridport. | 1598. Henry Cotton. |
| 1263. Walter de la Wyle. | 1615. Robert Abbot. |
| 1274. Robert de Wykehampton. | 1618. Martin Fotherby. |
| 1284. Walter Scammel. | 1620. Robert Townson. |
| 1287. Henry de Braundeston. | 1621. John Davenant. |
| 1289. William de la Corner. | 1641. Brian Duppa, trans. |
| 1292. Nicholas Longespée. | 1660. Humphry Henchman. |
| 1297. Simon of Ghent. | 1663. John Earles, trans. |
| 1315. Roger de Mortival. | 1665. Alexander Hyde. |
| 1330. Robert Wyville. | 1667. Seth Ward. |
| 1375. Ralph Erghum. | 1689. Gilbert Burnet. |
| 1388. John Waltham. | 1715. William Talbot, trans. |
| 1396. Richard Mitford, trans. | 1721. Richard Willis, trans. |
| 1407. Nicholas Bubwith, trans. | 1723. Benjamin Hoadley, trans. |
| 1408. Robert Hallam. | 1734. Thomas Sherlock, trans. |
| 1417. John Chandler. | 1748. John Gilbert, trans. |
| 1427. Robert Neville. | 1757. John Thomas, trans. |
| 1438. William Ayscough. | 1761. Robert Hay Drummond,
trans. |
| 1450. Richard Beauchamp, trans. | 1761. John Thomas, trans. |
| 1482. Lionel Woodville. | 1766. John Hume, trans. |
| 1485. Thomas Langton, trans. | 1782. Hon. Shute Barrington,
trans. |
| 1494. John Blythe. | 1791. John Douglas, trans. |
| 1500. Henry Deane, trans. | 1807. John Fisher, trans. |
| 1502. Edmund Audley, trans. | 1825. Thomas Burgess, trans. |
| 1524. Lorenzo Campegio, ap-
pointed. | 1837. Edward Denison. |
| 1535. Nicholas Shaxton. | 1854. Walter Kerr Hamilton. |
| 1539. John Casson (or Salcot),
trans. | 1869. George Moberley. |
| 1560. John Jewel. | 1885. John Wordsworth, D.D. |

LIST OF LADY MARGARET PROFESSORS OF DIVINITY, CAMBRIDGE

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| 1502. John Fisher, D.D., Queens'. | 1596. J. Playfere, D.D., Christ's. |
| 1504. Thos. Cosyn, D.D., Christ's. | 1609. John Davenant, D.D., Queens'. |
| 1506. Wm. Burgoine, D.D., Pembroke. | 1622. Samuel Ward, D.D., Sidney-Sussex. |
| 1511. Desiderius Erasmus, D.D., Queens'. | 1643. R. Holdworth, D.D., John's. |
| 1515. J. Fawne, D.D., Queens'. | 1649. R. Love, D.D., Clare. |
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